

LINCOLN COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



PSEUDO-ARCADIUS'
EPITOME OF HERODIAN'S
ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ
ΠΡΟΣΩΔΙΑΣ

WITH A CRITICAL EDITION AND NOTES ON
BOOKS 1-8

BY
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**Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Classics in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

MICHAELMAS TERM 2011

Dedicated to my family,
with endless gratitude

πολλὰ γὰρ πονήσας, μόλις εὑρον τὸ περὶ τόνων τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἐν βίβλῳ παλαιᾷ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ σωτήρος τῆς ἐν ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῆς Μεσσήνης. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην πραγματείαν ἐκεῖνος συνέτεμε ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης προσωδίας τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Ἡρωδιανοῦ, οὗ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων εἴκοσι ὄντων ἐφύλαξεν (Constantine Lascaris, *codex Matritensis* 4689 (139)).

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a new edition of the Preface and Books 1-8 of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome of Herodian's Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας. It includes an introduction, critical apparatus, apparatus of parallel passages and notes on the text, and is intended as a contribution to modern Herodianic studies.

Most of our knowledge of Greek accentuation is due to Herodian's lost Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας. The main sources for this work, an epitome misattributed to Arcadius and another by John Philoponus, do not have modern critical editions. Lentz's only collected edition of Herodian's works, by Lentz (1867-70), is difficult to work with, because Lentz attempts to reconstruct Herodian's work rather than to lay out the surviving evidence.

The new critical edition of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome is a response to the need for new and separate editions of the sources for the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας. A new edition of this text is important because the previous two editions (Barker 1820, Schmidt 1860) have many weaknesses; neither editor examined all the surviving manuscripts, and they did not read the manuscripts themselves but used copies made by other people.

My new examination of all the surviving manuscripts, excepting some very late and uncontroversially derivative manuscripts, comes to a new conclusion about their interrelations. The two manuscripts which I am the first to employ turn out to be the only non-derivative manuscripts, and therefore by far the most important. They enable us to improve the text significantly.

My introduction includes a substantial new evaluation of the interpolated or doubtful sections in the epitome, whose study is impeded by confusion as to their date and relationships to other works. It also discusses the authorship of this epitome, and its grammatical terminology and concepts.

Another innovation is the apparatus of parallel passages. The collection of other texts that have derived material from Herodian shows the extent of Herodian's influence on later grammatical texts. The parallel passages, as witnesses to Herodian's text in some form, often enable us to correct the text of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome.

A further contribution of my thesis consists of the commentary, which discusses corrupt passages, features of the text that have never been explained before, and places where specific details of the epitomator's methods can be identified. The commentary also provides argumentation supporting decisions taken in editing the text, and other helpful information for the understanding of the text.

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Lincoln College, Oxford

Stephanie Roussou

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General Abbreviations

add.	addidit
alt.	alter, -era, -erum
c.	circa
cf.	confer
codd.	codices
coll.	collato, collatis
coni.	coniecit
del.	delevit
ed.	editio
em.	emendavit
γράφ	γράφεται
i.l.	in linea
i.m.	in margine
inv. ord.	inverso ordine
i.t.	in textu
l. c.	loco citato
n.	nota, -ae
om.	omisit
prob.	probavit
sch.	scholium
scil.	scilicet
s.l.	supra lineam

s. v. sub voce

Editions of ancient authors and works

Notes: Except as otherwise indicated below, authors and works are abbreviated as in LSJ, and the editions used are those listed in *OCD*³ or (where no edition is listed in *OCD*³) in the *TLG*. Spurious works appear under the name of the author to whom they are traditionally attributed.

- A. = Aeschylus West, M. L. (ed.) (1998), *Aeschyli tragoediae* (Stuttgart).
 __, *Eu.* = *Eumenides*,
 __, *Pr.* = *Prometheus*
Vinctus,
 __, *Supp.* = *Supplices*
 Achae. = Achaeus = TrGF (see below) I 20
 A. D. = Apollonius Schneider, R. – Uhlig, G. (eds.) (1878–1910), *Apollonii Dyscoli quae*
Dyscolus supersunt, 3 vols. in 4 parts, (Grammatici Graeci II.I-III)
 __, *Adv.* = *De* (Leipzig).
adverbiis,
 __, *Pron.* = *De*
pronomibus,
 __, *Synt.* = *De*
Syntaxi
 Ael. Dion. Erbse, H. (ed.) (1950), *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*
 __, Ἀττ. ὀνόμ. = (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu
 Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα Berlin, Philosoph.-hist. Kl.) (Berlin) 95-151.
 Aesop. = Aesopus
 __, *Fab.* = *Fabulae* Hausrath, A. – Hunger, H. (eds.) (1959-70), *Corpus fabularum*
Aesopiarum, I.I & I.II, 2nd edn. (Leipzig).
 Aët. = Aëtius
 Medicus
 __, *Iatric. lib. viii* = Olivieri, A. (ed.) (1950), *Aëtii Amideni libri medicinales v-viii* (*Corpus*
Iatricorum liber viii medicorum Graecorum 8.2) (Berlin).
 __, *Iatric. lib. xvi* = Zervos, S. (ed.) (1901), *Gynaekologie des Aëtios* (Leipzig).
Iatricorum liber xvi
 Agath. = Agathias Keydell, R. (ed.) (1967), *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque*
 Scholasticus (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis* 2)
 (Berlin).
 Alciphron Schepers, M. A. (ed.) (1905), *Alciphronis rhetoris epistularum libri iv*
 (Leipzig; repr. 1969).

- Alcman Davies, M. (ed.) (1991), *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I (Oxford).
- Ammon. =
- Ammonius
- ___ Diff. = De Nickau, K. (ed.) (1966), *Ammonii qui dicitur liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia* (Leipzig).
- ___ De impr. = De
impropriis
- Anecdota Medica Ermerins, F. Z. (1840), *Anecdota Medica Graeca* (Leiden).
- Graeca
- Anna Comn. =
- Anna Comnena
- ___ Alex. = Alexias Kambylis, A. – Reinsch, D. R. (eds.) (2001), *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Berlin; New York).
- Analecta Hymnica Kominis, A. – Schirò, I. (eds.) (1972), *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, III Canones Novembris* (Rome).
- Graeca
- Anth. Gr. = Beckby, H. (ed.) (1965-8), *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 vols., 2nd edn. (Munich).
- Anthologia Graeca
- Anth. Gr. App., Cougny, E. (ed.) (1890), *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Epigr. exhort. et Planudeis et appendice nova*, III (Paris) 390-426.
- Epigr. exhort. et
suppl. = Anthologiae
Graecae Appendix,
Epigrammata
exhortatoria et
supplicatoria
- Anth. Pal. = Waltz, P. (ed.) (1928), *Anthologie Grecque, première partie, Anthologie Palatine*, V (Paris).
- Anthologie Grecque,
première partie,
Anthologie Palatine
- Apollod. =
- Apollodorus
- Mythographus
- ___ Bibliotheca Wagner, R. (ed.) (1894), *Apollodori bibliotheca. Pediasimi libellus de duodecim Herculis laboribus* (Mythographi Graeci 1.) (Leipzig).
- ___ Epit. =
- Bibliotheca
(epitomae e codd.
Vat. 950, Sabbaitico
366)
- Apollod. Gramm. = Müller, K. (ed.) (1853), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, I (Paris).
- Apollon. =

Apollonius Sophista

___ *Lex.* = *Lexicon Homericum* Bekker, I. (ed.) (1833), *Apollonii Sophistae lexicon Homericum* (Berlin; repr. Hildesheim 1967).

Apollon. Cit. = Apollonius Citiensis (Medicus) Kollesch, J. – Kudlien, F. (eds.) (1965), *Apollonios von Kition. Kommentar zu Hippokrates über das Einrenken der Gelenke (Corpus medicorum Graecorum 11.1.1.)* (Berlin) 10-112.

App. = Appianus Gabba, E. – Roos, A. G. – Viereck, P. (eds.) (1939), *Appiani historia Romana*, I (Leipzig; repr. 1962 (1st edn. corr.)), 44-57.

___ *Gall.* = *Celtica*,

___ *Hann.* =

Annibaica

___ *Bell. civ.* = *Bellum civile* Viereck, P. (ed.) (1913), *Appian's Roman history* (ed. H. White), III-IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts; repr. 3:1964; 4:1961).

A. R. = Apollonius Rhodius Fraenkel, H. (ed.) (1961), *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Oxford).

Ar. = Aristophanes

___ *Av.* = *Aves*,

___ *Ec.* =

Ecclesiazusae,

___ *Eq.* = *Equites*,

___ *Lys.* = *Lysistrata*,

___ *Pl.* = *Plutus*,

___ *Th.* =

Thesmophoriazusae

Ar. Byz. =

Aristophanes

Byzantinus

___ *Epit.* = *Historiae animalium epitome subiunctis Aeliani Timothei aliorumque eclogis* Lampros, S. P. (1885), *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium libri duo. Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca suppl. 1.1.)* (Berlin).

Arist. = Aristoteles

___ *HA* = *Historia Animalium* Louis, P. (ed.) (1964-9), *Aristote. Histoire des animaux*, I-III (Paris).

Ath. = Athenaeus

___ *Deipnosophistae* Kaibel, G. (1887-90), *Athenaei Naucratis deipnosophistarum libri xv*, 3 vols. (Leipzig).

___ *Epitome*

Peppink, S. P. (ed.) (1937-9), *Athenaei dipnosophistarum epitome*, II.I-II.II (Leiden).

- Bacchylides Irigoin, J. (ed.) (1993), *Bacchylide. Dithyrambes, épinicies, fragments*
 __, *Epinicia* (Paris).
- Call. = Callimachus
 __, *Aet.* = *Aetia*, Pfeiffer, R. (ed.) (1949), *Callimachus*, I (Oxford).
 __, *Fr. inc. sed.* =
Fragmenta incertae
sedis,
 __, *Hec.* = *Hecale*
 __, *Ap.* = *Hymnus in* Pfeiffer, R. (ed.) (1953), *Callimachus*, II (Oxford).
Apollinem,
 __, *Del.* = *Hymnus in*
Delum,
 __, *Dian.* = *Hymnus*
in Dianam,
 __, *Dieges. Fabul.* =
Diegeseseis
Fabularum
 Choerob. =
 Choeroboscus
 __, *De Orthogr.* = *De* Cramer, J. A. (1835), *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis*
Orthographia *bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, II (Oxford; repr. Amsterdam 1963
 R.) 167-281.
 __, *Dict. Theod. can.* Gaisford, T. (1842), *Georgii Choerobosci dictata in Theodosii canones*,
 = *Dictata in Theodosii* *necnon epimerismi in Psalmos*, I-III (Oxford).
canones
 __, *Ep. Ps.* =
Choerobosci
epimerismi in
Psalmos
 __, *in Theod.* = Hilgard, A. (ed.) (1894), *Grammatici Graeci*, IV.I-IV.II (Leipzig; repr.
Prolegomena et Hildesheim 1965).
scholia in Theodosii
Alexandrini canones
isagogicos de flexione
nominum et verborum
 Claud. Ael. =
 Claudius Aelianus Hercher, R. (1864-6), *Claudii Aeliani de natura animalium libri xvii*,
varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta, I-II (Leipzig; repr. 1971).
 __, *De nat. animal.* =
De natura animalium

___ *Var. Hist.* = *Varia*

Historia

Claud. Ptol. =

Claudius

Ptolemaeus

___ *Geogr.* =

Geographia

Nobbe, C. F. A. (1843-5), *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia*, I-II (Leipzig; repr. Hildesheim 1966).

Cleopatra

___ *De ponder. et mensur.* = *De ponderibus et mensuris*

Hultsch, F. (1864), *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, I (Leipzig; repr. Stuttgart, 1971) 253-257.

Comica Adespota,

Kock, T. (ed.) (1888), *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, III (Leipzig).

Fragm. Incert. Poet. =

Fragmenta

Incertorum Poetarum

Constantinus VII

Porphyrogenitus

___ *De virt. et vit.* =

De virtutibus et vitiis

Büttner-Wobst, T. – Roos, A. G. (1906-10), *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, II: *excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, I-II (Berlin).

___ *De insid.* = *De insidiis*

De Boor, C. (ed.) (1905), *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, III: *excerpta de insidiis* (Berlin).

Corn. = Lucius

Annaeus Cornutus

Philosophus

___ *ND* = *De natura deorum*

Lang, C. (1881), *Cornuti theologiae Graecae compendium* (Leipzig).

Cornel. Alex.

Müller, K. (ed.) (1841-70), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, III (Paris).

Polyhist.

Cornelius

Alexander

Polyhistor

Corpus Aristotelicum,
Fragmenta Varia

Rose, V. (ed.) (1886), *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta* (Leipzig; repr. Stuttgart 1967).

Corpus glossariorum latinorum

Goetz, G. – Gundermann, G. (ed.) (1888), *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, II (Leipzig).

D. C. = Dio Cassius

Boissevain, U. P. (ed.) (1895-1901), *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 3 vols. (Berlin; repr. 1955).

___ *Hist. rom.* (Xiph.

epit.) = *Historiae*

Romanae (Xiphilini

epitome)

___, *Jo. Ant. exc.* =

Historiae Romanae

(Joannis Antiocheni

excerpta e Dione

derivata)

D. H. = Dionysius
Halicarnassensis

___, *Antiquitates*

Romanae

De alimentis

(Anonymi Medici)

Didymus Caecus

___, *Commentarii in*

Psalmos 29-34

Diocl. = Diocles

(Medicus)

___, *Fr.* = *Fragmenta*

Diogenian. =

Diogenianus

Paroemiographus

D. P. = Dionysius

Periegeta

___, *Orb. descr.* =

Orbis descriptio

___, *Ixeut. s. De auc.* =

Ixeuticon sive De

aucupio

D. S. = Diodorus

Siculus

D sch. Hom. *Il.*

Dsc. = Dioscorides

Medicus

___, *De materia medica*

___, *Eup.* = *Euporista*

vel *De simplicibus*

medicinis

Jacoby, K. (ed.) (1885-1905), *Dionysii Halicarnasei antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 4 vols. (Leipzig; repr. Stuttgart, 1967).

Ideler, J. L. (ed.) (1842), *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, II (Berlin; repr. Amsterdam 1963).

Gronewald, M. (ed.) (1969), *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 3 (*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 8.) (Bonn).

Van der Eijk, P. J. (ed.) (2000), *Diocles of Carystus: A Collection of the Fragments with Translation and Commentary*, I (*Studies in Ancient Medicine* 22) (Leiden-Boston-Köln).

Schneidewin, F. G. – von Leutsch, E. L. (eds.) (1839), *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, I (Göttingen; repr. Hildesheim 1965).

Brodersen, K. (ed.) (1994), *Dionysios von Alexandria. Das Lied von der Welt* (Hildesheim).

Garzya, A. (ed.) (1963), *Dionysii ixeuticon seu de aucupio libri tres in epitomen metro solutam redacti* (Leipzig).

Fischer, K. T. (post I. Bekker & L. Dindorf) – Vogel, F. (eds.) (1888-1906), *Diodori bibliotheca historica*, 5 vols., 3rd edn. (Leipzig; repr. Stuttgart, 1964).

van Thiel, H. (2000), *Scholia D in Iliadem* (available on Internet only: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/klassphil/vanthiel/index.html>)

Wellmann, M. (ed.) (1906-14), *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, 3 vols. (Berlin; repr. 1958).

- E. = Euripides
 — Cyc. = *Cyclops*,
 — Ion, Tr. = *Troades*
 EM = *Etymologicum Magnum*
 Gaisford, T. (1848), *Etymologicum Magnum*, (Oxford).
 Empedocles
 Diels, H. – Kranz, W. (eds.) (1951), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I, 6th edn. (Berlin; repr. 1966) 308-374.
 Ep. Hom. =
 Dyck, A. R. (ed.) (1983-95), *Epimerismi Homerici*, I-II (Berlin; New York).
 Epimerismi Homerici
 Epheipp. = Ephippus
 PCG (see below)
 — Kyd. = Κύδων
 Epiphan. =
 Epiphanius scriptor ecclesiasticus
 — Ancoratus
 Holl, K. (1915), *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 25), 3 vols. (Leipzig).
 — Panarion
 — De mensur. et ponder. (exc. Graec. 4) = *De mensuris et ponderibus*
 Hultsch, F. (1864), *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, I (Leipzig) 259-276.
 — Ind. Apostol. =
 Index Apostolorum (spur.)
 Schermann, T. (1907), *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae* (Leipzig).
 Erotianus
 Nachmanson, E. (ed.) (1918), *Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum collectio cum fragmentis* (Göteborg).
 — Voc. Hippocratic. collect. = *Vocum Hippocraticarum collection*
 Et. Gen. =
 For α – βώτορες:
 Lasserre, F. – Livadaras, N. (eds.) (1976), *Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum, Symeonis Etymologicum una cum Magna Grammatica, Etymologicum Magnum Auctum*, 2 vols. (Rome).
 Et. Gud. =
 For ἀάλιον – ζειάι:
 De Stefani, E. L. (ed.) (1909-20), *Etymologicum Gudianum*, fasc. 1 & 2. (Leipzig; repr. Amsterdam, 1965).
 Etymologicum Gudianum
 For ζείδωρος - ὤμαι:
 Sturz, F. W. (ed.) (1818), *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum* (Leipzig).
 Et. Parv. =
 Pintaudi, R. (ed.) (1973), *Etymologicum parvum quod vocatur* (*Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* 42) (Milan).

Parvum

Et. Sym. = Lasserre, F. – Livadaras, N. (eds.) (1976), *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Symeonis Etymologicum magnum auctum*, I (Rome).

Euphro PCG (see below)

Eusebius Bardy, G. (ed.) (1952-8), *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3 vols. (Paris).

— Historia ecclesiastica

Eust. = Eustathius

— D. P. = Müller, K. (ed.) (1861), *Geographi Graeci minores*, II (Paris; repr. Hildesheim 1965) 201-407.

Dionysii Periegetae orbis descriptionem

— Il. = *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* Van der Valk, M. (ed.) (1971-87), *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, I-IV (Leiden).

Cited by volume, page and line of Van der Valk (not according to the page and line of the *editio romana*).¹

— Od. = Stallbaum, G. (ed.) (1825-6), *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. in 1. (Leipzig; repr. Hildesheim 1970).

Evang. Thom. = Klostermann, E. (1910), *Apocrypha II. Evangelien* (Kleine Texte 8), 2nd edn. (Bonn).

FGrHist Jacoby, F. (ed.) (1923-58), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Leiden).

Flav. Arr. = Flavius Arrianus

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Περικειρομένη
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- Nicephorus
Patriarcha
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Orus

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in aliis Ori scriptis)

Pallad. = Palladius

scriptor

ecclesiasticus

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Joanni Chrysostomi

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Epigrammata

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terr. mot. =

Paraphrasis carminis

de terrae motibus

Paul. Med. = Paulus

Medicus

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Medicae libri septem

Paul. Nic. = Paulus

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- Philumenus
- Medicus
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Ascalonita

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Supp. = *Supplices*, *Th.*

= *Septem contra*

Thebas)

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- Sch. Ar. *Ec.* =
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Ecclesiazusas
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(*Bom. bes.* =
Βησαντίνου βωμός)
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Comicus (*Poetarum Graecorum fragmenta* 6.1) (Berlin).
- Sophr. = Sophronius
___ Char. Theodos. = Hilgard, A. (ed.) (1894), *Theodosii Alexandrini canones, Georgii*
Excerpta ex Joannis Choerobosci scholia, Sophronii Patriarchae Alexandrini excerpta
Characis (Leipzig).
commentariis in
Theodosii Alexandrini
canones
- St. Byz. = Stephanus For letters A – I (two volumes so far published):
of Byzantium Billerbeck, M. et al. (eds.) (2006-), *Stephani Byzantii Ethnika* (Corpus

Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 43/1) (Berlin).

For the rest of the work:

Meineke, A. (ed.) (1849), *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika* (Berlin; repr. 1958).

Str. = Strabo
Meineke, A. (ed.) (1877), *Strabonis geographica*, 3 vols. (Leipzig; repr. 1969).

Su. = *Suda*
Adler, A. (ed.) (1928–38), *Suidae Lexicon*, 5 vols. (*Lexicographi Graeci*, 1.) (Leipzig).

Theoc. = Theocritus

___ *Idyll.* = *Idyllia*
Gow, A. S. F. (ed.) (1952), *Theocritus*, I, 2nd edn. (Cambridge; repr. 1965).

Theodor. Nic. =

Theodorus

Nicaeensis

___ *Enc. s. Petr. episc.*
Kyriakopoulos, K. Th. (ed.) (1976), *Αγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Ἀργους βίος καὶ λόγοι* Εἰσαγωγή, Κείμενον, Μετάφρασις, Σχόλια (Athens).

Ar. = Encomium in sanctum Petrum episcopum Argi

Theodos. =

Theodosius

Alexandrinus

Grammaticus

___ *Can.* = *Canones*
Hilgard, A. (1889), *Theodosii Alexandrini canones, Georgii Choerobosci scholia, Sophronii Patriarchae Alexandrini excerpta* (Leipzig).

___ Π. γραμμ. =
Göttling, K. (1822), *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica* (Leipzig).

Περὶ γραμματικῆς

(spur.)

___ Π. κλίσ. ων
Hilgard, A. (1887), *Excerpta ex libris Herodiani technici* (Leipzig).

βαρυτ. = Περὶ

κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν

βαρυτόνων

___ Π. κλίσ. ων

ὀξύτ. = Περὶ

κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν

ὀξύτόνων

Theognost. =

Theognostus

___ *Can.* = *Canones*
For rules 1-84:

sive De Orthographia
Alpers, K. (1964), *Theognostos περὶ ὀρθογραφίας: Überlieferung, Quellen und Text der Kanones 1-84* (Hamburg).

	For the rest:
	Cramer, J. A. (ed.) (1835-7), <i>Anecdota Graeca e Codd. Manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium</i> , I-IV, (Oxford).
Thphr. =	
Theophrastus	
___ Fr. = <i>Fragmenta</i>	Wimmer, F. (ed.) (1866), <i>Theophrasti Eresii opera, quae supersunt, omnia</i> (Paris; repr. 1964).
Thucydides	Jones, H. S. (ed.) (1941-2), <i>Thucydidis historiae</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford; repr. 1:1970; 2:1967).
	Hude, C. (ed.) (1901-13), <i>Thucydidis historiae</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig).
Tim. = Timaeus	
Sophista,	
Grammaticus	
___ Lex. = <i>Lexicon Platonicum</i>	Dübner, F. (ed.) (1839), <i>Platonis opera quae feruntur omnia</i> (ed. J. G. Baiter, J. K. Orelli, A. W. Winckelmann) (Zurich).
Timoth. Gramm. =	
Timotheus	
Grammaticus	
___ καν. καθολ. π. συντ. = κανόνες καθολικοὶ περὶ συντάξεως	Cramer, J. A. (1841), <i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis</i> , IV (Oxford; repr. Hildesheim 1967).
TrGF = <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i>	Snell, B. – Kannicht, R. – Radt, S. (eds.) (1971–99), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> , 5 vols. (Göttingen).
Trypho	
___ Fr. = <i>Fragmenta</i>	Von Velsen, A. (ed.) (1853), <i>Tryphonis grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta</i> (Berlin; repr. Amsterdam 1965).
___ Pass. = Περὶ παθῶν	Schneider, R. (ed.) (1895), <i>Excerpta Περὶ παθῶν</i> (Leipzig).
Tyrannion	Haas, W. (ed.) (1977), <i>Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Dionysios Thrax (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 3)</i> (Berlin).
X. = Xenophon	Marchant, E. C. (ed.) (1900-20), <i>Xenophontis opera omnia</i> , 5 vols. (Oxford).
___ An. = <i>Anabasis</i>	
___ Cyn. =	
Cynegeticus	
Ζωδιακόν	Sangin, M. A. F. (ed.) (1936), <i>Codices Rossici (Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum 12)</i> (Brussels).
Zonar. = Zonaras	Tittmann, J. A. H. (ed.) (1808), <i>Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus</i>

- codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols. (Leipzig; repr. Amsterdam 1967).
- Johannes Zonaras Dindorf, L. (ed.) (1868-70) *Ioannis Zonarae epitome historiarum*, 3 vols. (Leipzig).

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- Alt. v. Hierapolis Humann, C. – Cichorius, C. – Judeich, W. – Winter, F. (eds.) (1898), *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Berlin).
- An. Pap. 14/15 *Analecta Papyrologica* 14/15 (2002-2003)
- ID Plassart, A. – Coupry, J. – Durrbach, F. – Roussel, P. – Launey, M. (eds.) (1926-50), *Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols. (Paris).
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873-).
- IscM *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* (inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae; Bucharest 1980-).
- MAMA Calder, W. M. et al. (eds.) (1928-39), *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 6 vols. (Manchester; London).
- O. Claud. Bingen, J. – Bülow-Jacobsen, A. – Cockle, W. E. H. (eds.) (1992), *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina*, I (Cairo).
- OGIS Dittenberger, W. (1903-5), *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig).
- P. Cair. Zen. Edgar, C. C. (ed.) (1925), *Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du musée du Caire; Nos 59001-59139; Zenon Papyri*, I (Cairo).
- P. Flor. Vitelli, G. – Comparetti, D. (1906-15), *Papiri Fiorentini, documenti pubblici e privati dell' età romana e bizantina*, 3 vols. (Milan).
- P. Jena II Ast, Rodney (2010), *Late antique Greek papyri in the collection of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (P. Jena II)* (Bonn).
- P. NYU II Nielsen, B. E. – Klaas, W. A. (edd.) (2010), *Papyri from the New York University collection*, II (Wiesbaden).
- P. Oxy. Grenfell, B. P. – Hunt, A. S. et al. (eds.) (1898-), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London).
- P. Ryl. II Johnson, J. de M. – Martin, V. (eds.) (1915), *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, II (Manchester).
- PSI *Papyri Graeci e Latini* (Florence 1912-).
- P. Vindob. G 13933^v Sijpesteijn, P. J. – Worp, K. A. (eds.) (1978), 'Ein neues Archiv: Hermias und Maximus, Söhne des Sarapion', *ZPE* 32: 243-57.
- Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 143, 31 Ramsay, W. M. (1895-7), *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest*, I, Parts I-II (Oxford).
- SB *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, eds. Preisigke, F. – Bilabel, F. et al. (Strasbourg; Berlin; Leipzig 1915-).

SEG

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, eds. Hondius, J. J. E.: 1-11;
Woodhead, A. G.: 12-25 (Leiden, 1923-71); Pleket, H. W. –
Stroud, R. S. – Chaniotis, A. and Strubbe, J. H. M.: 26-7
(Alphen, 1979-80); 28-51 (Amsterdam, 1982-2005);
Chaniotis, A. – Corsten, T. – Stroud, R. S. – Tybout R. A.:
52– (Leiden and Boston, 2006–).

PART ONE: Introduction

Aelius Herodian and his Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας

1 The life and work of Aelius Herodian

Designations of praise such as μέγας (AP Cramer, IV 195, 26), σοφός (codex *Matritensis* 4575, *Baroccianus* 179, *Hauniensis regius* 1965, and Eust. 620, 14 = II 229.9), φιλόσοφος (sch. E. *Hipp.* 407²), and πολυμαθής (codex *Matritensis* 4689, Constantine Lascaris' letter to Jacob Ximenis Muriel) are undoubtedly appropriate for the grammarian Aelius Herodian, to whom we owe most of our knowledge of ancient Greek accentuation. The details of his life are, however, as murky as his contribution to scholarship is clear.³

Herodian was Apollonius Dyscolus' son. He was born in Alexandria and went to Rome when Marcus Aurelius⁴ (161-80 AD) was emperor. In the προοίμιον of the *Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας* Herodian dedicated his work to the emperor.

The *testimonia* that tradition has bequeathed to us do not agree on the reason for Herodian's migration to Rome. Apollonius' strictness towards his son, that Apollonius introduced a stepmother to him, and poverty⁵ are mentioned in the *testimonia*. It seems that the reason why Herodian's relations with his father were considered to be strained

² This scholion is numbered as 407 in Schwartz's edition, but the phrase commented on is in line 408 in Diggle's OCT edition.

³ An extensive discussion of Herodian's life can be found in Lentz (1867-70), VII-IX. See also the discussion in Nifadopoulos (2001), 6-8. The six surviving *testimonia* are edited by Lentz in GG iii.i VI-VII.

⁴ This is the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius in his *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.13.1 gives us the full name of Marcus Aurelius: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστός and in 4.14.10 Eusebius refers to him as Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος.

⁵ In favour of Herodian's poverty see Dyck (1988), 193. On Apollonius Dyscolus' poverty see Nifadopoulos (2001), 7-8.

was their disagreement on grammatical issues,⁶ or the fact that Herodian does not mention his father very often, or even the fact that Herodian left Alexandria.

Herodian's main work was the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, which we will deal with extensively in chapter two. With the exception of the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*, which is the only work to survive in its entirety, all the others survive in epitomes and fragments.⁷ Herodian dedicated two works, the *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας* and *Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας*, to Homeric accentuation. These two works survive fragmentarily in the Homeric scholia.⁸ Other significant works are the *Περὶ παθῶν*, on the modification of words which survives in fragments in various sources,⁹ and the *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων*, which survives mainly in fragments in Choeroboscus commentary on Theodosius' *Canones*.

2 The *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

2.1 General Account of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

The *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* does not survive in its original form, but in epitomes and other grammatical and lexicographical works that derived material from it. This section will survey the information we have about the original, now lost work. A separate section (2.2) will be devoted to our sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.

⁶ See further Dyck (1993), 774, n. 3.

⁷ For a much fuller discussion of Herodian's many works see Lentz (1867-70), LXXI - CXXII and Dyck (1993), 776-94.

⁸ For the *Iliad* scholia it is preferable to consult Erbse's edition rather than Lentz's or Lehrs'. For critique of Lentz's reconstruction of Herodian's works see Part 1, section 3.

⁹ See Nifadopoulos (2001) and Lentz (1867-70), LXXXIII - XCVI.

The προοίμιον of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας

From the *testimonium* to Herodian's life as transmitted in codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2603,¹⁰ we learn that after the προοίμιον, in which the grammarian dedicated his Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, he defined prosody (ἐν ᾗ (*scilicet* καθολικῇ προσωδίᾳ) μετὰ τὸ εἰς τὸν Μάρκον προοίμιον οὕτω τὴν προσωδίαν ὁρίζεται). A short treatise entitled Πορφυρίου Περί προσωδίας,¹¹ within the *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* (Scholia Vaticana, 129.9-14),¹² claims to provide us with the definition of prosody according to Herodian, but neither of the two fully-preserved epitomes of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας transmits such a definition.¹³

There is evidence in the introductions of Johannes Philoponus' Epitome and of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome that the προοίμιον to the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας explained the difficulties of writing a treatise on accents, created by the fact that correct

¹⁰ This is the first *Vita* of Herodian edited by Lentz (1867-70), VI.

¹¹ Porphyrius should probably be identified with the important third-century author Porphyrius who, according to the *Suda* (π 2098), wrote grammatical works among many others: ἔγραψε βιβλία πάμπλειστα, φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ῥητορικὰ καὶ γραμματικά. On the other hand, Hoerschelmann (1874), 74 rejected the view that this Porphyrius should be identified with the third-century Porphyrius, the one mentioned by the *Suda*, but did not provide arguments in support of his view. See also Hoerschelmann (1875), 298. Πορφυρίου Περί προσωδίας is a treatise on prosody, edited as a supplement to the Τέχνη γραμματική attributed to Dionysius Thrax. Contrary to Götting's view ((1835), 11), we have almost no indication that this is an Epitome of Herodian's Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας, apart from the mention of Herodian and the attribution to him of the definition of prosody. Πορφυρίου Περί προσωδίας stands apart from all the other epitomes. In Hilgard's edition ((1901), xxiv) of the *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* the treatise ascribed to Porphyrius is not regarded as an epitome of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας, but as a treatise on prosody.

¹² The specific part of the *Scholia Vaticana* in the *Commentaria* comes from codex *Vaticanus Graecus* 14, and contains a collection of scholia composed by several authors.

¹³ Cf. Lentz (1867-70), XXXVI-XXXVII.

accentuation is connected with all the other parts of grammar.¹⁴ The first sentence of Philoponus' Epitome reads:

τὸ ἐκάστη λέξει τὴν δέουσιν προσωδίαν τιθέναι συμπέρασμα σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς γραμματικῆς τυγχάνει μεθόδου ('to put the correct accent on each word is the result of almost the whole of grammatical enquiry').¹⁵

The same thought is reflected in a sentence in the preface to Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome (1.10-3):

τὸ γὰρ ἅμα γένος εἶδος σχῆμα κατάληξιν παράληξιν ἀρχὴν χρόνον στοιχεῖον πάθος παρατηρεῖν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων, χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσέφικτον ('for to pay attention simultaneously to the gender, the derivational status, the compositional status, the ending, the penultimate syllable, the beginning, the quantities, the letters, and the transformations of form, and whatever else, or most of these, is difficult and hard to achieve').

That the significance of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* was laid out in the *προοίμιον* is evidenced by the following phrase in the preface to Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome (2.12-5):

εὐθύς οὖν τὴν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ διατριβὴν περιελόντες, ἐνδεκνυμένην τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πραγματείας, καὶ τῶν πρότερον γεγραφότων τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἐλέγχουσιν ('so refraining from the long-winded discussion in the introduction¹⁶ - laying out the size of the treatise, exposing the deficiency of those written before')¹⁷

At the same time, this phrase provides evidence that Herodian in his *προοίμιον* stated the deficiencies of his predecessors' works on prosody.

¹⁴ See also the discussion in Lentz (1867-70), XXXVII.

¹⁵ Translations of passages are mine, and translations of individual words given in brackets come from *LSJ*⁹, unless otherwise noted.

¹⁶ The *προοίμιον* referred to is that of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. See also Note 2.12 τῷ προοιμίῳ.

¹⁷ Cf. the discussion of this section of Pseudo-Arcadius' preface in Hiller (1866), 17-8 and Lentz (1867-70), XXXVII.

The arrangement of the material in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

The *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* consisted of two parts of unequal length. The first part systematically treated the rules for the accentuation of Greek in the first nineteen books, while the second, restricted to Book 20, dealt with breathings and vowel quantities. The work also had an appendix¹⁸ on the accentuation of words in sentences.

Herodian arranged the material of the first part of the work following the same order for the parts of speech as the *Τέχνη γραμματική* attributed to Dionysius Thrax:¹⁹ GG i.i 23.1-2 Τοῦ δὲ λόγου μέρη ἐστὶν ὀκτώ· ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, μετοχή, ἄρθρον, ἀντωνυμία, πρόθεσις, ἐπίρρημα, σύνδεσμος.²⁰ Books 1-15 deal with nominals²¹, 16 and 17 with verbs and participles, 18 with so-called articles,²² pronouns, and prepositions, Book 19 with adverbs and conjunctions. The prosody of nominals was divided so that the first 14 books treated the accent of the nominative singular forms according to their terminations, while Book 15 dealt with the accent of the oblique cases. Books 1-10 deal with masculine and feminine nominals ending in consonants, 11 and 12 with feminine nominals ending in vowels, 13 with neuter nominals, and 14 with monosyllabic nominals. The treatment of the accentuation of masculine and feminine nominals in Books 1-12 is arranged according to the same categorization as appears in the *Τέχνη γραμματική* (GG i.i 15.1 – 16.1) attributed to Dionysius Thrax, so that the first 10 books deal with masculine and feminine

¹⁸ For further discussion of the Appendix, sometimes referred to as Book 21, see pp. 111-2.

¹⁹ It is not the purpose of the present thesis to give an answer to the highly debated issue of the authenticity or not of this *Ars Grammatica*. On this issue one can consult the essays in Law V. – Sluiter I. (eds.) (1995), and the note by Wilson (2007), 69-70, where the authenticity is defended.

²⁰ See also the discussion in Egenolff (1887), 8.

²¹ The modern term ‘nominal’ (or ‘nominal form’) is a cover term for both nouns and adjectives; I use it to translate the Greek term ὄνομα, which similarly covers both nouns and adjectives where no further specification is given.

²² The term ἄρθρα refers both to the article and the relative pronoun.

nominals ending in ν, ξ, ρ, σ, ψ, Book 11 with feminine nominals ending in α, and Book 12 with feminine nominals ending in η and ω. It is noteworthy that the terminations appear in the same order as in the Τέχνη γραμματική (GG i.i 15.1 – 16.1), with the difference that in the Τέχνη feminines with vowel terminations precede those with consonant terminations, whereas in Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome feminines ending in a consonant have already been dealt with in Books 1-10 together with masculines, and therefore only feminines ending in vowels are treated in Books 11 and 12:

Τελικὰ ἀρσενικῶν ὀνομάτων † ἀνεπεκτάτων κατ' εὐθειᾶν καὶ ἐνικὴν πτώσιν στοιχειά ἐστι πέντε· ν ξ ρ σ ψ, οἷον Δίων Φοῖνιξ Νέστωρ Πάρις Πέλοψ. θηλυκῶν δὲ ὀκτώ· α η ω ν ξ ρ σ ψ, οἷον Μοῦσα Ἑλένη Κλειώ χελιδών ἔλιξ μήτηρ Θέτις λαῖλαψ. ('the terminations of the masculine nouns that are parisyllabic in the nominative singular are five: ν ξ ρ σ ψ, for example Δίων Φοῖνιξ Νέστωρ Πάρις Πέλοψ. And (the terminations) of the feminine nouns are eight: α η ω ν ξ ρ σ ψ, for example Μοῦσα Ἑλένη Κλειώ χελιδών ἔλιξ μήτηρ Θέτις λαῖλαψ.')

In Book 13 the treatment of the neuter adjectives according to their formation from the corresponding masculine is followed by the treatment of the neuter nouns, again according to the classification found in the Τέχνη γραμματική (GG i.i 16.2-3 οὐδετέρων δὲ ἕξ· α ι ν ρ σ υ, οἷον ἄρμα μέλι δένδρον ὕδωρ δέπας δόρυ ('And (the terminations) of neuter nouns are six: α ι ν ρ σ υ, for example ἄρμα μέλι δένδρον ὕδωρ δέπας δόρυ')), but with the slight variation that the termination -υ is treated not at the end, but third. This minor alteration in the order is probably due to Herodian's attempt to gather the

treatment of vowel terminations at the beginning.²³ This disposition of the whole work is known to us from the Table of Contents in the preface accompanying our Epitome.²⁴

The length of the work has been the subject of some modern debate. The work was referred to in Antiquity and the Middle Ages as famously long. The preface of our Epitome mentions in 1.6-8 τὸ πολὺν τῶν ὀρισμῶν ἐν πολλοῖς κανόσιν ἀθρόως κείμενον ('the abundance of conditions²⁵ that are placed all together in many rules'). Theognostus in his Prologue to the *Canones sive De Orthographia* 32-3 writes: οὗς (*scilicet* κανόνας) δὲ ἐκ τῆς πολυῦλου βίβλου τῆς καθόλου Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἀναλεξάμενος ('having gathered the rules from Herodian's copious work *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*'). In his letter to Jacob Ximenes Muriel, which appears in codex *Matritensis* 4689 (139), Constantine Lascaris refers to the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* as τὴν μεγάλην ... προσωδίαν and as βίβλον πολὺστιχον. In Johannes Philoponus' *Τονικὰ παραγγέλματα* (4.7-10) we read: ἀναγκαῖόν τε πρὸς τούτοις εἰδέναι ἐκάστην λέξιν ἐπὶ ποίας συλλαβῆς τὸν τόνον ἔχει· ὅπερ ἐν ἑξ μυριάσιν Ἡρωδιανῶ πεπραγμάτεται ('and in addition one should know on which syllable each word has its accent; this has been dealt with by Herodian in sixty thousand'). The fact that the noun to be understood with ἑξ μυριάσιν is not indicated gave rise to a long-standing debate. Götting thought that the phrase ἑξ μυριάσιν indicated that Herodian dealt with the accentuation of 60, 000 words.²⁶ The implied noun could again be words, but the number of words the epitome consists of this time, not the

²³ See also the discussion in Egenolff (1887), 8.

²⁴ Where I say 'our Epitome', I mean the one traditionally ascribed to Arcadius.

²⁵ For the interpretation of the term ὀρισμοί as conditions here see Note 1.7 ὀρισμῶν.

²⁶ Götting (1835), 11.

number of words whose accentuation is discussed, as Götting's view was. Ritschl,²⁷ Graux,²⁸ Birt,²⁹ Egenolff,³⁰ and more recently Wouters,³¹ on the other hand, have taken the number 60, 000 to refer to the total number of lines that the work occupied. The use of the word πολύστιχος by Lascaris strengthens the view that the word implied in ἑξ μυριάσιν is στίχοι, lines and not words. Furthermore, we have no indication that the scribes ever counted the number of words they had copied or that scholars and grammarians of Philoponus' time would refer to the number of the words of a text or that it was easy and practical for them to count words.³² In any case, the figure 60, 000 could have been exaggerated over time and Philoponus (if he was the first to give this number) might well have given a number he thought appropriate to a text known to be long.

Given, at any rate, the great length of the text, the need to create abridgements of the original work becomes quite clear.³³ Besides, the need to make the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας, probably intended for learned people,³⁴ appropriate for teaching purposes, underlined the necessity of a brief rather than of an extensive work.³⁵ The reference to a second person singular in the Preface to Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome (1.5 σκόπει, 2.18

²⁷ Ritschl (1866), 83.

²⁸ Graux (1878), 124.

²⁹ Birt (1882), 170.

³⁰ Egenolff (1887), 5.

³¹ Wouters (1975-6), 602.

³² Cf. the use of στίχοι as a means of counting and indicating the length of works in Diogenes Laertius 4.5, 4.13, 4.14, 4.24, 5.27, 5.50, 5.80.

³³ On this see also Egenolff (1887), 5.

³⁴ The assumption that the intended audience of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας were learned people, is based mainly on Pseudo-Arcadius' preface, which repeatedly mentions that the epitomator's goal is to succeed clarity as well as conciseness (1.5-6; 1.19-21; 2.16-19). This should not be taken to suggest that Herodian was an author difficult to understand, but probably that the majority of people who were not educated could not grasp the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας easily.

³⁵ Cf. Egenolff (1887), 5.

ἐζήτησας, 2.19 ἐπικρινεῖς)³⁶ could suggest that the audience is a pupil, if not a friend of the epitomator.³⁷ The lemma Aristodemus (α 3915, Ἀριστόδημος) in the *Suda* provides evidence of the practice of writing epitomes for pupils: ἐπιτομὴν τῆς καθόλου Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἔγραψε πρὸς Δαναόν.³⁸ Later on, the transmission of the epitomes led gradually to the loss of the original work.

In order to be able to see how Herodian organized his treatise, one needs to start from the cases in which Herodian talks about his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*. From the *Iliad* scholion 15.338a (περὶ ὧν εἰρήσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς *Περὶ <τῆς> καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*) and from several passages in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* where Herodian mentions his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας* (iii.ii. 924.3-4 λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων μοι πάντων ἐν τοῖς *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*, 924.18-9 τὴν δὲ λύσιν τούτων ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας* ἐποισάμην, 926.16-7 περὶ δὲ τούτου ἐντελῶς εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*, 927.2-3 πάντων δὲ λύσεις δίδωμι ἐν τῷ *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*, 937.27-30 ἡ δὲ ἱστορία τῶν ὀνομάτων εἴρηται μοι ἐν δευτέρῳ *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*. σημειῶδες ἄρα τὸ ἰχώρ μόνον ὀξυνόμενον. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον εἴρηται ἐν τῷ *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*, 939.18-9 αἴτιον δὲ τὸ πάθος. ἐν τοῖς περὶ καθολικωτέρας προσφῶδίας εἴρηται), one may conclude that the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας* might deal with a point in full (ἐντελῶς), by contrast with a briefer treatment in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*, and that the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας* might explain

³⁶ The page and line refer to my critical edition. I cite the portion of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome which I have not edited for this thesis from the text of M. Schmidt.

³⁷ Cf. Egenolff (1887), 5 and Note 1.5 σκόπει in the epitomator's preface.

³⁸ It is however possible that the dedicatee of this epitome is the grammarian Danaus (ca. 348 – ca. 390). On this view see Kaster (1983), 157; Id. (1988), 267, 385.

accentuations that could only be mentioned in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (τὴν δὲ λύσιν τούτων ... ἐποιησάμην, πάντων δὲ λύσεις δίδωμι, τὸ δὲ αἴτιον εἴρηται).³⁹ Thus, in his other works Herodian refers the reader to the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* for a more extensive treatment of the material.

Herodian and his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* are so frequently quoted or mentioned in later works on accentuation that it is normally assumed that his works constituted the foundation for the teaching of accentuation and that all later grammarians who worked on accentuation used him and his work, directly or indirectly.⁴⁰ There are frequent verbal similarities between later works discussing accentuation or even orthography and etymology, as well as the use of common examples due to Herodian being an ultimate source for all or most of them.⁴¹

2.2 The main sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

2.2.1 Direct⁴² sources:

The direct sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* are two epitomes, one traditionally attributed to Arcadius⁴³ and the other by Johannes Philoponus⁴⁴ of Alexandria.⁴⁵ In the 20th century two other epitomes were discovered: a palimpsest⁴⁶

³⁹ See also Lentz (1867-70), LIX-LXII for discussion of the passages cited.

⁴⁰ So Vendryes (1945), 11; Probert (2006), 22.

⁴¹ See also Vendryes (1945), 11. Cf. Dyck (1993), 777-8; Wouters (1975-6), 602-4. See the section on the Indirect sources pp. 130-44.

⁴² With the term 'direct' I mean sources whose goal was to create excerpts of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, i.e. the epitomes. 'Indirect' sources are those that derive material from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* when they want to comment on a matter of prosody, or employ examples derived from this work for their own purposes (orthographical, etymological etc.).

⁴³ For biographical information on Arcadius see pp. 56-63 on the authorship of our Epitome.

⁴⁴ See further section 2.2.1.1 below.

⁴⁵ For the purposes of a review of the extant scholarship it is worth mentioning that Götting (1835), 11 recognized four epitomes of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*: 1. Arcadius' epitome, 2. part of an

which contains parts of a version of books 5-7, and a fourth-century AD parchment codex containing an epitome of a portion of book 5 (*P. Ant. ii. 67*)⁴⁷.

The fact that there were many epitomes of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* composed as early as the fourth century (at least as far as we can say on the basis of the surviving epitomes) suggests that the transmission (and perhaps even the use, especially before the codex became standard) of the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* was made difficult because of the great length of the work. This encouraged the creation of epitomes of the text relatively soon after its composition. Finally, the creation of epitomes as early as the fourth century AD and then their transmission brought to an end the transmission of the original work; although it is difficult to say when the original work ceased to be read, the process of epitomisation is probably the reason why it does not survive to this day.

2.2.1.1 *Johannes Philoponus' Epitome*

The grammarian, philosopher and theologian Johannes Philoponus of Alexandria (henceforth simply 'Philoponus') lived in the sixth century AD.⁴⁸ He is best known for his commentaries on Aristotle, but for our purposes his most important work was the *Τονικὰ*

epitome by Porphyrius (J. B. C. d' Anse de Villoison *Anecdota Graeca* II, p. 103, Praef. ad Theod. Alex. p. XV), 3. an epitome by Aristodemos that was lost, 4. Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως Τονικὰ παραγγέλματα. For a discussion on whether Porphyrius' text is an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see footnote 11 above.

⁴⁶ The palimpsest is published by Hunger H. (1967), "Palimpsest-Fragmente aus Herodians *Καθολικὴ Προσωδία* Buch 5-7", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 16: 1-33. Hunger claims that this palimpsest contains books 5 to 7 of the original work *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* but see the comments in section 2.2.1.2 below.

⁴⁷ See Wouters (1975-6); (1979).

⁴⁸ For more biographical information and bibliography see Kaster (1988), 334-8; Dickey (2007), 81-2.

παραγγέλματα, an epitome of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.⁴⁹ He also authored a treatise entitled *Περὶ τῶν διαφόρως τονουμένων καὶ διάφορα σημαίνοντων* ('On words that have a different meaning according to their different accent'). A further grammatical work *Περὶ διαλέκτων* is ascribed to him.

Bearing in mind that the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* has not come down to us and that we have two complete epitomes of this work, one would really like to know to what extent the two epitomes contribute to the reconstruction of the original, and which of the two follows the original more closely. Götting judged Philoponus' *Τονικὰ παραγγέλματα* to be the epitome most distant from Herodian.⁵⁰ The comparison of the palimpsest and the parchment with the two complete epitomes reveals that both these texts are closer to our Epitome than to the one by Philoponus, and suggests that Philoponus did indeed deviate considerably from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.⁵¹

In order to be able to see to what extent Philoponus' epitome deviates from original Herodian, I have undertaken a comparison between Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome and that of Philoponus. The comparison reveals that Philoponus' work contains general⁵² accentuation precepts and generally applicable rules, such as on when an accent will be

⁴⁹ Philoponus' Epitome can be consulted in the following edition: Dindorf, G./ W. (1825), *Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως Τονικὰ παραγγέλματα* (Leipzig). A new Teubner edition of this text is currently in preparation by Georgios A. Xenis. I am indebted to Xenis for providing me with the opportunity to cite the text of Philoponus from his edition. The numbering is still that of Dindorf's edition. The title *Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως Τονικῶν παραγγελημάτων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ* suggests that what survives today is an epitome of Philoponus' epitome. Cf. Dickey (2007), 81. On the value of Philoponus as a source for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see Lentz (1867-70), CXXXV-CXXXVI; Egenolff (1887), 37-9; Galland (1882*a*), 35-8; Kroll (1916), *RE* 9.2, 1784-5; Koster (1931), 138.

⁵⁰ Götting (1835), 11.

⁵¹ For a more detailed treatment of the relation of the palimpsest and the parchment to the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* and the two complete epitomes see sections 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.1.3 below.

⁵² See also Galland (1882*a*), 38.

acute and when it will be a circumflex. As far as nominals are concerned, Philoponus is mostly interested in prescribing rules for accenting oblique cases once the accent of the base or dictionary form of a word is known, rather than for accenting the base form itself. Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome, on the contrary, is concerned with predicting which syllable of a base form will have the accent, on the basis of the word's termination, and dedicates significantly more space to the accentuation of base forms than to that of oblique cases. As a result of this difference between the two epitomes, Pseudo-Arcadius dedicates fourteen books to the accentuation of nominals (nouns and adjectives) in the nominative according to their terminations, but there is nothing parallel in Philoponus. Both the palimpsest and the parchment codex are similar to Pseudo-Arcadius with regard to the treatment of the accentuation of nominals on the basis of their termination. This suggests that the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* treated base forms according to their terminations, unlike Philoponus. Closest to Philoponus' treatment of nominals is the treatment of the oblique cases in Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15.⁵³

The following may serve as examples of general accentuation rules in Philoponus' epitome:

(1) 4.28 Ἡ ὀξεῖα ἢ ἐν τέλει τίθεται ἢ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦ τέλους ἢ πρὸ δύο· πρὸ τριῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι. ('the acute is either placed on the final (syllable) or on the penultimate (syllable) or on the antepenultimate (syllable), but never more than three syllables from the end').

(2) 4.32-6 Ἡ περισπωμένη ἢ ἐν τέλει τίθεται ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρμῆς, Ἡρακλῆς ἢ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦ τέλους ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κῆτος, μῆλον· πρὸ δύο δὲ οὐκ ἔστι. οὐδέποτε ἐπὶ βραχείας τίθεται περισπωμένη οὔτε ἐπὶ θέσει μακρᾶς, ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν φύσει μακρῶν. ('the circumflex is either placed on the final syllable, as for example in Ἑρμῆς Ἡρακλῆς; or

⁵³ On the discussion of Book 15 and its content see pp. 64-102.

on the penultimate syllable, as for example on κῆτος, μῆλον; but never more than two syllables from the end. A circumflex is never placed on a short (syllable), nor on a syllable long by position, but only on one long by nature’).

(3) 5.1-6 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πᾶσα βραχεῖα συλλαβὴ πρὸ βραχείας ἢ πρὸ μακρᾶς ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσα τὸν τόνον ὀξύνεται. τοῦ μὲν προτέρου φίλος, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου Ἑκτωρ, ἔρως. Πᾶσα συλλαβὴ πρὸ δύο τοῦ τέλους ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσα τὸν τόνον ὀξύνεται Ὅμηρος, Μενέλαος. οὐδέποτε, μακρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ἐπὶ τέλους, τρίτη ἀπὸ τέλους πίπτει ἢ ὀξεῖα (‘One must know that every short syllable, before a short (syllable) or before a long (syllable), that has the accent on itself has an acute. An example of the former (case) is φίλος, an example of the latter is Ἑκτωρ, ἔρως. Every antepenultimate syllable that has the accent on itself has an acute: Ὅμηρος, Μενέλαος. When the last (syllable) is long there is never an acute accent on the antepenultimate syllable’).

In the Table of Contents at the beginning of Pseudo-Arcadius’ epitome there is no statement that the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* contained such general accentuation precepts. It is possible that these general rules were part of the *προοίμιον* of Herodian’s work. Since, however, the *προοίμιον* does not survive, one cannot be sure whether these precepts derived from it or another part of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. We might also consider their coming from another source on accentuation or even belonging to Philoponus himself. In the passage of his preface to the epitome where Pseudo-Arcadius mentions the *προοίμιον* of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* he does not provide any information to suggest that the *προοίμιον* contained any general accentuation rules.⁵⁴ An indication that the general precepts in Philoponus’ epitome are due to Philoponus himself could be that right after these general rules and before the beginning of the accentuation rules for nominals we read:

6.34-7.3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἐπὶ ποίας συλλαβῆς ἔδει <τὸν τόνον> τιθέναι. πολλῆς δὲ οὔσης <τῆς> τούτου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἡμῖν Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ

⁵⁴ The relevant passage (2.12-5) is cited on p. 36.

Καθόλου παρέδωκε πραγματεία, ὀλίγα ἐξ αὐτῶν, τὰ χρειωδέστερα, συντόμως ἐκλεξάμενοι παραθήσομεν, ὡς εὐχερεστέραν εἶναι τοῖς στίζειν ἐθέλουσι τὴν τούτου μάθησιν.⁵⁵ ('this is enough for those who need to know on which syllable the accent should be placed. Although Herodian in his treatise *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* has provided an extensive doctrine, we will select and present briefly the most important of it, so that it is easier for those who want to learn to mark accents').

The future tense *παραθήσομεν* suggests that Philoponus will from now on provide an epitome of Herodian's accentuation treatise.

One of the reasons why Philoponus' Epitome is significant is because it preserves quotations from ancient authors exemplifying the use of words listed as examples in the accentuation rules. The quotations are also preserved in the palimpsest, but omitted in Pseudo-Arcadius and the parchment.

The accentuation of nominals is followed by sections on verbs (*περὶ ῥημάτων*), participles (*περὶ μετοχῶν*), 'articles'⁵⁶ (*περὶ ἄρθρων*), pronouns (*περὶ ἀντωνυμιῶν*), prepositions (*περὶ προθέσεων*), adverbs (*περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων*), and conjunctions (*περὶ συνδέσμων*). The order in which the accentuation rules for these parts of speech appear in Philoponus' epitome is parallel to that of Pseudo-Arcadius.⁵⁷

2.2.1.2 *Palimpsest fragment from books 5-7 of the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

The palimpsest consists of ten folios of the codex Hist. gr. 10 of the National Library of Austria (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*).⁵⁸ The upper script, from the turn of

⁵⁵ The notes in Xenis' critical apparatus are as follows: ἔδει tolerandum videtur; malim δεῖ τὸν τόνον add. Bloch πολλῆς Bloch: πολλὰ AV οὔσης A: ὄντα V τῆς addidi διδασκαλίας A: διδασκαλία V Ἡρωδιανὸς V: Ἡροδιανὸς A ὀλίγα V (conl. Lentz 11, 7): ὀλίγα δὲ A

⁵⁶ On the term ἄρθρα see footnote 22 above.

⁵⁷ The description of book 18 in the Table of Contents preceding Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome announces the treatment of the pronouns before articles, but in the book itself articles precede pronouns.

⁵⁸ Hunger (1967), 1.

the 12th and 13th centuries, offers the *Vita* of John Chrysostom by Symeon Metaphrastes.⁵⁹ The fragments that are related to books 5-7 of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* are found in folios 1-8, 24 and 25, and are dated to the first half of the 10th century.⁶⁰ The first quarter of folio 6 *recto* is dedicated to nominals ending in -ιος. After a gap the text resumes with nominals ending in -οος, followed by a section on numerals ending in -πλοῦς.⁶¹ Folio 6 *verso* contains ordinals ending in -ος and a section on words ending in -υος. The first third of folio 3 *recto* contains a section on nominals in -ωος, while folio 3 *verso* has a section about nominals in -αιος. Folio 1 *recto* and *verso* deals with nominals ending in -ακος. Folio 8 *recto* and *verso* are about nominals in -αλος, while the latter also has a section on nominals in -ελος. In folio 5 *recto* and *verso* we read about nominals ending in -ηλος, and in the latter there is also a section on nominals in -ιλος. Folio 4 *recto* and *verso* contain a part about nominals in -μος. Folios 24 *recto* and *verso*, and 2 *recto* and *verso*, deal with nominals in -voς. In folio 7 *recto* and *verso* there is a section about nominals in -ερvoς, while the latter contains also a section on nominals ending in -ηvoς. Finally, folio 25 *recto* deals with the nominals in -αυvoς, and 25 *verso* with nominals in -voς.

Hunger appears to believe that the fragments of this palimpsest are parts of the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, not an abridgement.⁶² Despite the fact that the

⁵⁹ Hunger (1967), 1.

⁶⁰ Hunger (1967), 2; Gamillscheg (2009), 104.

⁶¹ Hunger (1967), 15-6.

⁶² Hunger (1967), 30.

palimpsest seems to have been more extensive⁶³ than the other extant epitomes both in the number of examples cited and in the quotations of ancient authors, still some signs of shortening (e.g. καὶ ἄλλα κτλ.), and the fact that the palimpsest, in spite of its longer lists of examples, does not include all the examples provided in the various other available sources, suggest that the palimpsest cannot be the original work of Herodian.⁶⁴ The following pairs of parallel passages illustrate that the palimpsest cites a larger number of examples than Pseudo-Arcadius, but does not contain all the examples of Pseudo-Arcadius:

(1a) *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) 6^r ἐξῆς ῥητέον περὶ τῶν εἰς οὐκ καθαρὸν ληγόντων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς [...] ταῦτα δὲ σύνθετα ὄντα πολλά ἐστὶν παροξύτονα, τὰ δὲ καὶ προπαροξυνόμενα ὡς ἔχει τὸ θυοσκόος, κεμαδοσσόος, (one illegible word), κερατοξόος, βοηθόος, λουτροχόος, οἰνοχόος, τὸ δὲ (one illegible word) προπαροξύνεται, καὶ πρόχοος (προθοος⁶⁵ Cod.), ἐπήκοος, μελανόχροος, δυσήκοος, ὀξύηκοος, μελανόχροος (!)⁶⁶, λειριόχροος καὶ ἄλλα [...]

(1b) Ps.-Arcad. 74.7 – 75.2: Ἐξαιρέτως τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῷ Ο μόνῳ παραλήγοντα προπαροξύνονται. τὰ πολλὰ δὲ σύνθετα παροξύτόνά τε καὶ προπαροξύτονα. καὶ παροξύτονα μὲν θυοσκόος λαοσσόος βροτοσσόος, προπαροξύτονα δὲ πρόχοος δυσήκοος. νῦν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν διαληψόμεθα.

(2a) *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) 6^v: ἐπειδήπερ τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ὀνόματα, λέγω δὲ τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καὶ τάξιν δηλοῦντα βαρύνεσθαι ἤθελεν ὑπεσταλμένης τῆς διὰ τὸ στος παραγωγῆς· πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, τέταρτος, πέμπτος, ἕκτος, ἑβδομος, ἔνατος, δέκατος· ὁμοτόνως καὶ τὸ ὄγδοος ἐξεφέρετο. ἐφυλάξατο δὲ ὁ κανὼν τὴν διὰ τοῦ στος παραγωγὴν διὰ τοσαῦτα· εἰκοστός, τριακοστός, τεσσαρεκοστός καὶ ὅσα οὕτως παρῆκται ἐπ' ἀριθμοῦ

(2b) Ps.-Arcad. 75.10 – 76.3: τὸ δὲ ὄγδοος εἰ καὶ ἐπίθετον προπαροξύνεται, ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς ΟΣ τακτικὰ βαρύνεται, ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν εἰς ΣΤΟΣ, ἑβδομος ὄγδοος ἔνατος

⁶³ For evidence that the palimpsest is more extensive than our Epitome and other sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see Hunger (1967), 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30.

⁶⁴ Cf. Dyck (1993), 780-1.

⁶⁵ The word is not accented in Hunger.

⁶⁶ I reproduce Hunger's exclamation mark.

δέκατος. τὸ δὲ εἰκοστός τριακοστός καὶ τὰλλα ὀξύνεται.

(3a) *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) 6^v τὰ εἰς ωος λήγοντα καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενα τῷ ω καὶ ι ἐπιθετικὰ ὑπάρχοντα προπερισπᾶται [...] λαπῶος, κερδῶος, Ἀργῶος, λαγῶος, ταλῶος, Γελῶος, παστῶος, μητρῶος, πατρῶος, Ἀχελῶος

(3b) Ps.-Arcad. 76.9 – 78.2: Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενα τῷ Ω μετὰ Ι προσγεγραμμένου προπερισπᾶται πατρῶος ἡρῶος Ἀχελῶος αἰδῶος·

(4a) *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 3^v, l. 24 Πᾶν εἰς ος λήγον καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενον τῇ αι διφθόγγῳ, εἰ ἀπὸ ὀξυνομένου θηλυκοῦ γίγνοιτο, προπερισπᾶσθαι θέλει [...] ἀρχαῖος, προκατάρχει γὰρ τὸ ἀρχή ... κορυφαῖος, κορυφή, ἀστεροπαῖος, ἀμοιβαῖος, ἀμεριμναῖος (?). Ἴβυκος, πομπή, πομπαῖος· Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, τροπή, τροπαῖος·

(4b) Ps.-Arcad. 78.6-12: Πᾶν εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῇ ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενον, εἰ ἀπὸ ὀξυτονουμένου θηλυκοῦ γένοιτο, προπερισπᾶται ἀρχή ἀρχαῖος, ἀλκή ἀλκαῖος, κορυφή κορυφαῖος. τὸ μέντοι ἐπιπόλαιος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιπολῆς παρῆκται, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπιπολάζω·

In the following pair of parallels Pseudo-Arcadius provides us with more examples:

(5a) *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) 6^r ταῦτα μὲν ἔφαμεν παροξύνεσθαι. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἀπλόος, διπλόος, τριπλόος καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ σύνθετα, ἐν τῇ εἰς ους καταλήξει ἐροῦμεν. τὰ μέντοι κύρια, εἰ καὶ σπάνια εὐρέθη, προπαροξύνεται ὥσπερ ἔχει τό· Σίγγοός ἐστὶ δὲ πόλις, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος περιηγήσει Εὐρώπης

(5b) Ps.-Arcad. 75.3-10: Τὰ ὥσπερ ἐντελῇ τῶν εἰς ΠΛΟΥΣ ληγόντων ἀπλᾶ ὄντα παροξύνονται· διπλόος τριπλόος ἀπλόος. τὸ δὲ πρωτόπλοος καὶ ἀλίπλοος προπαροξύνεται, ὅτι μὴ ἀπλᾶ. τὸ δὲ ἀθρόος παροξύτονον τὸ ἅμα σημαίνει· τὸ δὲ προπαροξύτονον τὸ ἄφωνον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΟΣ κύρια προπαροξύνεται· Σίστοος Πείροος Ἄθοος ὁ καὶ Ἀθόως.

Coming back to the comparison of the palimpsest with the other direct sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, the palimpsest is closer to Pseudo-Arcadius and the parchment codex than to Philoponus, because it arranges the nominals according to their

terminations, unlike Philoponus. The palimpsest is, however, closer to Philoponus in its quotations from literature, which exemplify the use of words given as examples in the accentuation rules. These observations need to be taken into account in trying to visualise the character of the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.⁶⁷

2.2.1.3 The Epitome of book 5 of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* in the parchment codex P. ANT. 2. 67 from Antinoöpolis

This fourth-century parchment codex provides us with part of an epitome of book 5, and more specifically deals with the accentuation of words in -διος, -ωνιος, -νιος, -κιος, and -ριος.⁶⁸ The comparison of the parchment with the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (GG iii.ii 18.2-17) and with other surviving sources for Herodian had suggested in the first instance that the parchment contains a fragment of book 5 of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.⁶⁹

Wouters⁷⁰ was right in thinking that this parchment was an abridgement of book 5 of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* and not just an epitome which shared a common source with Herodian, as Barns⁷¹ believed after pointing out the close relationship and correspondence of this fragment with Lentz's edition of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, which he identified with the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. Barns presupposed that if this parchment was an epitome of the text reconstructed by Lentz, all its examples ought to have been included in Lentz's edition.

⁶⁷ See also the comparison of the parchment codex with the other three abridgements in the following section.

⁶⁸ The parchment was edited by Barns – Zilliacus (1960), II and then by Wouters (1975-6), and appears also in Wouters (1979) in a briefer form.

⁶⁹ See Wouters (1975-6), 609, 612; (1979), 220-1, 223.

⁷⁰ Wouters (1975-6), 612; (1979), 220, 223.

⁷¹ Barns - Zilliacus (1960), II, 50-1.

But Lentz's edition cannot be taken to equal Herodian's original work, and thus the omission of certain examples in Lentz does not in any way demonstrate that these examples did not appear in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. Barns' assumption that Lentz's text equals Herodian's work led him to form another invalid argument against considering the parchment to be an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. Barns observed that in Lentz's text the words in -ιος deriving from words in ξ, ρ, and ψ are all treated together, while in the parchment only examples deriving from words in -ξ and -ρ are dealt with.⁷² Even if the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* treated its material as it appears in Lentz's text, this does not mean that the epitomator would deal with his source's material in exactly the same way. This is also illustrated in our Epitome, where the composer deals only with the examples that derive from words ending in -ξ and -ρ: ὅσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ξ ἢ Ρ γίνεται διὰ τοῦ Ι βραχέος (70.1). In any case the fact that the text of the parchment is interrupted soon after the treatment of the words in -ιος that are formed on the basis of words in -ρ, leaves open the possibility that words in -ιος deriving from words in -ψ were afterwards dealt with.

That this parchment is an abridgment of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* and not just a text which shared a common source with Herodian can be shown through the comparison of this fragment with our Epitome, with which it shares similarities in the order in which the material is presented, in wording, and in the use of the same examples. Lines 16-18 of side II of the parchment deal with the termination -διος, which appears in

⁷² It should be noted that although line 13 (side 2) announces only the treatment of words in -ιος deriving from words in -ξ, in lines 18-19 we read examples of words in -ιος that are formed on the basis of words ending in -ρ.

our Epitome at 68.5 - 69.2. Both texts give the same exception: in the parchment we read διὸ σημειούμεθα τὸ ἐρωδιὸς ὀξυνόμενον,⁷³ while our Epitome has σεσημείωται τὸ ἐρωδιὸς ὀξυνόμενον. After this, both texts deal with the termination –ωνιος, and here we find three common examples: Κιθαιρώνιος, Μαραθώνιος and Ἀπολλώνιος. Although these are not consecutive in the parchment as they are in our Epitome, they appear in the same order as in our Epitome. Despite the fact that each epitomator, having to make a selection of examples, did not always choose the same examples as other epitomators, the fact that common examples appear in the same order in the epitomes suggests that several epitomators chose to quote examples from a bigger list of examples in Herodian's original work. The treatment of words in –ωνιος is followed in both texts by material on words ending in –νιος. In this part, both texts make special mention of the word Κλονίος, which is paroxytone as it is a proper name (parchment: Κλονίος κύριον παροξυνόμενον, side II, lines 26-7 / our Epitome: τὸ δὲ Κλονίος παροξύνεται ὡς κύριον 69.7). The following two passages I will discuss have similarities both in phrasing and in use of common examples, which appear in the same order. In the parchment (side II, lines 28-31) we find:

καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ξ ληγόντων εἰς κ⁷⁴ διὰ τοῦ ιος παρῆκται, συνεσταλμένου τοῦ ι, προπαροξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ κυρίου διαστολή τις γένοιτο ἐν τρισυλλάβοις τριβράχεσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ Φρυγίος καὶ Φλογίος ('and all words in κ derived from words ending in –ξ, by means of –ιος, the ι being short, are proparoxytone except when, in the trisyllabic words with three short syllables, there is a distinction with the proper name, as in Φρύγιος and Φλογίος.'⁷⁵),

⁷³ I have normalised the orthography here.

⁷⁴ The rule seems to be missing something like ἢ γ after εἰς κ, because among the examples we have Φρυγίος and Φλογίος.

⁷⁵ The translation is that of Wouters (1975-6), 608; (1979), 219.

while in our Epitome (70.1-4) we read:

ὅσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ξ ἢ Ρ γίνεται διὰ τοῦ Ι βραχέος, προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ διαστολή κυρίου γένοιτο ἐν τρισυλλάβοις καὶ τριβράχεσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ Φρυγίος Φλογίος ('all words derived from words ending in -ξ or -ρ through short Ι are proparoxytone except when there is a distinction with the proper name in the trisyllabic words with three short syllables, as in Φρύγιος and Φλογίος').

Apart from the two common examples Φρυγίος Φλογίος found in the same order in both the above passages, a few words later there are some more common examples appearing in the same order: Θρηϊκίος, Κιλίκιος, Φαίακίος (parchment: side II, line 32; our Epitome: 70.5). Moreover, both texts draw attention to the example Ἰλλυριός as not being an exception to the rule (parchment: side II, line 34-5; our Epitome: 70.6-7). Finally, after the section just analysed, both texts deal with the ἐθνικὰ ἢ τοπικά that end in -ίος and are proparoxytone (parchment: side II, lines 35-6; our Epitome: 70.8-10). In this section we find the example ἐνδάπιος in both texts (parchment: side II, line 36; our Epitome: 70.10).

Wouters concludes that this fragment is an epitome, and not part of the original and full *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, on the basis of four indications. First of all, Theognostus⁷⁶ often provides us with more examples than the parchment.⁷⁷ This by itself is not a sufficient piece of evidence, because Theognostus might have added his own examples to those of Herodian or he might even at the same time be deriving material from other sources apart from Herodian.⁷⁸ Another indication that this is an epitome is that it has no quotations from ancient authors as the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

⁷⁶ See the discussion of Theognostus pp. 136-9.

⁷⁷ Wouters (1975-6), 609-12; (1979), 221, 223.

⁷⁸ For a more extensive discussion see Wouters (1975-6), 612; (1979), 223.

had.⁷⁹ The evidence we have to believe that the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* had citations from authors comes from the preserved quotations in both Philoponus' epitome and the palimpsest of books 5-7, and from the phrase 2.7-9 ἡ τῆς χρήσεως αὐτῶν (sc. παραδειγμάτων) πολλή παράθεσις καταλέλειπται τῷ συγγραφεῖ ('the many citations of their use (of the examples) has been left out by the author (of the epitome)') in our Epitome's preface. A third argument is the transition from the adjectives in -κιος to those in -ριος without announcement.⁸⁰ From the surviving sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* we know that Herodian announced his transitions. To end with, the word προσέθηκεν ('he added'), in line 25 of side II of this fragment indicates that the parchment was an abridgement of a more extensive work.⁸¹ Nonetheless, the comparison of our Epitome with the parchment shows that the latter was less extensively abridged.⁸² The parchment is closer to Pseudo-Arcadius and the palimpsest than to Philoponus, in that it arranges nominals according to their terminations. In its omission of quotations from ancient authors, the parchment is closer to Pseudo-Arcadius than to the palimpsest or Philoponus.

2.2.1.4 *Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome*

The value of our Epitome, which is traditionally attributed to Arcadius, lies in the fact that, apart from being a witness to the now lost *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, its author retained the order of the books as this appeared in the original, and provided a preface to explain his method of excerpting Herodian. It can be inferred that the order of

⁷⁹ See Hunger (1967), 1-33.

⁸⁰ See Wouters (1975-6), 611, 613; (1979), 222, 224.

⁸¹ Wouters (1975-6), 613; (1979), 224

⁸² See also Wouters (1975-6), 610, 613; (1979), 221, 224.

the books preserves that of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* on the basis of comparison with the arrangement of the material in the palimpsest and the parchment codex. The following sections will deal with the authorship of our Epitome, its dating, interpolations or doubtful sections within it, grammatical terminology and concepts. The manuscript tradition and the previous editions of our text will be treated in Part Two of this thesis. The epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian will be dealt with in the Notes on the epitomator's preface.

a) The authorship

In the history of ancient Greek scholarship, three grammarians have been credited with the authorship of our Epitome: Theodosius of Alexandria, Arcadius and Aristodemus.⁸³ The attribution of the authorship to Theodosius and Arcadius is based on indications in the manuscripts of our Epitome, while the ascription to Aristodemus is due to an entry in the *Suda*.

Codices *Hauniensis* regius 1965 (A), *Matritensis* 4575 = 32⁸⁴ (M), and *Baroccianus* 179 (O) present Theodosius as the author of the Epitome. More specifically, the above manuscripts begin with the phrase *Πρόλογος οἶμαι Θεοδοσίου εἰς τοὺς κανόνες τῆς Καθολικῆς Προσωδίας τοῦ σοφοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ* ('I think this is Theodosius' prologue to the rules of the *Καθολικὴ Προσωδία* of the learned Herodian'). The fact that the composer of the heading uses the verb *οἶμαι* suggests that he did not really know who

⁸³ For bibliography on these grammarians see Kaster (1988), 244, 366-7, 385; and further on Theodosius see Dickey (2007), 83-4.

⁸⁴ Dyck (1993), 776 refers to this manuscript as *Matritensis* 38, following Iriarte (1769) 141-4. This manuscript was at some point changed to N-38 and today is *Matritensis* 32 = 4575 in De Andrés (1987), 55. I am indebted to Mr Nigel Wilson for unravelling the details of the changes in the shelf-marks made by the Madrid Library.

the author of this epitome was. Moreover, in the same codices, before the beginning of Book 1, we read: Κανόνες τῆς Καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ, οὓς περιέτεμε Θεοδοσίος ὁ γραμματικὸς φυλάξας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων ('Rules of the Καθολικὴ προσωδία of the most learned Herodian, which the grammarian Theodosius cut down preserving the number of the books').

A piece of evidence from the fifteenth century, ascribing the authorship to Theodosius, comes from a statement of Constantine Lascaris surviving in codex *Matritensis* 4689 (139) under the title περὶ τόνων εἰδικῶς τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου:⁸⁵

ἐπεὶ ἡ τοιαύτη πραγματεία οὐ μόνον δύσκολος τυγχάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσκολώτατα εὐρίσκεται διὰ τὰς δυστυχίας τοῦ γένους. πολλὰ γὰρ πονήσας, μόλις εὔρον τὸ περὶ τόνων⁸⁶ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἐν βίβλῳ παλαιᾷ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος τῆς ἐν ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην πραγματείαν ἐκεῖνος συνέτεμε ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης προσωδίας τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Ἡρωδιανοῦ, οὗ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων εἴκοσι ὄντων ἐφύλαξεν ('Since this treatise is both difficult and is very difficult to find because of the ill fortune of the nation (i.e. the Fall of Constantinople). After a lot of effort I only just found Theodosius' *Περὶ τόνων* in an old book in the monastery of the Saviour on the promontory of Messina. And he cut down this treatise from the big prosody (i.e. the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*) of the very learned Herodian, whose number of books, being twenty, he preserved').

This reminds us of the phrase Κανόνες τῆς Καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ, οὓς περιέτεμε Θεοδοσίος ὁ γραμματικὸς φυλάξας τὸν

⁸⁵ See also Iriarte (1769), 191; De Andrés (1987), 248.

⁸⁶ Lascaris probably does not mean the work that today we call *Περὶ τόνου* and is attributed to Theodosius, but Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that in another passage in the manuscript *Matritensis* 4689 (139) he says: τὸ περὶ τόνων τὴν μεγάλην φημὶ προσωδίαν, thus using again the phrase *περὶ τόνων* to indicate τὴν μεγάλην προσωδίαν (i.e. the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*). The title *Περὶ τόνων* is used not to indicate a specific work, but to refer generally to a work on accentuation. Probably Lascaris felt that since the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* was the most famous work of Herodian on accentuation, someone reading τὸ περὶ τόνων would immediately think of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, in its original form or as an epitome.

ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων found before the beginning of Book 1 in manuscripts MOA.

Lascaris writes in his letter to Jacob Ximenes, which appears in codex *Matritensis* 4689

(139) before the shortened Book 16 of our epitome:

καὶ τὸ περὶ τόνων τὴν μεγάλην φημὶ προσωδίαν ἐκείνῳ ἐπέγραψεν (*scil.* Ἡρωδιανός) ἐν βιβλίοις εἴκοσι, βίβλον πολύστιχον, ἣν μετὰ ταῦτα Θεοδοσίος ἐπιτεμὼν τὸν τε ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων τό τε μῆκος ἐφύλαξε, διὰ τὸ μὴ οἶόν τε βραχίστην ἐπιτομὴν τὴν βίβλον δέξασθαι ('and (Herodian) dedicated to him (i.e. Marcus Aurelius) the *Περὶ τόνων*, I mean the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, in twenty books, a work consisting of many lines, of which afterwards Theodosius while epitomizing kept the number of the books and the length, because the work could not withstand very concise epitomizing').

Lascaris thus regarded Theodosius as the author of the epitome.

Theodosius of Alexandria lived around the fourth or fifth century and he is the author of the *Κανόνες εἰσαγωγικοὶ περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων* ('rules on the inflection of nouns and verbs'). He is often referred to as *τεχνικός* by Choeroboscus, who composed *Scholia to Theodosius' Canones*. Johannes Charax also composed a commentary on *Theodosius' Canones*, which today survives in an abridgement by Sophronius. Theodosius has been regarded by some scholars as the composer of our Epitome and also of a treatise *Περὶ προσωδιῶν*, which is edited as a supplement to the *Τέχνη γραμματικὴ* attributed to Dionysius Thrax. Two short treatises entitled *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν βαρυτόνων* and *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν ὀξύτόνων* are also attributed to Theodosius. The works *Περὶ γραμματικῆς*, *Περὶ διαλέκτων* and *Περὶ τόνου* are considered spurious.

Codices *Parisinus Graecus* 2603 (B) and *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 (C) attribute the authorship to Arcadius. Codex B bears the title *Ἀρκαδίου γραμματικὴ*, while codex C has the inscription *Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνου τῶν ὀκτὼ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως τῶν προσωδιῶν, καὶ περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ ἐγκλινομένων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πνευμάτων καὶ*

χρόνων ('Arcadius' *On the accent of the eight parts of speech, and On the invention of prosodies, and On enclitics and ἐγκλινόμενα*; in which also *On breathings and quantities*').⁸⁷

Arcadius of Antioch lived somewhere between the second and sixth century. According to the *Suda* (α 3948, Ἀρκάδιος) he composed three works: *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*, *Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* and *Ὀνοματικὸν θαυμάσιον*. The fact that Arcadius is cited in the epitome of the *Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium provides us with a *terminus ante quem* of the sixth century. The fact that the two Paris manuscripts of our Epitome attribute its authorship to Arcadius perhaps suggests that Arcadius was known to be interested in prosody and to have lived later than Herodian.⁸⁸

According to the *Suda* (α 3915, Ἀριστόδημος) Aristodemus authored an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*: ἐπιτομὴν τῆς καθόλου Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἔγραψε πρὸς Δαναόν ('he wrote an epitome of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* dedicated to Danaus'). Galland identified the epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* ascribed to Aristodemus with our Epitome.⁸⁹ The reference to Danaus, if he is to be identified with the grammarian named Danaus (c. 348 - c. 390), could help to date Aristodemus to the second half of the fourth century.⁹⁰

Modern scholars have generally considered it unlikely that Arcadius is the author of our epitome, mainly because the manuscripts B and C are the least dependable of the five manuscripts. Galland found it odd that the two Paris manuscripts have Arcadius'

⁸⁷ See also the discussion of this phrase in the section on Book 20 of our Epitome p. 108, and in the description of codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 p. 154.

⁸⁸ Cf. Kaster (1988), 244.

⁸⁹ Galland (1882a), 14.

⁹⁰ On the view that Danaus could be the dedicatee of an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* by Aristodemus see Kaster (1983), 157; Id. (1988), 267, 385.

name, given that their common source ultimately goes back to a manuscript that bears Theodosius' name.⁹¹ The attribution of the authorship to Arcadius by the two Paris manuscripts could be, according to Galland, the result of the ill-founded suggestion by a scribe.⁹² Moreover, Galland⁹³ believed that Arcadius' name was falsely introduced to *Parisinus Graecus* 2603, under the influence of what was written in *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 (Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνου τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως τῶν προσφδιῶν καὶ περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ ἐγκλινομένων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πνευμάτων καὶ χρόνων). Geppert believed that the title Ἀρκαδίου γραμματική contained in *Parisinus Graecus* 2603 (B) could be due to a later scribe.⁹⁴ Egenolff formed the hypothesis that the title in B could be specifically due to the scribe of B.⁹⁵

Against the attribution of our Epitome to Theodosius, Galland points out that if it were by Theodosius, Theodosius would have mentioned it in one of his other works, as would Choeroboscus, who studied Theodosius' works and wrote a commentary on Theodosius' *Canones*.⁹⁶ Galland also thought that the mention of Theodosius' name in the παλαιὰ βίβλος⁹⁷ might have been added by a later grammarian after the name of the real author had been omitted and Book 20 had been lost, and that the epitome was probably attributed to Theodosius by later grammarians because he was well-known for his books

⁹¹ Galland (1882a), 14. Despite Galland's mistaken view that the common source of B and C, π, derives from O, π does indeed derive from a manuscript which attributes the authorship to Theodosius (see the chapter on the Manuscript Tradition).

⁹² Galland (1882c), 30.

⁹³ Galland (1882a), 15.

⁹⁴ Geppert (1873), 253; see also Galland (1882a), 13 and Egenolff (1887), 6.

⁹⁵ Egenolff (1887), 6.

⁹⁶ Galland (1882c), 30; see also Cohn (1895-6), 1155.

⁹⁷ All the surviving manuscripts of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome ultimately go back to a παλαιὰ βίβλος. Constantine Lascaris mentioned in codex *Matritensis* 4689 that this παλαιὰ βίβλος was preserved in the monastery of San Salvatore in Messina.

on grammar and accentuation.⁹⁸ Preller argued that despite the fact that the attribution of the epitome to Theodosius is supported by the best manuscripts (MOA) of the epitome, the ascription to Theodosius could be due to the scribe of their common source.⁹⁹ Another reason why Galland argued against Theodosius' authorship was that both the treatise *Περὶ τόνου* attributed to Theodosius and Philoponus' Epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* begin with the treatment of the monosyllables, whereas our Epitome does not deal with them until Book 14.¹⁰⁰ The lack of sufficient evidence in favour of Aristodemus as author of our Epitome was the reason why Egenolff, despite considering it likely that the author was Aristodemus, did not exclude the possibility that Theodosius is the author.¹⁰¹

Hiller argued that the reason why two different grammarians' names appear in the manuscripts could be that Theodosius composed an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* and that later Arcadius created on the basis of that an even shorter epitome, which is what survives today.¹⁰² Another explanation for the mention of two different grammarians in the manuscripts of our epitome was suggested by Geppert, who thought that Theodosius prepared an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, and that the first nineteen books of this epitome have survived, whereas Book 20 was either not excerpted or was lost.¹⁰³ According to Geppert, Arcadius copied Theodosius' epitome and

⁹⁸ Galland (1882*a*), 16.

⁹⁹ Preller (1840), 13; Galland (1882*a*), 12.

¹⁰⁰ Galland (1882*c*), 30.

¹⁰¹ Egenolff (1887), 5, 6.

¹⁰² Hiller (1866), 33; Galland (1882*a*), 20.

¹⁰³ Geppert (1873), 252; see also Galland (1882*a*), 13.

supplied an epitome of Book 20 by some unknown author that was lost in some of the manuscripts.¹⁰⁴

In the face of this difficult issue M. Schmidt did not feel that he could determine authorship, and employed the neutral title Ἐπιτομή τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ. Lentz considered best that our Epitome should be cited under Arcadius' name and did not approve of the omission of Arcadius' name on the title page of Schmidt's edition.¹⁰⁵ Götting, on the other hand, attributed the authorship of our Epitome to Arcadius and considered Aristodemus the author of another lost epitome of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας.¹⁰⁶

In my view, the attribution of the authorship to Arcadius loses ground because of the lack of authority of the manuscripts B and C. I agree with Galland in that if the Epitome were by Theodosius, either Theodosius or Choeroboscus would have mentioned this in their works. I also share Preller's view that the ascription of the authorship to Theodosius by the best manuscripts (MOA) is not a sufficient reason for thinking that Theodosius is the author, because they all go back to a common source which could be responsible for the attribution to Theodosius. Galland's argument against the authorship by Theodosius on the basis of the different place of the treatment of the monosyllables in the Περί τόνου and Philoponus' Epitome on the one hand, and in our Epitome on the other cannot be taken into account, because the Περί τόνου is today considered to be

¹⁰⁴ Geppert 1873), 252; see also Galland (1882a), 13.

¹⁰⁵ Lentz (1867-70), CXXXIII.

¹⁰⁶ Götting (1835), 11.

spurious.¹⁰⁷ Hiller's view that Arcadius created an epitome of Theodosius' epitome and Geppert's view that Theodosius excerpted the first nineteen books of the epitome and that Book 20 was added by Arcadius are far too speculative. There is insufficient evidence for Galland's view that the author is Aristodemus: even though the prologue of our Epitome suggests that there is an addressee (2.17-8 ὥσπερ ἐζήτησας, 2.19 αὐτὸς ἐπικρινεῖς), there is no inscription or mention of the name Δαναός. The authorship of our Epitome cannot be decided with certainty. Modern scholarship usually refers conventionally to the author of our Epitome with the name Pseudo-Arcadius.¹⁰⁸

b) Dating

We have no very safe indication of the date of our Epitome. It is usually dated to the fourth and fifth centuries, but this is based on the dating of the grammarians to whom the Epitome has been attributed. There are three main reasons why the dating of our Epitome is difficult: (i) The fact that authors, grammarians and other learned people in late antiquity tried to imitate the writing of classical authors complicates the dating of post-classical works.¹⁰⁹ (ii) The epitomator, in abbreviating Herodian's original, may not have added material of his own, thus preventing us from drawing any conclusions on the basis of his language. The only clear chance we get to see the epitomator's language is his Preface, where he writes in formal Greek, although there are some awkward expressions (e.g. 2.5 μὴ ἀνεπιστήμονα ἔχειν). (iii) The fact that the text is very technical makes it difficult to distinguish any linguistic features characteristic of a certain period of time.

¹⁰⁷ Dickey (2007), 83.

¹⁰⁸ See also Wouters (1975-6), 602.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Horrocks (2010), 141.

c) Interventions, interpolations and transpositions: doubtful sections in our Epitome
Book 15

There are three problems relating to Book 15. Firstly, the description of this book in the Table of Contents; secondly, the two sections on enclitics transmitted at the end of this book; and finally, the authenticity of the treatment of the oblique cases.

a) The description in the Table of Contents:

At the end of the treatment of the oblique cases in Book 15 of Lentz's edition of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* (430.20), one reads τὰ περὶ τόνου τῶν κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμῶν ἐκλέλοιπεν. Lentz made this remark because he thought that the κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί mentioned in the description of Book 15 in the Table of Contents accompanying Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome were the numerals, but the numerals are not dealt with in Book 15 of Pseudo-Arcadius.¹¹⁰ The relevant sentence in the Table of Contents to Pseudo-Arcadius reads: τὸ δέκατον πέμπτον τὰς πλαγίας τῶν ὀνομάτων κανονίζει, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ κλίσιν ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ θέμα εἰρημένους (3.18-20). Scholars have disagreed about the meaning of the terms κατὰ κλίσιν ἀριθμοί and κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί. K.E.A. Schmidt,¹¹¹ Lentz¹¹² and Hiller¹¹³ recognized that behind the phrase τοὺς κατὰ κλίσιν ἀριθμοὺς the grammatical numbers (i.e. singular, dual, plural) were meant, but thought that the phrase τοὺς κατὰ θέμα εἰρημένους ἀριθμοὺς meant that the numerals were discussed. M. Schmidt, however, considered it incorrect to assume that there existed a discussion of numerals in Book 15.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Lentz (1863), 111.

¹¹¹ Schmidt K.E.A. (1861), 323-330.

¹¹² Lentz (1863), 111.

¹¹³ Hiller (1866), 25.

¹¹⁴ Schmidt M. (1860b), 513.

According to the Table of Contents, one of the things dealt with in Book 15 of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* was the accentuation of the oblique cases of nouns and adjectives. In practice, Book 15 of the epitome also contains a treatment of the dual and plural nominatives and the singular, dual and plural vocatives. This is to be expected because a general treatise on accents such as the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* needed to treat all forms in the paradigm. What has been less clear is how exactly the announcement in the Table of Contents relates to the content of Book 15 in Pseudo-Arcadius, and whether some of the announced content is missing, as Lentz thought.

In considering what Herodian's doctrine on numerals might have looked like in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, Lentz cites five fragments of other Herodianic works. The first of these comes from Theognostus' *Canones* (Cramer 1835–7, II 134.3-17), and names Herodian's *Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων* as a source:

(1) Τὰ εἰς εἰς μονοσύλλαβα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενα σπάνιά ἐστιν· ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ δεῖς ὀξύτονον, ὅπερ αἰετὶ μετὰ τῆς οὐ ἀποφάσεως, ἢ τῆς μὴ ἀπαγορεύσεως σύνεστιν, οὐδεῖς καὶ μηδεῖς· ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὸ κλείς θηλυκόν, καὶ τὸ εἷς ἀρσενικόν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ περισπώμενον ὑγιῶς· αἱ γὰρ εἰς εἰς λέξεις ὀξυνόμεναι, καὶ ἔχουσαι εἰς ἐν οὐδέτερον μετοχαί εἰσιν· οἶον, τιθείς, τιθέν· νυγείς, νυγέν· βαρυνόμεναι δὲ ὀνόματά εἰσιν· οἶον, τιμήεις· ἐρόεις· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ εἷς εἶχεν οὐδέτερον τὸ ἐν, ἐχρήν βαρύνεσθαι· οὐκ ἦν δὲ τοῦτο πῶς διὰ τὴν μονοσυλλαβίαν· ἀναγκαίως περισπᾶται, ἵνα δυνάμει βαρύνηται· ἀμέλει εἰς δισυλλαβίαν μετελθὼν βαρύνεται ἐν τῷ «ὀφθαλμὸς ξεῖς ἐπέκειτο μετώπῳ.» (Hesiod. *Th.* 145.) ἵνα τὴν ὀνομαστικὴν σημασίαν ἀποφῇ· οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς *Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων*. ("The monosyllables ending in the sound 'εις' (i.e. [is]) that are written with the diphthong εἰ are rare; there is the oxytone δεῖς, which always accompanies the negation οὐ or the prohibition μὴ; οὐδεῖς and μηδεῖς; and there is also the feminine κλείς, and the masculine εἷς, meaning the numeral, which is regularly perispomenon. For words ending in εἰς that are oxytone and have their neuter in ἐν are participles, as for example τιθείς τιθέν, νυγείς νυγέν; and when they are recessive they are nominals, as for example τιμήεις, ἐρόεις. Therefore since εἷς had the neuter ἐν, it should have been recessive; but I suppose this was not possible due to its being a monosyllable. It is necessarily perispomenon, so

that it is recessive in force. And indeed when it goes over to being disyllabic it is recessive, as in ὀφθαλμός ἔεις ἐπέκειτο μετώπῳ, in order to show the nominal meaning. Thus Herodian in the Περί μονοσυλλάβων.)

The second passage comes from the *Etymologicum magnum* (91.40-55), and names Herodian's Περί παθῶν as a source:

(2) Ἀμφότεροι: Ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ πρῶτον διδάξω. Τί ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ β τὸ α διδάξω; Ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ἄμφω θέμα ἐστὶν ὡς τὸ δύνω διαφέρει δὲ τὸ ἄμφω τοῦ δύο, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δύο πρῶτην γνῶσιν τίθησι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄμφω ἀναφορὰν ὑπισχνεῖται δυάδος· ὥστε ὅπερ ἐστὶν οἱ δύο, τοῦτό ἐστὶν ἄμφω. Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δύο λαμβάνει ἄρθρου παράθεσιν, οἱ δύο, τῶν δύο· τὸ δὲ ἄμφω οὐ λαμβάνει· οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγομεν οἱ ἄμφω· ἤδη γὰρ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει. Πρῶτον οὖν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἄμφω ἀμφότερος· οἶον, «Ἀμφότεροι μέμασαν» «Ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀρήγετε» εἶτα δυϊκῶς ἀμφοτέρω καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν ἄμφω, κατ' ἑκτασιν τοῦ ο εἰς ω. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν εἶπον, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ πρῶτον θέλω διδάξαι. Ἀμφοτέρω γάρ· εἶτα ἄμφω, κατὰ συγκοπὴν καὶ ἑκτασιν. Οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς Περί παθῶν. (Ἄμφω means ἀμφότεροι, as for example Ἄμφω ὁμῶς φίλοι θυμῶ. Ἀμφότεροι: from the second (i.e. ἀμφότεροι) I will explain the first (i.e. ἄμφω). What does 'from the second I will explain the first' mean? Since ἄμφω is a θέμα like δύνω; but ἄμφω differs from δύνω because δύνω introduces the first mention of the number, while ἄμφω promises reference back to a pair; thus ἄμφω is the same thing as οἱ δύο. This is why δύο can have an article added: οἱ δύο, τῶν δύο. ἄμφω does not have an article, for we do not say οἱ ἄμφω, because it already includes the notion of referring back. Thus firstly from ἄμφω comes ἀμφότερος, as for example Ἀμφότεροι μέμασαν, Ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀρήγετε. Then in the dual ἀμφοτέρω; and with syncope ἄμφω, with a lengthening of ο to ω. This is why I said I wanted to explain the first from the second. For ἀμφοτέρω, then ἄμφω, with syncope and lengthening. Thus Herodian in the Περί παθῶν.)¹¹⁵

In the course of a discussion of the relationship between the forms ἄμφω and ἀμφότεροι, passage (2) comments that both ἄμφω and δύνω are θέματα. This point,

¹¹⁵ As transmitted, the passage purports to derive ἄμφω from ἀμφότεροι, yet also derives ἀμφότερος, and hence ἀμφότεροι, from ἄμφω (Πρῶτον οὖν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἄμφω ἀμφότερος). I assume that something is wrong with the expression Πρῶτον οὖν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἄμφω ἀμφότερος, but this is not our concern here.

which is not obviously relevant to the immediate purposes of the *Etymologicum magnum*, is likely to have featured in the source text, Herodian's *Περὶ παθῶν*. The point will prove important in the following discussion.

The third passage that Lentz quoted comes from Choeroboscus' *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (Cramer 1835–7, II 266.27–267.5):

(3) Τρεῖς: Τὸ περισπώμενον διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου· καὶ ὥφειλεν διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τριῶν ἐστὶν ἡ γενικὴ τῶν πληθυντικῶν, καὶ τρισὶν ἡ δοτικὴ· τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν καὶ δοτικὴν τῶν πληθυντικῶν ἐν τῇ παραληγούσῃ το ι καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῶν πληθυντικῶν ἔχουσι τὸ ι κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, πόλις, πολίων, πόλιες· ὄφις, ὀφίων, ὄφιος· εἰ οὖν τριῶν καὶ τρισὶν, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τρεῖς διὰ τοῦ ι· καὶ λοιπὸν κατὰ κρᾶσιν τοῦ ι καὶ εἰς ι δῆλον ὅτι μακρὸν τρεῖς διὰ τοῦ ι· ὥσπερ πόλιες, πόλις· μάντιες, μάντις· ἀλλὰ λέγει ὁ τεχνικὸς ὅτι ἵνα μὴ συνεμπέσει τὸ τρεῖς ἐπιρρήματι, τούτου χάριν οὐκ ἐγράφει διὰ τοῦ ι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου· ('Τρεῖς: The perispomenon word is written with the diphthong εἰ. It ought to be written with ι, because the genitive plural is τριῶν and the dative τρισὶν; and words that have ι in the penultimate syllable of their genitive and dative plurals also have ι in the penultimate syllable of the nominative plural: as for example πόλις, πολίων, πόλιες; ὄφις, ὀφίων ὄφιος. So if we have τριῶν and τρισὶν, it is clear that (we should also have) τρεῖς, with ι. And then with crasis of ι and εἰ into ι it is clear that τρεῖς, with a long 'i' sound, should be written with ι: as for example πόλιες, πόλις; μάντιες, μάντις.¹¹⁶ But the τεχνικός says that it was not written with ι but with the diphthong εἰ, to prevent it coinciding with the adverb τρεῖς')

In the next passage, Lentz cites an example of what he considers κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί from Herodian's *Περὶ ἱλιακῆς προσῳδίας* (Sch. Hom. *Il.* 2. 557a.¹ (A) = GG iii.ii 35.10-3):

(4) δυοκαίδεκα: Πάμφιλος τρία ποιεῖ καὶ κατὰ παράθεσιν ἀναγινώσκει. ἀφορμὴν δὲ ἔχει ἡ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἀνάγνωσις τὴν ποιητικὴν χρῆσιν, ἥτις τὰ κατὰ παράθεσιν πολλάκις ἐνοῖ, ὡς τὸ πασιμέλουσα (*Od.* μ 70) καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ('δυοκαίδεκα:

¹¹⁶ This section of the passage is odd, because the usual Attic forms are not πόλις and μάντις with long iota, but πόλιες and μάντιες. The problem is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

Pamphilus writes this as three words and takes them to be a juxtaposition.¹¹⁷ The interpretation as a juxtaposition is based on poetic usage, which often makes a unity out of words that are juxtaposed, as in *πασμιέλουσα* and suchlike.)

The last passage that Lentz provides us with comes from the *Etymologicum magnum* (346.15-35) and is a fragment from Herodian's *Περὶ παθῶν*:

(5) Ἐξάκλινον, ἐξάπουν: Ἀττικῶς μὲν ἔξπουν καὶ ἔξκλινον λέγεται, ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ἔξπηχυστί· καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι τῷ κωμικῷ ἔξπουν. Φυλάττουσι γὰρ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει, πεντέμηνον λέγοντες, καί, «ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ» ἡμεῖς δὲ, πεντάμηνον. Ὀκτώπουν ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὀκτάπουν. Εἰ οὖν ἄρα τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀριθμῶν φυλάσσουσι, ὁ δὲ ἕξ ἀριθμὸς τὸ ξ ἔχει, φυλάσσουσι ἄρα τὸ τέλος, ἔξκλινον λέγοντες. Ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐδὲ μίαν λέξιν ἔχομεν εἰς διπλοῦν καταλήγουσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει φυλασσομένην. Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ φυλασσόμεναι ἐν παραθέσει οἷον, «Πῦξ μὲν ἐνίκησα» «Λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας» Εἰ οὖν ἔξπους ἐν συνθέσει, ὀφείλει τρέπεσθαι καὶ μὴ καταλήγειν εἰς διπλοῦν. Ἀνάλογον ὅτι πεφύλακται τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὥς καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ οἷον, ἐξέτης· «Ἐξέτε' ἀδμήτην» καί, «Ἐξάετε δ' ἦνασεν». Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν πλεονασμός, ὥς πλανῶνται τινές. Τὰ εἰς ΚΙΣ ἐπιρρήματα ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ἀποβάλλει τὸ ΚΙΣ· οἷον, ἐπτάκις, ἐπτάμηνος· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπτά ἀριθμοῦ. Τέσσαρες ὁ ἀριθμὸς, τετράκις τὸ ἐπιρρήμα· παρὰ τοῦτο τετράμηνον. Οὕτως οὖν ἑξάκις, ἑξάκλινον, ἐξάπουν. Ἡρωδιανὸς *Περὶ παθῶν*. (Ἐξάκλινον, ἐξάπουν: In Attic ἔξπουν and ἔξκλινον are said, as also in Sophocles ἔξπηχυστί; and in Plato the comic poet ἔξπουν occurs. For they preserve the terminations of numerals in composition, saying πεντέμηνον and ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ. But we say πεντάμηνον. They say ὀκτώπουν, and we ὀκτάπουν. Since then they preserve the terminations of numerals, and the numeral ἕξ has ξ, they keep the termination, saying ἔξκλινον. But it is possible to say about this, that we do not have a single word ending in a double consonant that is preserved in composition. There are some with double consonants that are preserved in juxtaposition, as for example πῦξ μὲν ἐνίκησα, λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας. If then ἔξπους is a compound, it ought to undergo an alteration and not have its penultimate syllable ending in a double consonant. The fact that the termination of the numeral is preserved is regular, as for example ἐξέτης in the poet: ἐξέτε' ἀδμήτην and ἐξάετε δ' ἦνασεν. Thus there is no pleonasm, as some mistakenly believe. The adverbs ending in ΚΙΣ drop ΚΙΣ in composition, as for example ἐπτάκις, ἐπτάμηνος; for the latter does not derive from the numeral ἐπτά.

¹¹⁷ I.e. a phrase that behaves like a compound (now sometimes called a *Zusammenrückung*), rather than a proper compound.

Τέσσαρες is the numeral, τετράκις the adverb; from this comes τετράμηνον. Thus then ἑξάκις, ἑξάκλινον, ἑξάπουν. Herodian in the *Περὶ παθῶν*.)

Lentz is speculating in all the above-mentioned cases in his attempt to reconstruct how the section on the *κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί* in Book 15 might have looked, always considering the term *ἀριθμοί* to refer to numerals. There is insufficient evidence to link any of the passages (1) – (5) to Book 15 of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, for the following reasons: a) there is no mention of Book 15 or even of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, b) the phrasing of the passages cited is not similar to the wording of Book 15 of Pseudo-Arcadius or to the treatment of the oblique cases in Philoponus' *Epitome* (9.19-20.34), and c) there is no mention of *κατὰ κλίσιν ἀριθμοί* or *κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί*, although the term *θέμα* is used in connection with the words *ἄμφω* and *δύω* in passage (2), which names Herodian's *Περὶ παθῶν* as its source.

It can, however, be shown that neither the term *κατὰ κλίσιν ἀριθμοί* nor *κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί* indicates that numerals were dealt with. Let us first focus on the terms *θέμα* and *κατὰ θέμα*. Lallot explains that *ἐν θέμασιν* (and the related term *θεματικός*) is the technical term which describes irregular inflectional phenomena (*ἀνακόλουθα*)¹¹⁸ characterized by variation in the stem that is not explained in terms of phonetic alteration (*πάθος*), something which modern scholarship calls suppletion.¹¹⁹ He notes that the typical example is that of the inflection of the personal pronouns.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ This term is used in Apollonius Dyscolus: *Synt.* GG ii.ii 141.1, *Pron.* GG ii.i 11.9-10, 11.16-7, 27.6-7. Cf. also the use of the terms *ἀκολουθία* in passages (6) and (8), and *ἀκόλουθος* in passage (8).

¹¹⁹ Lallot (1997), ii 45 n. 185, 417. See also the entries *θέμα* and *θεματικός* in Dickey (2007), 240 and *LSJ* s. v. *θέμα* III.3. and *θεματικός* II.2.

¹²⁰ Lallot (1997), ii 45 n. 185.

In what follows I shall lay out further evidence for this point here, because of its importance for the meaning of κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί. Passages (6) – (8) shed light on the term θεματικός in ancient grammatical thought.

Lalot's argument about the terms ἐν θέμασιν and θεματικός can be illustrated through a passage in the *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* (sub auctore Heliodoro, GG i.iii 79.25-30)¹²¹. This passage shows us the really basic meaning of the grammatical term θεματικός, which explains its formation. The term is employed in this passage with regard to the pronouns, but nevertheless helps us to understand what the θεματικά are:

(6) Πρὸ δὲ τῆς κλίσεως εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων ἡ κλίσις κατ' ἀκολουθίαν φωνῆς προέρχεται, καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας κανονίζεται, αἱ δὲ πρωτότυποι ἀντωνυμῖαι σημασίᾳ μόνον ποιοῦνται τὴν κλίσιν, οὐ μέντοι φωνῆς ἀκολουθίᾳ· διὸ καὶ θεματικὰς αὐτὰς καλοῦμεν, ὅτι ἐκάστη φωνὴ ἑαυτῇ ἐστὶ θέμα, καὶ οὐ κανονίζεται ἡ ἑτέρα ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας. ('One should know about inflection that the inflection of nominals and verbs is derived according to analogy of form, and the rule for the one form is based on the other, but the underived pronouns (i.e. personal pronouns) form their inflection only according to their meaning, not by analogy of form. This is why we call them θεματικάί, because each word is the base form for itself, and the rule for one is not based on another.')

It is significant for our understanding of the meaning of the term θεματικός that the term πρωτότυποι ('not derived') appears in connection with forms that are described as θεματικάί.

¹²¹ The phrasing of this passage is close to that of a passage from Choeroboscus' *Epimerismi in psalmos* (90.18-23); cf. also 35.28-35. It is actually possible that Heliodorus derived his material from Choeroboscus' passage (90.18-23), but I cite Heliodorus' passage because it serves our present purposes better (on Choeroboscus' being considered the source of Heliodorus' commentary see GG i.iii XV, but Heliodorus' source is not our concern here). More specifically, the wording αἱ δὲ πρωτότυποι ἀντωνυμῖαι in line 3 of passage (6), rather than αἱ δὲ ἀντωνυμῖαι in the corresponding passage from Choeroboscus, is useful with regard to the meaning of the term θεματικός. Cf. also EM 314.29-32.

The term θεματικός occurs in Book 15 of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome in the section where the dual nominative is dealt with. In 151.14 (Schmidt) we read τὸ δὲ ἄμφω καὶ δύο θεματικά εἰσι ('ἄμφω and δύο are θεματικά'). Here we are not given any explanation about the content of the term θεματικά, but we get two examples, ἄμφω and δύο.

The following passage, which comes from Choeroboscus' Commentary on Theodosius' *Canones* (GG iv.i 398.5-7), not only further illustrates the meaning of θεματικά, but also links to Pseudo-Arcadius' τὸ δὲ ἄμφω καὶ δύο θεματικά εἰσι via the shared examples ἄμφω and δύο:

(7) φησὶ δὲ ὁ τεχνικός, ὅτι τὸ ἄμφω καὶ δύο θεματικά εἰσιν, τουτέστιν οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ ἐνικῶν· τὸ γὰρ σημαίνόμενον κωλύει· πῶς γὰρ ὁ δύο ἀριθμὸς δύναται <ἐν> ἐνικῷ θεωρεῖσθαι;¹²² ('the τεχνικός says that ἄμφω and δύο are θεματικά, that is to say they were not formed from singulars, for their meaning makes this impossible. For how can the number two be contemplated in the singular?')

Choeroboscus' explanation here suggests that Herodian used the term θεματικά for forms that lacked a base form that they might have been expected to have within the paradigm. In Greek grammatical texts, dual and plural nominal forms are normally considered to be formed on the basis of the corresponding singulars, but the words ἄμφω and δύο lack singular forms altogether. The identical phrasing τὸ ἄμφω καὶ δύο θεματικά εἰσιν in passage (7) and Pseudo-Arcadius (151.14 Schmidt), as well as the mention of the τεχνικός, which in this context is very likely to refer to Herodian, suggests

¹²² For this definition of θεματικά cf. two passages from the *EM*, 91.33-5 and 616.32-42, which Lentz (1867-70, III.II: 554.26-555.6) identifies as a fragment of Herodian's *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (555.3-5).

that Herodian was at least an intermediate stage in the discussion of the θεματικά, from which later grammatical sources, including Choeroboscus, derived material.¹²³

The following passage from Apollonius Dyscolus' *De constructione* (GG ii.ii 139.6-140.4) employs the terms θεματικώτερον and θεματικῶς in opposition to the inflection κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῶν πτωτικῶν:

(8) Ἔτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν πτωτικῶν ἀπ' εὐθείας λημματιζομένης γενικὴν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους πτώσεις πρὸς ἀκολουθίαν τῆς εὐθείας ἀποτελεῖ, οὐχ ὑποστελλομένου τοῦ ἄρθρου, εἶγε καὶ αὐτὸ ἐδείχθη ἐν τῇ δεούσῃ ἀκολουθίᾳ κεκλιμένον· αἱ δὲ προκείμεναι πρωτότυποι ἀντωνυμῖαι θεματικώτερον ἐκλίθησαν, οὐ δυναμένης τῆς ἐγὼ κατὰ λόγον τῶν πτωτικῶν τὴν ἐμοῦ γενικὴν παραδέξασθαι, οὐδὲ μὴν τῆς ἐμοῦ τὴν ἐμοί ἢ ἐμέ, δεόντως καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων ἀριθμῶν ἐξαλλαγέντων πάλιν θεματικῶς. ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὴν μὴ κλιθεῖσαν γενικὴν ἐξ εὐθείας ἀριθμὸν ἀκόλουθον παραστήσαι· κλιθεῖσα γὰρ συγκλίνει τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς πτώσεις. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἑτεροκλίτοις παρηκολούθει τις εὐθεῖα τῆς γενικῆς τὰ λοιπὰ σχήματα ἀποδιδούσης, οἷον ἡ μεγάλου ἐποίησε τὸ μεγάλοι, καὶ ἐκ λήμματος τοῦ τοιούτου ἡ μέγας εὐθεῖα διασφύζεται. καὶ ὁμοίως ἡ ὕδατος καὶ ἔτι ἡ γυναικός ἢ τε πολλοῦ· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὕδατα καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνυπῆρχεν τὸ πολλός, τὸ γύναιξ, τὸ ὕδας.—διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἡ ἐμοῦ οὐ κλιθεῖσα, γενομένη δὲ ἐν θέματι, καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῶν πτώσεων παρητήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθούσους ἀριθμοὺς. ἡ γοῦν ἐκεῖνος καὶ αἱ σύζυγοι κλιθεῖσαι ἔσχον καὶ τὰ συμπαρεπόμενα ἀκόλουθα. (Furthermore, the rest of the declinable words form the genitive and the rest of the cases to follow the base form consisting of the nominative. The article is no exception, since this has been shown to be declined according to the analogy it should have; and the underived pronouns (i.e. personal pronouns) that are the topic of the current discussion were declined using several different base forms, because (the pronoun) ἐγὼ could not accept the genitive ἐμοῦ according to the rules for declinable words, and nor could ἐμοῦ (accept) ἐμοί, ἐμέ, with the subsequent numbers necessarily changing their base forms too. For it is impossible for a genitive that is not declined on the basis of the nominative to establish a regular (grammatical) number; for one that is declined inflects its (grammatical) numbers and oblique cases similarly. This is why as regards the ἑτερόκλιτα a (theoretical) nominative that follows the genitive is the basis for the rest of the forms. For example, μεγάλου forms μεγάλοι, and out of such a lexical form the nominative (singular) μέγας shows through. And

¹²³ The discussion of the θεματικά already exists in Apollonius Dyscolus (see passage (8)).

similarly the genitives ὕδατος, γυναικός and πολλοῦ; for (the nominatives plural are) πολλοί, ὕδατα and γυναικες, and for this reason the words πολλός, γύναιξ and ὕδας also exist. For this reason ἐμοῦ is not inflected, but formed with its own base form and rejects regularity in the (other) cases and the subsequent (grammatical) numbers. But ἐκεῖνος and similar words, since they are inflected (on the basis of the nominative singular), have their oblique (cases) following regularly too.’)

Here θεματικά are suppletive forms and are contrasted with ordinary inflected forms. The contrast between θεματικώτερον and θεματικῶς, on the one hand, and κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῶν πτωτικῶν, on the other, strongly suggests that the latter is the equivalent of the term κατὰ κλίσιν that we read in Pseudo-Arcadius’ Table of Contents. Moreover, the participle κλιθεῖσα is employed in opposition to γενομένη ἐν θέματι. The terms κλιθεῖσα and γενομένη ἐν θέματι correspond to the terms κατὰ κλίσιν (ἀριθμοί) and κατὰ θέμα (ἀριθμοί) which describe part of the content of Pseudo-Arcadius’ Book 15. After the treatment of the inflection of the personal pronouns, Apollonius presents the ἐτερόκλιτα (i.e. words that form different parts of their paradigms on different stems) in an analogous way to the θεματικά.¹²⁴

According to passages (6) and (8), a form described as θεματικόν is one that bears its own θέμα, a word that is not formed on the basis of another base form in the paradigm. For nominals the nominative singular (or nominative singular masculine, for an adjective) is the usual base form for the rest of the paradigm, and so the term θεματικόν will normally mean that a form is not built on a nominative singular. Such words are the *dualia tantum*, the *pluralia tantum* and the ἐτερόκλιτα. An example of a *dual*

¹²⁴ In Pseudo-Arcadius’ Epitome words that are ἐτερόκλιτα, e.g. μέγας, γυνή, ὕδωρ, πολὺς are not presented in relation to the θεματικά and are never called suchlike, but this may be due to the epitomator cutting down material. Nevertheless, the analogy between the ἐτερόκλιτα and the θεματικά is important for present purposes, and therefore we shall examine this analogy in Apollonius’ relevant passage.

tantum is the word δύο, which is often cited as an example of a θεματικόν. How then does the meaning of θεματικός in passage (7) fit with the meaning provided by passages (6) and (8)? Is a θεματικόν a word that bears its own θέμα or a word that is not inflected from a nominative singular? One can easily see how the two explanations presented in the above passages relate to each other. Even the etymology of the word implies that a θεματικόν is a word that bears its own θέμα. It is clear, however, that a nominal form that has its own θέμα is one with a θέμα that is not simply the nominative singular in use. The θεματικά are therefore words that bear their own θέμα, either because they are based on a different stem from the usual base form (the ἐτερόκλητα) or because the part of the paradigm that usually provides the base form does not exist at all (the *dualia* and *pluralia tantum*). Thus, the term θεματικόν refers to a form that carries its own θέμα, but for nominal forms this sometimes comes to the same thing as having no singular. This explains also the definition of the term θεματικόν that we read in the *Epimerismi homerici* (259,b1.):

ἄμφω: ἔστιν εὐθεῖα τῶν δυϊκῶν. καὶ ἔστι θεματικόν, | τουτέστιν οὔτε ἐνικὸν οὔτε πληθυντικὸν ἔχει. (‘ἄμφω: this is the nominative dual. And it is θεματικόν, that is to say it has neither a singular nor a plural.’)

Coming finally to the interpretation of the term κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί, we conclude that these are dual and plural forms – grammatical numbers – whose inflection is not based on a nominative singular form. The concept of the θεματικά in ancient grammatical thought illustrates the grammarians’ recognition that their paradigm-based model of morphology, and the concept of a leading form in the paradigm, had certain

limits, which arose due to the existence of words such as the *dualia tantum*, the *pluralia tantum* and the ἑτερόκλιτα.

In interpreting the content of the θεματικά and the κατὰ θέμα ἀριθμοί one should keep in mind that in the first fourteen books Herodian has been dealing with the accentuation of nominative singular forms. Book 15 is devoted to other forms in the paradigm. In general, the accentuation of these other forms is related to that of the nominative singular (or nominative singular masculine, for adjectives) in the same paradigm. But this treatment of nominative singular and non-nominative-singular forms leaves a logical gap: the dual and plural nominal forms whose accentuation cannot be predicted on the basis of a nominative singular form. Book 15 is the place where this gap would have been felt, and the logical place for it to be filled.

Even though one could argue that a treatment of the numerals would be necessary for a general and extensive treatise on accents, as the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας was, a counter-argument would be that Herodian operated with the same eight parts of speech as we find in the Τέχνη γραμματική attributed to Dionysius Thrax, and numerals are not included in this categorisation. The accent of numerals is treated, of course, here and there in our Epitome, but it seems that there was no treatment of the numerals in a separate book or section. Besides, as passage (1) implies, Herodian considered the numerals to come under ὀνόματα, and so one would precisely expect numerals to appear here and there among the ὀνόματα, not in their own section.

b) The sections on enclitics

The second problem relating to Book 15 is that after the treatment of the accentuation of the oblique cases, the manuscripts of our Epitome transmit two sections

on enclitics, whose existence is not announced in the Table of Contents. The other main problem is that there are two sections on enclitics, and that they overlap considerably in content. Many scholars have considered the sections on enclitics not to be an original part of Book 15 of the *Epitome*.¹²⁵

One could argue that the sections on enclitics could be part of Book 15 accompanying the oblique cases, on the basis that the section on prepositions in Book 18 contains a treatment of the prepositions in *anastrophe*, even though this would arguably fit better in the Appendix¹²⁶ (since *anastrophe* of prepositions and its effect on the accent really matters in syntax, when the preposition is combined with another word)¹²⁷. However, the two sections on enclitics deal not only with the combination of enclitics with nouns but also with adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctions, suggesting that there is no special reason why the sections on enclitics should have been part of Book 15.

A second issue that needs to be dealt with is where the sections come from, if they do not originally belong to Book 15. The sections on enclitics could be thought to have been originally part of the Appendix to the twenty books, which according to the Table of Contents dealt with the accent of words in combination with other words,¹²⁸ in this case

¹²⁵ See M. Schmidt (1860), 159 (*apparatus criticus*, n. 4); K.E.A. Schmidt (1861), 351; Lentz (1863), 112, 115; Hiller (1866), 29-30; Galland (1882*b*), 29.

¹²⁶ I call it 'appendix', rather than Book 21. See p. 111-2.

¹²⁷ One could argue that *anastrophe* was treated both after the section on prepositions in Book 18 and in the Appendix, or that it was only dealt with in Book 18. The fact that the treatment of *anastrophe* fits well after the account of the accent of prepositions leads us to believe that it was probably not moved from the Appendix to Book 18. In any case if *anastrophe* was treated twice, this should not have been really annoying for the reader in such a long text. See also the treatment of Book 18, pp. 102-4.

¹²⁸ See M. Schmidt (1860), 159 (*apparatus criticus*, n. 4); Lentz (1863), 112, 115.

they were later moved to the end of Book 15, probably because of an error committed by a scribe.

An indication that the second section on enclitics in Book 15 could have been part of the Appendix is that the phrase καὶ οἱ ἐπευχόμενος in the second section on enclitics (163.22-3 Schmidt) appears also in the description of the Appendix in the Table of Contents (4.12-3). Furthermore, both the Table of Contents and section one on enclitics cite the examples Ζεύς τε (Table of Contents: 4.9, section on enclitics: 160.19 (Schmidt)) and Ζεύς δέ (δ' elided in the Table of Contents: 4.7, section on enclitics 160.22-3 (Schmidt)).¹²⁹ Even though in the Table of Contents these examples are part of longer phrases, their existence as single examples in section one could still testify that section one in some way (at least as far as the common examples are concerned) goes back to Herodian.

Even considering that dealing with enclitics would fit the Appendix, one should still wonder why we have two separate sections on enclitics and whether both sections go back to Herodian, whether one or both of them is further removed from Herodian than other parts of the epitome, and which of the two, if any, was abridged by the author of our Epitome.¹³⁰

In deciding about the authenticity of the two sections on enclitics found in Book 15 of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, one has to take into account the sections on enclitics in

¹²⁹ Cf. Lentz (1863), 115.

¹³⁰ Different scholars had various views on these points. Hiller (1866), 30 favoured the view that Herodian's doctrine on enclitics in the appendix was abridged more than once and in various ways, but then finally came back to Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome. According to Lentz (1863), 115, (1867-70), LVIII, the two sections were certainly excerpted from Herodian, because the precepts entirely agree with those that we have transmitted in other sources deriving from Herodian.

Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* iii 1142-58. In Bekker there are five sections on enclitics: (1) Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ ἐγκλινομένων καὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ συνεγκλιτικῶν μορίων (after this section there is one entitled περὶ τοῦ ἔστιν which could either be considered independent, or belonging to this section), (2) Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τοῦ Χάρακος περὶ ἐγκλινομένων, (3) περὶ ἐγκλινομένων, (4) καὶ ἄλλως περὶ ἐγκλινομένων, and (5) Αἰλίου περὶ ἐγκλινομένων λέξεων.

There are similarities in wording between all these sections and the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius, but very few similarities in wording between any of these and the first section in Pseudo-Arcadius. There are no similarities between section one in Pseudo-Arcadius and sections (4) and (5) in Bekker. On the contrary, section two in Pseudo-Arcadius has identical wording and common examples with sections (1), (4), and (5) in Bekker. One could even describe sections (4) and (5) as the same treatise on enclitics as section two in Pseudo-Arcadius, with minor changes which could be due to a scribe. It is noteworthy that sections (1) and (5) in Bekker, with which section two in Pseudo-Arcadius has many similarities, bear in their titles the name of Herodian.

There is further evidence about the publicity and circulation of the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius. Mr Nigel Wilson has located in codex *Laurentianus* Plut. 58.24 (folios 4 *verso* – 6 *verso*), dated to the 12th century, a version of the second section on enclitics. This section is incomplete owing to the loss of one or more leaves after folio 6. This version, together with the sections on enclitics in Bekker, suggests that in the late Antique and Byzantine period a group of texts on enclitics with Herodianic origins were circulating.

Before a decision is made about the sections on enclitics, we should also take into account the Herodianic doctrine on enclitics preserved fragmentarily in the scholia to the *Iliad*. There are verbal similarities and common examples between the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius and the Homeric scholia deriving from Herodian,¹³¹ but very few verbal similarities between the first section and the Homeric scholia.

ποῖ (159.17 (Schmidt)) in the first section is said to be a conjunction, but one finds it cited in Book 19 of Pseudo-Arcadius in the section on adverbs (206.18 (Schmidt)). The contradiction with what appears to be Herodian's doctrine adds to the impression we get from the lack of parallels with the Homeric scholia and with other texts on enclitics that this text is at best distantly related to the others, and that at least some of the content is due to a grammarian other than Herodian. The mention of ποῖ as a conjunction in the first section could also be due to a mistake made by the epitomator or a scribe; it is not a decisive and sufficient indication of a non-Herodianic origin.¹³²

Another problem that remains to be examined is a passage on the enclisis of ἔστι in Eustathius' Commentary on the Odyssey (I 302.40 - 303.3), which indicates that the source is Charax (1151 Bekker), but in fact Eustathius' passage (I 302.40 - 303.3) is much closer to the section on ἔστι found in the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 (169.9-20 Schmidt), and to the section on ἔστιν in Bekker's Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ ἐγκλινομένων καὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ συνεγκλιτικῶν μορίων (1148-9).

¹³¹ E.g. Ps.-Arc. 164.16-24 with sch. Hom. *Il.* 3.128a and 15.199a, Ps.-Arc. 169.9-20 with sch. Hom. *Il.* 1.63c, Ps.-Arc. 167.16-9 with sch. Hom. *Il.* 5.812a, Ps.-Arc. 165.5-9 with sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.292c1, Ps.-Arc. 164.1-5 with sch. Hom. *Il.* 23.281a1 and 8.402b, Ps.-Arc. 166.16-9 with sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.255b.

¹³² Cf. Lentz (1863), 116-7.

Three main hypotheses can be formed to explain this problem. Firstly, it is possible that Eustathius' statement that he derived his material from Charax should not be trusted, because Eustathius or his source had mistakenly attributed the authorship to Charax, while it is not by Charax but a source that is close to the second section on enclitics transmitted in Pseudo-Arcadius. Secondly, it is possible that the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius is a version of Charax' treatise, and that the treatise transmitted under Charax' name in Bekker is another version of Charax' treatise, without one necessarily being closer to real Charax than the other; if so, Eustathius derives his material from a version of Charax similar to the one transmitted in the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius. Thirdly, it is possible that the second section on enclitics in Pseudo-Arcadius derives from Charax without much interference, and that the section attributed to Charax in Bekker's *Anecdota* is not actually by Charax, or is more distantly related to the treatise he wrote.¹³³ If the latter hypothesis is correct, the fact that the sections on enclitics are misplaced in Book 15 of Pseudo-Arcadius could be an indication that they (or at least the latter of the two) are not by Pseudo-Arcadius.

There is more work to be done on these issues but the question should not be seen as one of dividing texts into 'Herodianic' or 'non-Herodianic', but of establishing the relationships between all these texts. Most of our texts on accentuation cannot be divided straightforwardly into 'Herodianic' and 'non-Herodianic', but into texts more closely and less closely related to works of Herodian. The two sections in Book 15, being witnesses to the popularity of Herodian's doctrine on enclitics, were probably excerpted

¹³³ Dr Philomen Probert is suspecting this.

independently, but a scribe incorporated both into his copy and thus they continued circulating together.

c) The authenticity of the treatment of the oblique cases

The authenticity of the whole book (i.e. of the treatment of both the oblique cases and the enclitics) was doubted by K.E.A. Schmidt and Galland, but defended by Lentz.¹³⁴

According to Galland, Book 15 as we have it today does not derive from the composer of our Epitome but from a later grammarian, who put his own book in the place of the original Book 15, either because there was no Book 15 in his copy of the Epitome or because he wanted to display his own work.¹³⁵ Galland based his view on two arguments. On the one hand, the term ὀνομαστική for nominative is employed in Book 15, but Herodian never uses this term.¹³⁶ Galland did not make clear what works he considered to provide evidence for Herodian's use of terms. Secondly, Galland argued that the two mentions of τεχνικός in Book 15 refer to Theodosius and not to Herodian.¹³⁷

In my view the observation about the term ὀνομαστική is not decisive with regard to the authenticity of Book 15. The epitomator could have easily replaced εὐθεῖα by ὀνομαστική, even if the latter word was not found in his source. As regards Galland's second argument we shall concentrate on one of two passages in Book 15 that refer to a τεχνικός, the one which Galland took to show that the τεχνικός is Theodosius:¹³⁸

(1) 148.15-9 (Schmidt) λέγει δὲ ὁ τεχνικός, ὅτι αἱ μεταπεπλασμέναι δοτικαὶ ἔχουσαι τὸ I προπαροξύνονται, εἰ μὴ δισυλλαβία κωλύσῃ· ὁ πολυπάταγος τοῦ πολυ-

¹³⁴ Schmidt K.E.A. (1861), 336, 351; Lentz (1867-70), CXXXIII; Galland (1882*b*), 26-9.

¹³⁵ Galland (1882*b*), 27.

¹³⁶ Galland (1882*b*), 27.

¹³⁷ Galland (1882*b*), 27.

¹³⁸ The other passage in Book 15 that mentions a τεχνικός is at 147.5-10 (Schmidt).

πατάγου τῷ πολυπατάγω καὶ κατὰ μεταπλάσμον πολυπάταγι ἀναβιβάζει· (‘The τεχνικός says that the datives formed by a change of declension and having ι are proparoxytone, unless this is prevented by the word’s having only two syllables; so ὁ πολυπάταγος τοῦ πολυπατάγου τῷ πολυπατάγω; and πολυπάταγι, due to a change of declension, retracts the accent’).

Galland concluded that the τεχνικός mentioned is Theodosius by comparing passage (1) with following passages from Theodosius, Choeroboscus and Philoponus:

(2) Theodosius *Can. GG* iv.i. 37.19-21: Αἱ μεταπεπλασμένοι δοτικαὶ προπαροξύνονται, εἰ μὴ δισυλλαβία κωλύσοι, διχόμηνι πολυπάταγι μελίκρατι· (‘the datives that are formed by a change of declension are proparoxytone, unless this is prevented by the word’s being disyllabic; so διχόμηνι πολυπάταγι μελίκρατι’)

(3) Choeroboscus in *Theod. GG* iv.i 377.8-12: Φησὶ δὲ ὁ τεχνικός, ὅτι αἱ μεταπεπλασμένοι δοτικαὶ εἰς ι λήγουσαι προπαροξύνεσθαι θέλουσι, δηλονότι ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς οὔσαι· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον αὐτῷ «εἰ μὴ δισυλλαβία κωλύση», οἷον ὁ πολυπάταγος τοῦ πολυπατάγου τῷ πολυπατάγω παροξυτόνως, καὶ γίνεται κατὰ μεταπλάσμον τῷ πολυπάταγι προπαροξυτόνως· (‘The τεχνικός says that the datives that are formed by change of declension and end in ι are usually proparoxytone, that is to say if they have more than two syllables; for this is his statement: ‘unless this is prevented by the word’s being disyllabic’. For example ὁ πολυπάταγος τοῦ πολυπατάγου τῷ πολυπατάγω is paroxytone, and with a change of declension πολυπάταγι is proparoxytone’).

(4) Philoponus 11.28: Αἱ μεταπεπλασμένοι (sc. δοτικαί) ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν εἰς ω προπαροξύνονται, πολυπατάγω, πολυπάταγι [...] ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰς η προπερισπῶνται ὑσμίνῃ ὑσμῖνι [...] (‘The datives that are formed with a change of declension and have more than two syllables, (if they are formed) from those in ω, are proparoxytone πολυπατάγω, πολυπάταγι [...]; but (if they are formed) from those in η, they are properispomena ὑσμίνῃ ὑσμῖνι [...])’)

Galland assumed that the similarity in the four passages was due to the fact that ‘Arcadius’ (this is a convention for the author of our Epitome) had copied Choeroboscus. He then reasoned that the τεχνικός mentioned by Choeroboscus in passage (3) is Theodosius, because there is a similar passage in Theodosius (passage (2)), and because Choeroboscus’ work was a commentary on Theodosius.

In response to Galland, it should be noted that there is a chronological difficulty about 'Arcadius' having copied Choeroboscus, because Choeroboscus is now dated to the eighth and ninth centuries AD,¹³⁹ while the date of the composition of our Epitome is uncertain,¹⁴⁰ but most probably predates Choeroboscus. In my view, the agreement between Choeroboscus and Pseudo-Arcadius can be explained on the basis of their common Herodianic source.

K. E. A. Schmidt believed that the treatment of the accent of the oblique cases contained contradictions with Herodianic doctrine, whereas this part of the Epitome was related to Theodosius' *Canones* and Choeroboscus' commentary (GG iv.i 404.31-417.31).¹⁴¹ Specifically, the rule in passage (5), from Pseudo-Arcadius (154.2-20 Schmidt), is presented in Choeroboscus' commentary on Theodosius' *Canones* (GG iv.i 407.17-408.20) as a rule that Herodian opposed but Choeroboscus approves of (passage (6)):¹⁴²

(5) ἔστι δὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ ὅλων τῶν σεσημειωμένων, ὅτι τὰ εἰς ΟΣ λήγοντα μονοσύλλαβα κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν, τὰ μὲν ὀξύτονα, ἐὰν διὰ συμφώνων κλίνοιντο, περισπῶνται κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν πληθυντικὴν· σῆς σητός σῆτες σητῶν, Κρῆς Κρητός Κρητες Κρητῶν. ἐὰν δὲ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ΟΣ κλιθῶσι, βαρύνονται κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν πληθυντικὴν· Τρώς Τρωός Τρῶες Τρώων, δμῶς δμωός δμῶες δμῶων. τὸ δὲ τίνων εἰς διαφορὰν τῶν τινῶν, καὶ τὸ κράτων (τῶν κεφαλῶν) εἰς διαφορὰν τῶν κρατῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτος (ἢ ἀρχή). τὸ δὲ φῶδων καὶ δάδων ἀπὸ τῶν φωῖδων καὶ δαῖδων. Τὰ δὲ περισπώμενα ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου γίνεται. ἐὰν μὲν διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ΟΣ κλίνοιτο, περισπῶσι τὰς γενικὰς πληθυντικὰς· μῦς μυός μῦες μυῶν, βοῦς βοός βόες βοῶν, δρύες δρυῶν, σύες συῶν. ἐὰν δὲ διὰ συμφώνου, βαρύνονται· παῖς παιδός παῖδες παίδων, πάντες πάντων. τὸ δὲ λάων ἐβαρύνθη εἰς διαφορὰν τῶν λαῶν. ('It is possible to say about all the exceptions, that as regards the monosyllables ending in *ος* in the genitive, those that are oxytone are perispomenon in the genitive

¹³⁹ See Theodoridis (1980), and Wilson (1996), 70.

¹⁴⁰ See also the section on the dating of our Epitome, p. 63.

¹⁴¹ K. E. A. Schmidt (1861), 351. See also the discussion in Galland (1882*b*), 26-9, and Lentz (1867-70), CXXXIII.

¹⁴² See K. E. A. Schmidt (1861), 336.

plural if they are declined with consonants: σῆς σητός σῆτες σητῶν, Κρῆς Κρητός Κρητες Κρητῶν. But if they are declined with the ος preceded by a vowel, they are recessive in the genitive plural: Τρώς Τρωός Τρῶες Τρώων, δμῶς δμωός δμῶες δμῶων. But τίνων as distinguished from τινῶν, and κράτων ('of the heads') as distinguished from κρατῶν, from κράτος ('authority'); φῶδων and δᾶδων, coming from φῶιδων and δαῖιδων. The perispomena are formed in the opposite way. If they are declined with the ος preceded by a vowel they have a circumflex in the genitive plural: μῦς μυός μῦες μυῶν, βοῦς βοός βόες βοῶν, δρύες δρυῶν, σύες συῶν. But if they are declined with a consonant they are recessive: παῖς παιδός παιδες παίδων, πάντες πάντων. Λάων is recessive to distinguish it from λαῶν.').

(6) Δοκεῖ δὲ ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς λαμβάνεσθαι τούτου τοῦ κανόνος, καὶ λέγει ὅτι κακῶς λαμβάνει τὸν κανόνα· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν σεσημειωμένων πλέκει τὸν κανόνα, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἀντίκειται τούτοις τὸ κῖς κῖός καὶ λῖς λῖός· ταῦτα γὰρ ὀξύνονται κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν τῶν ἐνικῶν καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος κλίνονται, καὶ ὁμῶς οὐ βαρύνονται ἐν τῇ γενικῇ τῶν πληθυντικῶν ἀλλὰ περισπῶνται, κιῶν γὰρ καὶ λιῶν περισπωμένως. Ἔστι δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι κακῶς κατατρέχεις τοῦ κανόνος· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ καί, ὡς λέγεις, ἀπὸ τῶν σεσημειωμένων πέπλεκται ὁ κανὼν, οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τεσσάρων πλέκειν κανόνα· καὶ σὺ γὰρ κέχρησαι διαφόροις κανόσι τοιούτοις, πλέκεις γὰρ κανόνα καὶ ἀπὸ δύο παραδειγμάτων· πολλῶ οὖν μᾶλλον ἀπὸ πλειόνων παραδειγμάτων πλεκόμενος ὁ κανὼν οὐδεμίαν μέμψιν ἑαυτῷ προσφέρει· δεύτερον δὲ οὐχ, ὡς λέγεις αὐτός, ἀπὸ τῶν σεσημειωμένων πέπλεκται ὁ κανὼν, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πάντα τὰ εἰς ς λήγοντα μονοσύλλαβα περιττοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα περιλαμβάνει ὁ κανὼν, εἴτε ὀξύτονά εἰσιν εἴτε περισπώμενα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρῆς Κρητός, σῆς σητός, δρύς δρυός, μῦς μυός, βοῦς βοός· ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν σεσημειωμένων. Περὶ μέντοι τοῦ κῖς κῖός καὶ λῖς λῖός, ὅτι λέγει ταῦτα ἀντικεισθαι τῷ κανόνι, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑτέροις ἐσημειώσατο, λέγων ἡμαρτημένα εἶναι εἴτε κατὰ τόνον εἴτε κατὰ κλίσιν· ἢ γὰρ, φησὶν, ὀξύτονα ὄντα ὠφείλον διὰ συμφώνου κλίνεσθαι, εἴτε διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος κλινόμενα οὐκ ὠφείλον ὀξυτονεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ὀξύτονα οὐδέποτε διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος κλίνονται, <οῖον> ἀσπὶς ἀσπίδος, βολὶς βολίδος, κρηπὶς κρηπίδος, κνημὶς κνημίδος, βασιλὶς βασιλίδος. Καὶ κέχρηται τοιούτῳ παραδείγματι, ὅτι ὥσπερ Πάρις Πάριδος καὶ Θέτις Θέτιδος καὶ μῆνις μῆνιδος, ἐπεὶ δὲ βαρύτονά εἰσι κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν, γίνονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσι διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν, οῖον Πάριος Θέτιος μῆνιος—ἴδιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν εἰς ις βαρυτόνων τὸ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος κλίνεσθαι, οῖον ὄφις ὄφις, μάντις μάντις, πόλις πόλις—τὰ μέντοι εἰς ις ὀξύτονα, οῖον κρηπὶς κρηπίδος, ἀσπὶς ἀσπίδος, ῥανὶς ῥανίδος, οὐ γίνονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσι διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος—τοῦτο γὰρ ἀλλότριά ἐστι τῶν εἰς ις ὀξυτόνων, λέγω δὴ τὸ ἔχειν <τὴν> γενικὴν διὰ καθαροῦ

τοῦ ος ἐκφερομένην—οὕτω καὶ τὸ κίς καὶ τὸ λίς ὀξυνόμενα καὶ εἰς ις λήγοντα οὐκ ὤφειλον ἔχειν τὴν γενικὴν διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος, ἢ ἔχοντα τὴν γενικὴν διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος οὐκ ὤφειλον ὀξύνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν εὐθεϊαν ἀλλὰ δηλονότι περισπᾶσθαι. Εἰ ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς παρέθετο τὸ κίς καὶ τὸ λίς παράλογα ἢ κατὰ τόνον ἢ κατὰ κλίσιν, πῶς λέγει ταῦτα ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ, φημί δὴ τῷ περὶ τῆς γενικῆς τῶν πληθυντικῶν; ὥστε οὖν οὐχ ὑγιῶς τέθεικε ταῦτα τὰ παραδείγματα ἐναντιούμενα τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ. (Herodian seems to censure this rule and he (i.e. Herodian) says that he (i.e. Herodian) finds the rule bad, first of all because he (i.e. some grammarian Herodian was arguing against) forms the rule from the exceptions and secondly because κίς κιός and λίς λιός are counterexamples to these (exceptions).¹⁴³ For these words are oxytone in the nominative singular and are declined with ος preceded by a vowel, and yet are not recessive in the genitive plural but perispomenon: κιῶν and λιῶν with a circumflex. One can say to him (i.e. Herodian): ‘you are wrong to inveigh against the rule; first of all because even if, as you (i.e. Herodian) say, the rule is composed from the exceptions, it is not unreasonable to compose a rule from three and even four (examples). Since you (i.e. Herodian) as well use various such rules, for you (i.e. Herodian) form a rule even from two examples. To a much greater extent, then, this rule brings no blame on itself, being formed on the basis of more examples. And secondly, the rule is not formed on the basis of the exceptions, as you (i.e. Herodian) say, but includes quite generally all the monosyllables ending in ζ, whether they are oxytone or perispomenon, that are declined imparisyllabically, as for example Κρηζ Κρητός, σής σητός, δρῶς δρυός, μῦς μυός, βοῦς βοός. These are not examples of exceptional words.’ But as regards κίς κιός and λίς λιός, as for the fact that he (i.e. Herodian) says that these are opposed to the rule, he himself (i.e. Herodian) has noted them as exceptions in other passages, saying that they are irregular regarding either their accent or their declension. For either, he (i.e. Herodian) says, these (words, i.e. κίς and λίς) ought to be declined with a consonant, being oxytone, or they ought not to be oxytone in the nominative, being declined with the ος preceded by a vowel. For the oxytone (nouns) ending in ις are never declined with an ος preceded by a vowel; thus ἀσπίς ἀσπίδος, βολίς βολίδος, κρηπίς κρηπίδος, κνημίς κνημίδος, βασιλῖς βασιλίδος. And he (i.e. Herodian) has used the following sort of example: just as Πάρις Πάριδος and Θέτις Θέτιδος and μῆνις μῆνιδος, since they are recessive in the nominative, are declined in the Ionic dialect with an ος preceded by a vowel in the genitive, as Πάριος Θέτιος μῆνιος (for it is characteristic of recessive (nouns) ending in ις to be declined with the ος preceded by a vowel, as ὄφις ὄφις, μάντις μάντιος, πόλις πόλιος), but oxytone (nouns) ending in ις, such as κρηπίς κρηπίδος, ἀσπίς

¹⁴³ I.e. these forms are counterexamples to the special rule for the exceptions at Pseudo-Arcadius 154.2-20 (Schmidt).

ἀσπίδος, ῥανίς ῥανίδος, are not declined with the ος preceded by a vowel in the Ionic dialect (for this is alien to the oxytone (nouns) ending in ις, I mean to have their genitive formed with the ος preceded by a vowel), so κίς and λίς too, being oxytone and ending in ις, ought not to have their genitives declined with the ος preceded by a vowel. Or, since they have their genitives (declined) with the ος preceded by a vowel, they ought not to be oxytone in the nominative but, clearly, perispomena. Since therefore he himself (i.e. Herodian) cited κίς and λίς as irregular either in their accent or their declension, how can he (i.e. Herodian) say that these contradict this rule, I mean the one on the genitive plural? Thus he (i.e. Herodian) did not rightly adduce these examples as contradicting this rule.')

Before responding to K. E. A. Schmidt on passages (5) and (6) we need to clarify that whenever Choeroboscus or any other Byzantine grammarian claims to have read an ancient Greek grammarian, one always needs to ask whether he actually read this grammarian, and if so whether he read him in the original. Indeed, it is not even clear whether Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* remained available in its original form until Choeroboscus' time. My suspicion is that it did not, since soon after the work's composition several epitomes were created, and this must have had an effect on the transmission of the original.

Pseudo-Arcadius' passage (5) reveals, as Choeroboscus says, that the rule on the imparisyllabic monosyllables ending in ζ is formed on the basis of exceptions (ἔστι δὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ ὅλων τῶν σεσημειωμένων ('it is possible to say about all the exceptions')). These are the nine exceptions that had been cited earlier in the text (153.22-5 Schmidt), namely Τρώων, τίνων, πάντων, παίδων, θώων, κράτων, δάδων, λάων, δμῶων, which are recessive rather than perispomena. The rule on the monosyllables is provided at this point to explain the accentuation of these nine exceptional genitive plurals. This is made clearer in Choeroboscus (who adds some further exceptions to these nine, which also

appear in the passage of Theodosius he is commenting on: *in Theod.* 40. 11–12): Ἔστιν οὖν ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ ὅλων τῶν σεσημειωμένων οὕτως ('it is possible to defend all the exceptions thus'). There is, however, no sign in our Epitome to show that Herodian finds fault with the rule because it is formed on the basis of the exceptions. It is likely that Herodian made a comment about the rule not taking into consideration the words κίς and λίς, but that the epitomator left this out.

Choeroboscus is right in saying that the rule adduced to defend the nine exceptions in fact covers all the monosyllables in ς declined imparisyllabically, except κίς and λίς. Choeroboscus' claim that Herodian had noted elsewhere that the words κίς and λίς were aberrant, as regards either their accent or their declension, suggests that Herodian had explained in one of his works that κίς and λίς are exceptions. Herodian might have indeed dealt with κίς and λίς somewhere in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* or in one of his other works, but might have not recalled doing this, and thus mentioned apologetically in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* that the rule on the genitive plural of imparisyllabic monosyllables ending in ς did not account for κίς and λίς. So when Choeroboscus says, 'Since therefore he himself cited κίς and λίς as irregular either in their accent or their declension, how can he say that these contradict this rule...?', he defends the correctness and validity of the rule.

It is now time to check the validity of K. E. A. Schmidt's view as to whether Book 15 as we have it today was formed on the basis of Theodosius' *Canones* and Choeroboscus' commentary. To this end, I have created a table with the references to the parallel passages in Pseudo-Arcadius, Theodosius and Philoponus. I include Philoponus here because in assessing whether Pseudo-Arcadius derives Herodianic material from

Theodosius or Theodosius from Herodian in some form, one needs to take into account the other main witness to the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* as well. We shall try to work out whether the material which this part of Pseudo-Arcadius shares with Philoponus is also all in Theodosius (in which case the Herodianic material in this part of Pseudo-Arcadius could be derived from Theodosius) or whether the relationship between the three texts is something different.

Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome ¹⁴⁴	Theodosius' <i>Canones</i>	Philoponus' Epitome
146.11-147.1	GG iv.i 36.16-37.4	
147.5-12	GG iv.i 37.4-7	10.20-26
147.15-148.8	GG iv.i 37.7-13	10.3-14
148.10-1	GG iv.i 37.15	
149.10-150.7	GG iv.i 38.2-10	12.6-29
150.9-12	GG iv.i 38.12-3	13.8-20
150.19-151.14	GG iv.i 39.6-10	14.15-36
151.16-152.5	GG iv.i 39.12-7	15.1-12
152.10-20	GG iv.i 39.19-40.5	15.22-16.1
153.15-157.19	GG iv.i 40.10-41.21	16.23-19.28
157.21-158.10	GG iv.i 41.23-42.3	20.5-11, 11.27-31
158.12-7	GG iv.i 42.5-8	20.15-19

Theodosius' text is closer to our Epitome than to Philoponus. It is, however, unlikely for two reasons that Book 15 goes back to Theodosius' *Canones*. Firstly, the section on the accentuation of the oblique cases is more extensive in the two epitomes than in Theodosius. Secondly, there are similarities not only between Theodosius' text and Book 15, but also between Theodosius' text and Philoponus' epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*.

¹⁴⁴ The page and line numbers in this column refer to Schmidt's edition.

There are not so many similarities in the wording of the accentuation rules between Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus but this is due to the fact that Philoponus has deviated from Herodian's original, as the comparison with the other main sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* has shown.¹⁴⁵ There are, however, common examples between Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus that are not shared by Theodosius, something which I regard as a strong indication (and in fact stronger than the similarities in the wording of the rules) in favour of the view that the three texts share a common Herodianic source without the section in Pseudo-Arcadius having Theodosius as an intermediate source. List (1) contains the common examples between Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus that are not also in Theodosius' section on the accentuation of the oblique cases, which follows Theodosius' treatment of the inflection:

(1) ἀνδρός, πατρός, μητρός (Ps.-Arc. 147.6-7¹⁴⁶, Philop. 10.22); μηνός (Ps.-Arc. 147.16, Philop. 10.4); γυναῖκε (Ps.-Arc. 150.21, Philop. 14.18); Ὀμήρῳ (Ps.-Arc. 151.9, Philop. 14.35¹⁴⁷); καλῶ (Ps.-Arc. 151.10, Philop. 14.34); ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωποι (Ps.-Arc. 152.14, Philop. 15.32-3); εὐσεβέων εὐσεβῶν (Ps.-Arc. 156.20, Philop. 16.29-30); χρυσῶν (Ps.-Arc. 157.6, Philop. 16.35), καλοί καλῶν (Ps.-Arc. 157.6, Philop. 16.34); σοφοί σοφῶν (Ps.-Arc. 157.5-6, Philop. 16.35); τάλανες τάλανων τάλαιναι ταλαινῶν (Ps.-Arc. 155.11, Philop. 17.13-4); πόρνοι πόρνων πόρναι πορνῶν (Ps.-Arc. 155.15-6, Philop. 17.30, 17.27); πέτραι πετρῶν (Ps.-Arc. 155.17-8, Philop. 17.27); Αἰάντες Αἰάντων (Ps.-Arc. 155.26 - 156.1, Philop. 19.5-6); κανῶν (Ps.-Arc. 157.15, Philop. 19.28); σοφοῖς (Ps.-Arc. 157.23, Philop. 20.7); ταχεῖς (Ps.-Arc. 158.15, Philop. 20.17).

It should be noted that apart from above cases, there are also cases where Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus, when mentioning that the accent of a certain grammatical case is associated with the accent of another case, cite the other case as well, differently from

¹⁴⁵ See the section on Philoponus' Epitome (pp. 43-7), the palimpsest (pp. 47-51), and the parchment (pp. 51-5).

¹⁴⁶ The page and line numbers of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome in this list refer to Schmidt's edition.

¹⁴⁷ Ὀμήρου at Dindorf 14.35 is a typographical error. The intended reading is Ὀμήρῳ.

Theodosius, who only mentions the case under examination. In addition to this, in some cases Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus cite both the contracted and uncontracted form of a word, while Theodosius cites only one. Examples of these two groups of cases are shown in lists (2) and (3) respectively:

(2) υῖς ὕϊος υῖος (Ps.-Arc. 148.2¹⁴⁸, Philop. 10.11), ὕϊος υῖος (Theod. 37.9); χρυσοῦς χρυσοῖ (Ps.-Arc. 152.15, Philop. 15.34), χρυσοῖ (Theod. 40.1); φίλοι φίλων (Ps.-Arc. 157.9, Philop. 17.9), φίλων (Theod. 40.20); Αἰνεῖαι Αἰνειῶν (Ps.-Arc. 154.24, Philop. 17.1), Αἰνειῶν (Theod. 40.13); χλοῦναι χλούνων (Ps.-Arc. 154.24, Philop. 17.2), χλούνων (Theod. 40.14); ἀφύαι ἀφύων (Ps.-Arc. 155.1, Philop. 17.4-5), ἀφύων (Theod. 40.15); Δημοσθένεις Δημοσθενῶν (Ps.-Arc. 156.18-9, Philop. 19.15), Δημοσθενῶν (Theod. 41.12).

(3) Δημοσθένεις Δημοσθένεις Δημοσθενέων Δημοσθενῶν (Ps.-Arc. 156.18-9 (Schmidt)), Δημοσθένεις Δημοσθενῶν (Philop. 19.15), Δημοσθενῶν (Theod. 41.12)

There is a further argument suggesting that Theodosius' section on the accentuation of the oblique cases and the epitomator's section go back to Herodian independently of one another. This argument is based on a comparison of the words cited as examples in the section on inflection and the section on accentuation in Theodosius' *Canones* (GG iv.i 3.2 – 36.12 and 36.14 – 42.8 respectively).

The first list (i) below shows the words that appear as examples both in the section on inflection and on accentuation, while the second (ii) the examples cited only in the section on accentuation. The comparison of the two lists shows that the majority of the words in Theodosius' section on accentuation are not also in his section on inflection, although one would normally expect the grammarian to have used the same examples. Furthermore, the examples cited in the section on accentuation are often uncommon.

¹⁴⁸ The page and line numbers of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome in this list refer to Schmidt's edition.

Examples such as ἰᾱς, λαός, Θῶνος Θώνιος Θόωνος, Ὠπος, διχόμηνι, πολυπάταγι, μελίκρατι μελικράτι, ἀβλήτος ἀβλήτα, λῖν, θεῦν, εἵνατερ, δαΐφρον, κάνεον (κανοῦν), κάνεα (κανᾶ), θῶων, χλούνων, ἀφύων are not words of everyday vocabulary. This observation suggests that Theodosius did not cite the above examples from memory. If it can be proved that the same set of examples is employed by other Herodianic sources, this will strengthen the likelihood that Theodosius does not cite these examples from memory, and will suggest that Theodosius derives the material on the accentuation of the oblique cases from a Herodianic source.

(i) Αἶαντος 3.4, 3.6, 3.8 / 36.19; ἔρωτος 3.8, 6.5, 15.16 / 36.19, 37.16; ταχέος 32.16, 32.17 / 36.20, 42.6; κρέατος 35.9, 35.11 / 36.21; Ἀδώνιδος 9.14 / 37.1; μάντεως 10.9 / 37.3; μάντιος 10.8 / 37.3, 38.4; μητέρος 29.20, 29.21 / 37.4; θυγατέρος 29.21 / 37.5; πατέρος 23.23 / 37.5; γυναικός 26.15 / 37.6; θυγατρός 29.22 / 37.6; κέαρως 34.15, 34.19 / 37.9; ἔαρος 34.19 / 37.9; ἔρωτι 3.8 / 37.16; Δημήτερος 29.21 / 38.4; καλοῦ καλόν 32.15-6 / 38.4; Αἶαν 3.10, 3.12 / 38.13; εὐγενές 32.16 / 38.13; ἄνερ 18.3 / 38.15; πάτερ 18.3 / 38.15; σῶτερ 18.3 / 38.15; δᾶερ 18.3 / 38.15; Αἶαντε 4.1, 4.5 / 39.8; Πέρσα 5.11 / 39.10; τειχοῖν 35.28 / 39.16; Αἶαντες 4.7 / 39.20; Πέρσαι 5.19 / 40.2; τείχεα 36.1, 36.3 / 40.7; φῶτα 36.11, 36.12 / 40.7, 41.19; μουςῶν 26.6 / 40.15; Δημοσθενῶν 8.1 / 41.12; ὦτα ὠτων 36.11 / 41.19; φῶτα φώτων 36.11 / 41.19; τειχέων 36.1 / 41.20; πατράσι 30.5 / 42.2; θυγατράσι 30.5 / 42.2; βέλεα 33.9 / 42.7; μούσας 5.19, 26.10 / 42.7;

(ii) χάριτος 36.19; ἀνέρος 36.19, 37.6; Ἀχιλλέος 36.20; εὐγενέος 36.21; φιλήματος 36.23; Ὀμήρου 37.1, 38.5; πόλεως 37.3; πόλιος 37.3; μιᾶς 37.6; ἰᾱς 37.7; χηνός 37.8, 37.16; γραός 37.8, 37.16; λαός 37.8; υἱός ἐκ τῆς υἱός 37.9; κῆρος 37.9; ἦρος 37.9; Θῶνος Θώνιος Θόωνος 37.10; Ὠπος 37.10; χηνί 37.16; γραῖ 37.16; Τυνδάρεος Τυνδαρέου Τυνδαρέω/ Τυνδάρεως Τυνδάρεω Τυνδάρεω 37.18-9; διχόμηνι 37.20; πολυπάταγι 37.20-1; μελίκρατι, μελικράτι 37.21; ἀβλήτος ἀβλήτα 38.3; λιμένος λιμένα 38.3-4; Δημήτερα 38.4; Διομήδεος Διομήδεα 38.4; μάντιν 38.5; Ὀμηρον 38.5; θύγατρα 38.6; γυναικα 38.7; χῆνα 38.7; παῖδα 38.8; τίνα 38.8; κλείν 38.9; λῖν 38.9; μῦν 38.9; σὺν 38.10; ζῶν 38.10; θεῦν 38.10; Ἀχιλλεῦ 38.13; καλέ 38.13; λειῶδες 38.14; ποιητά 38.14; δέσποτα 38.14; μητίετα 38.14; ἀκάκητα 38.15; εὐρύοπα 38.15; Διομήδες 38.17; Ἀριστόφανες 38.17; εὐμηκες 38.18; κακότηες 38.18; αὐθαδες 38.19; αὐταρκες 38.19; κάταντες 38.19; Δήμητερ 38.20; θύγατερ 38.20; εἵνατερ 38.20; Ἀγαμέμνον 39.2;

κακόδαιμον 39.2; χαμαίλεον 39.2; δαΐφρον 39.2; περίφρον 39.2; Λακεδαῖμον 39.3; χεῖρε 39.7; πόλεε 39.8; βέλεε 39.8; ἀέλλα 39.10; ἵππω 39.10; ἄμφω 39.10; δύω 39.10; Ὀρέσταιν 39.13; κηδεσταῖν 39.13; γεωργοῖν 39.14; βοῖδίον 39.14; ἀμφοῖν 39.15; δυοῖν 39.15; χεροῖν 39.16; πάντοιν 39.16; παίδοιν 39.16; εὐμηκοῖν 39.16; εὐνοῖν 39.16; ἀβλήτες 39.20; μύες 39.20; λίθινοι 40.1, 40.3; χρυσοῖ 40.1; πλησίον 40.1; βορέαι 40.2; ἄελλαι 40.2; εὐθῦναι 40.2; λίθιναι 40.3; ἡμεραι 40.3; ἡμεροί 40.4; κάνεον 40.6; κάνεα 40.6; κανοῦν 40.6; κανᾶ 40.6; χάλκεα 40.7; πύρα 40.8; φιλήματα 40.8; κέρατα 40.8; μηνῶν 40.11; χηνῶν 40.11; γραῶν 40.11; τίνων 40.11; πάντων 40.11; Τρώων 40.11; δμῶν 40.12; παίδων 40.12; θῶν 40.12; κράτων 40.12; δάδων 40.12; λάων 40.12; τοξοτῶν 40.13; πολιτῶν 40.13; Αἰνειῶν 40.13; χλούνων 40.14; χρήστων 40.14; ἐτησίων 40.14; ἀελλῶν 40.15; ἀφύων 40.15; Ῥόδιοι Ῥοδίον 40.18; δούλων 40.19, 41.18; φίλων 40.20, 41.17; ταχεῖαι ταχειῶν 40.20; μελαινῶν 41.1; μελάνων 41.1; μακαιρῶν 41.1; μακάρων 41.1; πόρνοι πόρνων 41.2; πόρναι πορνῶν 41.2; πετρῶν 41.3; ὀχθῶν 41.4; κορῶν 41.4; Ἰλιάδαι Ἰλιαδῶν 41.8; Δαναῖδαι Δαναῖδων 41.9; Ἰλιάδες Ἰλιάδων 41.9-10; Δαναῖδες Δαναῖδων 41.10; δυσώδων 41.12; πόλεων 41.14; λέξεων 41.15; κούφων 41.17; πτερά πτερῶν 41.18; ξυρά ξυρῶν 41.18; ὅστᾱ ὅστων 41.18-9; γούνα γούνων 41.19; δοῦρα δούρων 41.19; βελέων 41.20; μηνί μηνί 41.24; καλοῖς 41.24; χειρί χειρσί 41.24-42.1; πᾶσι 42.1; ἄστρασι 42.3; πρόβασι 42.3; ἔγκασι 42.3; ταχέας 42.6; καλούς 42.7; ἀθλητάς 42.7; χαλκοῦς 42.8.

A great number of the examples that are cited in Theodosius' section on accentuation but not on inflection are included in Philoponus' Epitome:

ἀνέρος (10.26), εὐγενέος (6.20), Ὀμήρου (5.9), πόλεως (5.11), μιᾶς (10.31), ἰᾶς (10.33), χηνός (10.4), λαός (10.5), κῆρος (10.5), ἦρος (10.5), Θῶνος (10.6), Θώνιος (10.7), Ὡπος (10.9), χηνί (4.11), διχόμηνι (11.30-1), πολυπάταγι (11.30), Ὀμηρον (5.8), γυναῖκα (12.12), κλεῖν (12.22), μῦν (12.22), καλέ (13.10), λειῶδες (13.19), ποιητά (13.20), δέσποτα (13.22), μητίετα (13.23), ἀκάκητα (13.23), Διόμηδες (13.31), αὐταρκες (13.35), αὐθαδες (13.35), Δήμητερ (14.4-5), θύγατερ (14.4), εἵνατερ (14.4), δαΐφρον (14.13), Λακεδαῖμον (14.14), ἄμφω (15.9), ἀμφοῖν (15.9), δυοῖν (15.9), πάντοιν (15.14), παίδοιν (15.13-4), χρυσοῖ (15.34), ἡμεραι (17.25), ἡμεροί (16.7, 16.33, 17.26), κάνεον κανοῦν (9.11), κανᾶ (19.27), μηνῶν (18.15), τίνων (11.9), πάντων (18.29), Τρώων (18.19), δμῶν (18.19), παίδων (18.23), θῶν (18.22), δάδων (18.34), λάων (19.1), Αἰνειῶν (17.1), χλούνων (17.2), χρήστων (17.3), ἐτησίων (17.3), ἀφύων (17.3), φίλων (17.9, 17.10), ταχεῖαι ταχειῶν (17.15), πόρνοι πόρνων (17.30), πόρναι πορνῶν (17.27), πετρῶν (17.27), Δαναῖδες Δαναῖδων (18.10), Δαναῖδαι Δαναῖδων (18.10-1), δυσώδων (19.15), πόλεων (19.21), κούφων (39.8), ὅστᾱ ὅστων (19.28), βελέων (19.32), μηνί μηνί (10.36), καλοῖς (9.21), πᾶσι (11.4), ἄστρασι (12.5), πρόβασι (12.5), ἔγκασι (12.5), ταχέας (20.22).

The fact that Philoponus is later than Theodosius should not lead one to think that Philoponus derives material from Theodosius. Since Philoponus is writing an epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, it is more likely that Theodosius derived material from Herodian, the authority on accentuation, in some form when he was composing the section on the accentuation of the oblique cases.

It is remarkable that almost every example which is not quoted in Theodosius' treatment of inflection, but is cited in his section on accentuation, appears in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome. This observation strengthens the likelihood that the material found in Theodosius' section on accentuation goes back to Herodian, and that Theodosius derived the material either from the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* or from an epitome, which seems to have been close to ours. The following table contains the words that are not cited by Theodosius as examples of the inflection of nouns, but only in the section on the accentuation of the oblique cases, and which are almost always included in Book 15 of our Epitome:

Theodosius: section on the accentuation	Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 ¹⁴⁹
GG iv.i 36.20 Ἀχιλλέος	146.16 Ἀχιλλέως
GG iv.i 36.23 φιλήματος, 40.8 φιλήματα	146.20, 153.12 φιλήματος; 153.13 φιλήματα
GG iv.i 37.1, 38.5 Ὀμήρου, 38.5 Ὀμηρον	146.21, 149.15, 151.9 Ὀμήρου, 167.18 Ὀμήρω, 149.15 Ὀμηρον
GG iv.i 37.3 πόλιος, 37.3 πόλεως, 41.14 πόλεων, 37.17 πόλει, 39.8 πόλεε	151.3 πόλεως, 151.3 πόλεε
GG iv.i 37.6 μιᾶς	147.11 μιᾶς, 147.13 μιᾷ
GG iv.i 37.7 ἰᾶς	147.11 ἰᾶς, 147.12 ἰᾷ
GG iv.i 37.8, 37.16 χηνός, 40.11 χηνῶν, 37.16 χηνί, 38.7 χῆνα	153.17 χηνῶν, 153.16 χῆνες
GG iv.i 37.8, 37.16 γραός	147.16 γραός, 150.6 γραῦν
GG iv.i 37.20 διχόμενι	

¹⁴⁹ The page and line numbers in this column refer to Schmidt's edition.

GG iv.i 37.20 πολυπάταγι	148.18-9 πολυπάταγι
GG iv.i 37.21 μελικράτι, 37.21 μελικράς	
GG iv.i 38.3 ἀβλήτος, 26.11 ἀβλής, 38.3 ἀβλήτα, 39.20 ἀβλήτες	149.12 ἀβλήτος, 149.12, 150.20 ἀβλήτα, 150.20 ἀβλήτε
GG iv.i 38.4 Διομήδεος, 38.4 Διομήδεα, 38.17 Διομήδες	149.12-3, 199.18 Διομήδεος, 199.18 Διομήδους, 149.13 Διομήδεα
GG iv.i 38.8 τίνα	149.21, 163.1 τίνα
GG iv.i 38.9 κλείν	150.7 κλείν
GG iv.i 38.9 λῖν	150.6 λῖν
GG iv.i 38.10 σῶν	150.5 σῶν, 154.17 σύες συῶν
GG iv.i 38.9 ζῶν	
GG iv.i 38.14 ποιητής ποιητά	151.18 ποιητά ποιηταῖν
GG iv.i 39.10 ἄμφω, δύο	151.14 ἄμφω, δύο
GG iv.i 40.1 πλησίοι	152.12 πλησίοι
GG iv.i 40.3 ἡμεραι, 40.4 ἡμεροι	153.1 ἡμεροι, ἡμεραι
GG iv.i 40.8 κέρατα	157.17 κέρατα
GG iv.i 40.11 μηνῶν, 41.24 μηνί, μηνί	147.16 μηνός, 150.2 μῆνα, 153.17 μῆνες μηνῶν
GG iv.i 38.8 τίνα	149.21 τίνα, 153.22-3 τίνες τίνων
GG iv.i 40.11 πάντων	152.4, 153.23, 154.19 πάντων
GG iv.i 40.11 Τρώων	153.22, 154.9 Τρώων
GG iv.i 40.12 δμῶν	153.25, 154.9 δμῶν
GG iv.i 40.12 παίδων	152.5, 153.23, 154.18 παίδων
GG iv.i 40.12 θῶν	153.24 θῶν
GG iv.i 40.12 κράτων	153.24 κράτων
GG iv.i 40.12 δάδων	153.24 δάδων
GG iv.i 40.12 λάων	153.25 λάων
GG iv.i 40.13 τοξοτῶν, but in the section on declension: 5.17 τοξόται, τοξόταις, 6.19 τοξότα	154.23 τοξόται τοξοτῶν, 152.17-8 τοξότης τοξόται
GG iv.i 40.13 Αἰνειῶν, but in the section on declension: 4.21 Αἰνείου	154.24 Αἰνειῶν; also 151.17 Αἰνεΐα Αἰνειῖν
GG iv.i 40.14 χλοῦνων	154.24 χλοῦναι χλοῦνων; also in other sections apart from Book 15: 45.13 χλοῦνης
GG iv.i 40.14 χρήστων	154.25 χρήστων
GG iv.i 40.14 ἐτησίων	154.25 ἐτησίων
GG iv.i 40.15 ἀελλῶν, 39.10 ἀέλλης ἀέλλα, 40.2 ἄελλαι, but in the section on declension: 25.7 ἄελλα ἀέλλης	154.27 ἄελλαι ἀελλῶν, 147.1 ἄελλαι, 151.9 ἀέλλης ἀέλλα, 152.18 ἄελλα ἄελλαι, 157.23-4 ἀέλλα ἀέλλαις, also in other sections apart from Book 15: 110.11 ἄελλα
GG iv.i 40.15 ἀφύων	155.1 ἀφύων
GG iv.i 40.18 Ποδίων (masculine and feminine genitive plural)	155.4 Ποδίων (masculine and feminine genitive plural)
GG iv.i 40.19, 41.18 δούλων	157.3 δούλων

GG iv.i 40.20, 41.17 φίλων	156.27, 157.9 φίλων
GG iv.i 41.1 μελαινῶν μελάνων	155.10 μελάνων μελαινῶν
GG iv.i 41.2 πόρνοι πόρνων ... πόρναι πορνῶν	155.14-5 πόρνοι πόρνων πόρναι πορνῶν
GG iv.i 41.3 πετρῶν	155.17-8 πέτραι πετρῶν
GG iv.i 41.4 ὀχθῶν	155.17 ὀχθαι ὀχθῶν
GG iv.i 41.8 Ἰλιαδῶν, 41.10 Ἰλιάδων	
GG iv.i 41.9 Δαναϊδῶν, 41.10 Δαναϊδων	156.11-2 Δαναϊδῶν, 156.12 Δαναϊδων
GG iv.i 41.12 δυσώδων	156.20 δυσώδων
GG iv.i 40.20, 41.17 φίλων	156.27, 157.9 φίλων
GG iv.i 41.17 κούφων	157.3, 157.9, 157.10 κούφων
GG iv.i 41.18 πτερῶν	157.14 πτερῶν
GG iv.i 41.18 ξυρῶν	157.13-4 ξυρῶν
GG iv.i 41.18-9 ὅστᾱ ὅστῶν	157.14 ὅστῶν
GG iv.i 41.19 γούνα γούνων	157.17 γούνα γούνων
GG iv.i 42.1 πᾶσι	157.24, 158.4 πᾶσι
GG iv.i 42.3 ἄστρασι	158.10 ἄστρασιν
GG iv.i 42.3 πρόβασι	158.9 πρόβασιν
GG iv.i 42.3 ἔγκασι	158.9 ἔγκασιν

The above pieces of evidence lead us to three main conclusions. Firstly, the fact that all three texts have a common core suggests that they all derive ultimately from a Herodianic source. Furthermore, the fact that not all the examples cited in the three texts are shared, but each of the texts provides examples which do not appear in any of the other two, suggests that the three texts had as their source a text which was richer in examples, either the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* or a more extensive epitome, and that in picking randomly from a large list the three authors ended up not always including the same examples. It is normally assumed that the epitomators had in their hands original Herodian, but nothing excludes the possibility that not even they had the original. Secondly, the fact that Philoponus and Pseudo-Arcadius' sections share some material which is not also shared by Theodosius speaks against the derivation of the section in Pseudo-Arcadius from Theodosius, i.e. against Theodosius' being an

intermediate source for the transmission of Herodianic material to Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15. Thirdly, the closeness of Theodosius' section to the section in Pseudo-Arcadius is more likely to be due to Theodosius' source being an epitome similar to Pseudo-Arcadius', not necessarily identical with it. This point is strengthened by the fact that nearly all the examples appearing in Theodosius' section on the accentuation of the oblique cases, and not in his section on the inflection, are shared by Pseudo-Arcadius.

We will now move on to examine the relationship between Book 15 of our Epitome and Choeroboscus' commentary on Theodosius' *Canones*, in order to check the second leg of K. E. A. Schmidt's view, that is to say the idea that Book 15 was formed on the basis of Choeroboscus' commentary on Theodosius' *Canones*. The table below contains the citations of passages with similarities in wording and use of common examples between Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, Theodosius' *Canones*, and Choeroboscus' scholia to Theodosius *Canones*:

Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome ¹⁵⁰	Theodosius' <i>Canones</i>	Choeroboscus' scholia to Theodosius' <i>Canones</i>
146.11 - 148.8	GG iv.i 36.16 - 37.4, 37.7-13	GG 362.3 - 363.19, 364.1-8, 364.26 - 365.8, 365.24-30, 367.25-37, 371.11 - 371.34, 373.4 - 373.19, 374.3-5
148.10 - 149.8	GG iv.i 37.15-22	375.23-9, 376.7-15, 377.8- 30, 378.3-12, 378.17-22, 379.1-12
149.10 - 150.7	GG iv.i 38.2-10	379.15 - 380.3, 380.4-24, 381.20 - 382.5
150.9-17	GG iv.i 38.12-3	384.8-17, 385.7-8, 385.19-23, 386.29-34, 387.14-6
150.19-151.3, 151.4-6, 151.7-14	GG iv.i 39.6-10	396.16-8, 396.35 - 397.3, 397.3-7, 397.13-20, 398.5-7
151.16-9, 151.20-5, 152.1-5	GG iv.i 39.12-7	398.22-5, 399.27 - 400.3, 400.13-

¹⁵⁰ The page and line numbers in this column refer to Schmidt's edition.

		23
152.7-8		401.1-4
152.10-2, 152.13-5, 152.16-20, 152.21-153.4, 153.5-13	GG iv.i 39.19 - 40.8	401.11-5, 402.1-14, 402.25-35, 403.3-21, 404.13-28
153.15 – 157.19	GG iv.i 40.10 - 41.21	404.33 - 405.11, 406.14 - 407.16, 408.21 - 413.21
157.21 - 158.10	GG iv.i 41.23 - 42.3	413.33 - 414.14, 414.29 -415.6,
158.12 - 159.3	GG iv.i 42.5-8	416.2-32

There are examples in common between Choeroboscus and Pseudo-Arcadius which are not found in Theodosius' section on the accentuation of the oblique cases. Such is the case of the dative singular: the examples *καλῶ*, *φωτί*, *μητροί*, *τινί* are common to Pseudo-Arcadius (148.11, 148.11, 148.12, and 148.12 respectively)¹⁵¹ and Choeroboscus (375.25, 375.26, 375.26, 375.27) but are not in Theodosius. This suggests that Choeroboscus had consulted a source other than Theodosius, and that this source and Book 15 of our epitome share a common origin. The fact that Theodosius often does not cite examples that are common to Pseudo-Arcadius and Choeroboscus reinforces our earlier conclusion that Theodosius could not have been the source of Book 15 of our epitome. In the cases where common examples in Pseudo-Arcadius and Choeroboscus are missing from Theodosius, the latter cannot even be an intermediate stage in the transmission of Herodianic material to Choeroboscus.

In what follows, I will argue against the derivation of Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 from Choeroboscus on the basis of four arguments. Firstly, there are examples which Pseudo-Arcadius and another Herodianic source, Philoponus, share, but which is not also shared by Choeroboscus. These common examples provide the best evidence against the

¹⁵¹ The page and line numbers in the brackets refer to Schmidt's edition.

derivation of Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 from Choeroboscus, but it is difficult to know whether they are enough to establish the point, and thus further evidence is needed. However, it should be noted that the absence of more than a few similarities between Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus, not shared by Choeroboscus, is to a large extent due to Philoponus' very different arrangement of the material he took over from Herodian (in line with his very different arrangement of the material in other parts of his work).¹⁵² The list below shows the examples that are common to the sections on the accentuation of the oblique cases in Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus, which are not cited by Choeroboscus:

τάλανες ταλάνων τάλαιναι ταλαινῶν (Ps.-Arc. 155.11 (Schmidt), Philop. 17.13-4); λουτρὸν λουτρά (Ps.-Arc. 153.10-1 (Schmidt), λουτρὸν λουτροῦ λουτρῶν (Philop. 16.26)

Secondly, Choeroboscus, Philoponus and Pseudo-Arcadius share a substantial common core of examples, something which suggests that the three texts go back to a common Herodianic source:

μηνός (Ps.-Arc. 147.16 (Schmidt)¹⁵³, Philop. 10.4, Choerob. 126.36); λάαος, κῆρος, ἥρος, ὕϊος, Θῶνος (Ps.-Arc. 147.19-148.5, Philop. 10.5-11, Choerob. 372.2-23); στᾶσι δοῦσι (Ps.-Arc. 158.2, Philop. 11.3, Choerob. 414.5); αὐταρκες, αὐθαδες (Ps.-Arc. 135.16-7, Philop. 13.35, Choerob. 394.4); χειροῖν (Ps.-Arc. 152.4-5, Philop. 15.11, Choerob. 321.23, 400.18); εὐσεβῶν (Ps.-Arc. 156.20, Philop. 16.30, Choerob. 411.18-9); εὐσεβέων (Ps.-Arc. 156.20, Philop. 19.6, Choerob. 411.19); θυγατρῶν (Ps.-Arc. 156.2-3, Philop. 19.12, Choerob. 410.36-7); κανῶν (Ps.-Arc. 157.15, Philop. 19.28, Choerob. 413.9); φώτων (Ps.-Arc. 152.3, Philop. 19.30, Choerob. 361.16-7, 413.12, 413.29); ταχεῖς (Ps.-Arc. 158.15, Philop. 20.17, Choerob. 416.14, 416.20, 416.35)

Thirdly, there are substantial similarities between Choeroboscus and Philoponus which are not also in Pseudo-Arcadius, to the extent that, if one is assuming that the

¹⁵² See the section on Philoponus' Epitome pp. 43-7.

¹⁵³ Pseudo-Arcadius' page and line numbers in this list refer to Schmidt's edition.

similarities between Pseudo-Arcadius and Choeroboscus are due to the fact that book 15 is formed on the basis of Choeroboscus, one would also have to assume that Choeroboscus is the basis for Philoponus (which cannot be true because Philoponus is earlier; but even if Philoponus was not earlier, one would not expect him to derive material from another work apart from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, which he is epitomising in some form) or that Philoponus or something similar to Philoponus was the basis for Choeroboscus. This points in the direction of Choeroboscus' deriving material from Herodian in some form. This view is reinforced by the fact that often the similarities between Choeroboscus and Philoponus are not in Theodosius, or at least are not in Theodosius' section on accentuation.¹⁵⁴ The list below includes the similarities between Philoponus and Choeroboscus:

λεώ, νεώ (Philop. 9.27, Choerob. 253.22, 374.21; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Μενέλεως, τοῦ Μενέλεω, τῷ Μενέλεω, τὸν Μενέλεων (Philop. 9.30, Choerob. 253.16-7; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Ζηνός (Philop. 10.4, Choerob. 261.25; not in Theodosius); Σιμοῦντος (Philop. 10.20, Choerob. 121.19-20; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Δημοσθένεος Σωκράτεος (Philop. 10.16, Choerob. 374.29-30; Δημοσθένης only in Theodosius' section on inflection, Σωκράτεος not in Theodosius); Πάριδος (Philop. 10.16, Choerob. 368.14; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); εἰνάτερος (Philop. 10.25; Choerob. 262.18, 368.15, 389.16; εἰνάτερος not attested in Theodosius); στάντι (Philop. 11.3, Choerob. 378.26; not in Theodosius); ἦρι κῆρι (Philop. 11.2, Choerob. 375.27, 378.6; not in Theodosius); δόντι (Philop. 11.3, Choerob. 378.23, 378.26; not in Theodosius); ἔρωσι (Philop. 11.16, Choerob. 326.32; not in Theodosius); ἀβλήτι, εὐσεβεί (Philop. 11.18, Choerob. 375.27-8; not in Theodosius); Ξενοφῶντι (Philop. 11.19-20, Choerob. 375.28; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσιν (quotation; Philop. 11.21, Choerob. 414.7; not in Theodosius); θήρεσσι, κύνεσσι (Philop. 11.24, Choerob. 414.22, 28; not in Theodosius); ποσί (Philop. 11.25, Choerob. 325.20; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation);

¹⁵⁴ In fact sometimes the examples are in Theodosius' section on inflection, but I think that in the sections where Choeroboscus is commenting on the accentuation, one would expect him to derive material from Theodosius' section on accentuation.

σωτήρα (Philop. 12.10, Choerob. 322.10; not in Theodosius); Ἀδώνιδα (Philop. 12.10, Choerob. 379.30-1; not in Theodosius); νοῦν (Philop. 12.22, Choerob. 379.26; not in Theodosius); χοῦν (Philop. 12.22, Choerob. 129.11, 238.1; not in Theodosius); βοῦν (Philop. 12.22, Choerob. 379.26, 383.4; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Ἀτρείδης Ἀτρείδην (Philop. 12.25, Choerob. 383.2; not in Theodosius); ἰχθύν (Philop. 12.26, Choerob. 305.38, 383.5; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); ἦῶ, αἰδῶ, ἦόα, αἰδόα (Philop. 12.31-2, Choerob. 312.4; not in Theodosius); τὴν Κλειῶ (Philop. 12.33, Choerob. 383.25; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Λητόα (Philop. 12.35, Choerob. 308.24, 311.23; not in Theodosius); Ἀπόλλω Ποσειδῶ (Philop. 12.29-30 (Ἀπολλῶ in Dindorf is a mistake), Choerob. 383.19-20; not in Theodosius); κυκεῶ (Philop. 12.30, Choerob. 284.33, 338.19-20; not in Theodosius); οἱ ἰχθῦς τοῦς ἰχθῦς (Philop. 13.4, Choerob. 417.1; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Δημόσθενες (Philop. 13.31, Choerob. 392.28-9; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Ἑκτορ, Νέστορ (Philop. 14.1, Choerob. 394.22; Ἑκτορ not in Theodosius; Νέστορ not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); Ἑρμῆς Ἑρμᾶ (Philop. 14.28, Choerob. 398.3; not in Theodosius); Ἀπελλᾶ (Philop. 14.28, Choerob. 399.9; not in Theodosius); Παρίδων (Philop. 15.18, Choerob. 400.25; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); γυναικοῖν (Philop. 15.20, Choerob. 400.19; not in Theodosius); θυγατροῖν (Philop. 15.20, Choerob. 400.20; not in Theodosius); Πάριδες (Philop. 15.25, Choerob. 234.26; not in Theodosius' section on accentuation); βιοπλανές (Philop. 15.26, Choerob. 401.33; not in Theodosius); βιοπλανές ἀγρὸν ἀπ' ἀγροῦ (quotation; Philop. 15.27, Choerob. 401.34; not in Theodosius); ποιοῦσαι (Philop. 17.18, Choerob. 403.8, 409.24); πεδῶν (Philop. 18.24, Choerob. 405.18; not in Theodosius); μάντεων (Philop. 19.8, Choerob. 412.18, 412.26; not in Theodosius); σφυρὰ σφυρῶν (Philop. 19.27, Choerob. 413.7-8; not in Theodosius); βελῶν (Philop. 19.32-3, Choerob. 413.22); συκαῖ συκᾶς (Philop. 20.26, Choerob. 417.17; not in Theodosius).

In addition, there are two examples in Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 which are not cited in Choeroboscus. These examples, although not attested in any of the other epitomes of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, contradict the view that the section on the oblique cases in Book 15 was derived from Choeroboscus. One should not expect that there will be complete convergence between the several epitomes of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* as regards the citation of examples. It should be kept in mind that the epitomators are selecting examples from large lists, and that the similarities between the

epitomes are the result of the epitomators' random selection of common examples. It is also not surprising that there are only two examples which are in Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 but not in Choeroboscus, because Choeroboscus is writing an extensive commentary, and the great number of examples contained in his work suggests that he made an effort to collect as many examples as possible. The following are the examples that are in Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 15 but not in Choeroboscus:

παχεῖ (148.13 Schmidt¹⁵⁵); ἄγια (153.7).

In conclusion, the similarities between Choeroboscus and Pseudo-Arcadius, Pseudo-Arcadius and Philoponus, Philoponus and Choeroboscus, and the common core between all three, are all explained with the single and economical assumption that they all derive material from Herodian independently of one another. This explains why none of the three texts under examination includes all the examples of the other two texts.

Who is then the τεχνικός mentioned by both Pseudo-Arcadius and Choeroboscus? Is he Theodosius, as one would straightaway assume when reading Choeroboscus' commentary on the *Canones*? The τεχνικός mentioned in Book 15 of our Epitome may be taken to be Herodian, not Theodosius. It is significant that the τεχνικός is mentioned in connection with πολυπάταγος and its change of declension in the dative; this example is missing from Theodosius. The fact that Choeroboscus did not name Herodian may be explained on the basis that Herodian was an authority on accentuation and was often cited as τεχνικός in grammatical works. Choeroboscus might have thought

¹⁵⁵ All page and line numbers in this list refer to Schmidt's edition.

that Herodian would be easily understood behind τεχνικός, although he uses the term τεχνικός for Theodosius in other instances.

In conclusion, on the basis of all the above evidence I take Pseudo-Arcadius' section on the accentuation of the oblique cases to have belonged to the epitome from the beginning.

Book 17

According to the Table of Contents of our Epitome, Book 17 deals with the accent of compound verbs and participles. Towards the end of the section on verbs we read two interpolated sections.¹⁵⁶ These two sections take up pages 199.4-200.20 in Schmidt's edition. The first contains five general precepts on the accentuation of syllables and words (not verbs), and one rule on the transformation of unaspirated consonants to aspirated ones when an aspirated vowel follows. This section is clearly out of place in Book 17, and it is very difficult to know where it came from and why or how it was placed here. The second interpolated section, entitled ἔτι περὶ συνθέτων ῥημάτων ('further on compound verbs'), contains a clumsy repetition of the accentuation rules on compound verbs which preceded, and could be the work of another epitomator or of a scribe.

Book 18

Book 18 deals with the accentuation of 'articles' (i.e. the article in our sense, and the relative pronoun) and prepositions. After the section on articles and prepositions, there is a section on the accentuation of prepositions in anastrophe. This last section was

¹⁵⁶ On the discussion of the interpolated sections in Book 17 see also Galland (1882*b*), 29-30.

regarded by Galland as spurious.¹⁵⁷ Lentz observed that the doctrine on anastrophe in Philoponus' Epitome (26.13 – 28.19), which appears in the section on prepositions, accords with the doctrine on anastrophe which found its way from the Περί Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας to the *Iliad* scholia.¹⁵⁸ Lentz considered it doubtful whether the doctrine on anastrophe found in Philoponus was originally in the section on prepositions or in the Appendix, but the coherence of the section on anastrophe with the rest of the section on prepositions did not suggest that the section on anastrophe had been relocated from elsewhere.¹⁵⁹ Finally, Lentz considered it likely that anastrophe was dealt with twice in the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας, once in the section on prepositions and once in the Appendix, and thought that this would not have been annoying for the reader in such an extensive work, especially because Herodian would have added something new in the second treatment.¹⁶⁰

One could expect anastrophe of prepositions to be dealt with in the Appendix which treats the accentuation of words in sentences, since anastrophe involves a special accent for a special word order. Nevertheless, the fact that anastrophe of prepositions is also dealt with in the section on prepositions in Philoponus' Epitome makes it quite likely that this was the original position of the corresponding section in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome. It is true, as Galland points out, that the arrangement of the material is not the same in the two epitomes, but the fact that anastrophe is dealt with in both epitomes

¹⁵⁷ Galland (1882*b*), 30.

¹⁵⁸ Lentz (1863), 113.

¹⁵⁹ Lentz (1863), 113.

¹⁶⁰ Lentz (1863), 113.

should not be overlooked.¹⁶¹ The difference between the two epitomes in the arrangement of the material reveals that at least one of the two epitomators deviates considerably from his source, but still it is significant that the layout of the section on prepositions (with the treatment of anastrophe in a self-contained section at the end) remains the same in both epitomes. Furthermore, nothing excludes the possibility that anastrophe of prepositions was dealt with twice in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσηδίας*, both in the book on prepositions and in the Appendix, since it is related both to the accentuation of prepositions and to the accentuation of words in connected speech.¹⁶²

Book 19

Book 19 contains two separate sections on adverbs, but not all manuscripts transmit both. Manuscripts M, A, and C have both sections, while O and B have only the first one. O and B have the reading *λείπει* in the margin, at the point where the first section ends, and just before the second section in the other manuscripts, while M and A include the second section but have *λείπει* in the margin, at the point where the first section ends. In M *λείπει* (more specifically *λείπ*) was subsequently deleted. The different and faint ink colour with which *λείπει* is deleted in M could suggest that *λείπει* was not deleted soon after being written, but possibly when the second section was added.

In addition to the above problem, another one arises from the fact that M has the following phrase between the two sections on adverbs: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Θεοδοσίου, τὰ δὲ Ἡρωδιανοῦ οὕτως* ('and the above was by Theodosius, while Herodian's work is as

¹⁶¹ For the counter-argument and the view that the section on the anastrophe of the prepositions should be attributed to some other grammarian see Galland (1882*b*), 30.

¹⁶² See also the argument in Lentz (1863), 113.

follows'), but this phrase is not found in A. It is easy to imagine that the scribe of A had seen this phrase and omitted it, realising that it would confuse a reader. Another problem with the manuscript tradition as regards this book is that although B and C are codices *gemelli*, they present this book in different ways. B has λείπει in the margin and omits the second section, while the exact opposite happens in C. One has to assume that either the second section was omitted in π , the common source of B and C, and λείπει was written in the margin and thus B reproduced it, while C added the second section from another source and thus did not write λείπει in the margin, or that π was like C, while the scribe of B omitted the second section and wrote λείπει, because he thought that the second section interrupted the first and did not belong to the text. The first hypothesis is more likely both because the picture in B is parallel to that in O, and because the scribe of C, Jacob Diassorinus, was a known forger of his time and could be thought to have added the second section in order to make his copy look more complete.¹⁶³ Diassorinus' intention to present a fuller copy than his source, without revealing any doubt as to the status of the second section, is also suggested by the fact that he does not write λείπει, unlike O, B, and more importantly A, which although based on a source with both sections, nevertheless has λείπει in the margin like its source, M.

The question that arises is whether both sections on adverbs go back to Herodian or just one of them. If we compare the two sections we observe that some of the adverbs they deal with are common to both, but these are grouped differently and the reason given for their accentuation differs (e.g. the examples δίς, τρίς 206.11, 207.18 and the

¹⁶³ Cohn (1888), 141-3; see also Galland (1882a), 17.

examples ποῦ, πῇ, ποῖ, πῶς 206.18, 209.16).¹⁶⁴ In general, one would have to forgive repetitions in such a large work as the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*. However, repetitions of this kind within the same section and with the features described above suggest that the two parts have an independent history. Galland's comparison of the sections on adverbs in this Epitome with the corresponding portion in Philoponus' Epitome (28.20 – 39.28) reveals that the arrangement of the material in the first section of our Epitome is similar to that of Philoponus, but this is not true for the second section in our Epitome.¹⁶⁵ For example, the order in which the following groups of adverbs appear is the same in the first section in Pseudo-Arcadius and in Philoponus: the monosyllabic adverbs, the πυσματικά ποῦ πῇ πῶς, the monosyllabic adverbs with a δίχρονον, the monosyllables with η, and the adverbs with ω.

A possible explanation for the existence of the two sections could be that the second portion came from another source (another epitome?) and was incorporated into our Epitome, probably by a scribe who saw λείπει in the margin of his source and tried to fill the gap by adding a section on adverbs which he thought went back to Herodian. We cannot know with certainty at what stage this addition was made. The phrase καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Θεοδοσίου, τὰ δὲ Ἡρωδιανοῦ οὕτως in M might prove crucial to our understanding. Lascaris, the scribe of M, probably wanted to indicate that the epitome he was copying from and which was attributed to Theodosius, was interrupted at the end of the first section on adverbs (207.7 Schmidt). Lascaris could have found λείπει in the margin of his source but wished to complete the text by adding material from a work that

¹⁶⁴ The page and line numbers in brackets refer to Schmidt's edition.

¹⁶⁵ For a more detailed treatment of this argument see Galland (1882*b*), 32.

went back to Herodian, or at least a work that he thought went back to Herodian.¹⁶⁶ This could also explain why we find λείπει deleted in M: Lascaris could have deleted λείπει after adding the second section.

In the face of these problems (but without access to M) Schmidt printed both sections, while Lentz at this point took as his basis the section on adverbs from the corresponding section in Philoponus' Epitome. When I eventually edit Book 19 I plan to write λείπει at the end of section one and to print the second section as an appendix, since I consider that the παλαιὰ βίβλος, to which ultimately all the extant manuscripts go back,¹⁶⁷ did not have the second section, and because the second section, unlike the first, cannot be considered parallel to the section on adverbs in Philoponus' Epitome.

Book 20

Book 20 of the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας presents two main problems. First of all it is found only in our Epitome and secondly it survives only in the manuscript *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 (C).¹⁶⁸ Book 20 as transmitted in C contains four sections: (i) περὶ τῆς τῶν τόνων εὐρέσεως, καὶ τῶν σχημάτων αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ χρόνων καὶ πνευμάτων ('on the invention of the accents, on their forms, and on (vowel) quantities and breathings', 211.5 – 216.2 Schmidt), (ii) περὶ προσωδιῶν ('on prosodies', 216.3 – 217.11 Schmidt), (iii) περὶ χρόνων ('on vowel quantities', 217.12 – 222.10 Schmidt), and (iv) περὶ πνευμάτων ('on breathings', 222.11 – 227.6 Schmidt).

¹⁶⁶ See also the argument in Galland (1882*b*), 33.

¹⁶⁷ See footnote 97 above.

¹⁶⁸ See also the discussion in Dyck (1993), 778. Previous scholars have argued that Book 20 is interpolated: Geppert (1873), 252; Galland (1882*a*), 17-8; Egenolff (1887), 6.

The scribe of C is Jacob Diassorinus, who must have noticed the absence of this book in his source and wanted to fill the gap.¹⁶⁹ It is possible that he compiled the Book 20 we have himself or that he found it somewhere.¹⁷⁰ It is unlikely that Diassorinus had found Book 20 in his source for the Epitome because, as will be shown in the chapter on the Manuscript Tradition, manuscript C is a codex *gemellus* with *Parisinus Graecus* 2603 (B), and the common source of B and C, π, goes back to a source, codex *Matritensis* 4575 (M), which did not include Book 20. An indication in favour of this view is that there is no description of Book 20 in the Table of Contents of the epitome in C.¹⁷¹ Although Book 20 is not commemorated in the Table of Contents of C, something which suggests that its source did not have it, the scribe of C wrote the following heading before the Preface to the Epitome with Book 20 as well as Books 1-19 in mind:¹⁷²

Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνου τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως τῶν προσφιδίων καὶ περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ ἐγκλινομένων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πνευμάτων καὶ χρόνων¹⁷³

A short passage in C, transmitted between the end of Book 19 and the beginning of Book 20, seems to be a join between material from two different sources, and therefore supports the point that the Book 20 we have did not originally belong with the rest of the Epitome:¹⁷⁴

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τόνων, διεξοδικῶς μὲν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως κατ' ἐμὲ οἶόν τ' ἦν συντεθεῖσθαι τῷ τὸ μῆκος τῆς Ἡρωδιανοῦ πραγματείας ἐκφυγεῖν

¹⁶⁹ Galland (1882a), 17; cf. Cohn (1888), 141-3.

¹⁷⁰ See also Cohn (1888), 142-3.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Galland (1882a), 17-8 and Egenolff (1887), 6. See p. 108.

¹⁷² Cf. the discussion in Galland (1882a), 18.

¹⁷³ See also the discussion of this phrase in the section on the authorship, pp. 58-9 and on the description of codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2102, p. 154.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. the discussion in Galland (1882a), 17-8.

βουλομένω· νῦν δὲ περὶ αἰτίας τῆς τῶν τόνων εὐρέσεως καὶ τῶν σχημάτων αὐτῶν διὰ βραχέων διαληψόμεθα· ἔτι δὲ περὶ χρόνων καὶ πνευμάτων ('so much for accents – (we have dealt with them) in detail, but (only) this much. For, as I think, it would not have been possible for one wanting to avoid the length of Herodian's treatise to compose (the epitome) in a different way; and now we will deal briefly with the cause of inventing the accents and with their forms; and also with vowel quantities and breathings').

A question that arises is whether the Book 20 contained in C was composed by Diassorinus or whether this scribe had another source apart from π.¹⁷⁵

The section Περὶ προσωδίων is essentially the same text as we find in the *Supplementa artis Dionysianae vetusta* edited by Uhlig (GG i.i. 105-114).¹⁷⁶ Lentz argued that the section Περὶ προσωδίων should not be considered a work of Herodian, because the author of this small treatise includes the πάθη in the prosodies, while Herodian did not.¹⁷⁷

The extract entitled Περὶ πνευμάτων in Book 20 is a version of the treatise περὶ πνευμάτων which occurs in manuscripts *Vaticanus Graecus* 1370 (fol. 138-40), *Palatinus Graecus* 70 (fol. 249 verso - 251 verso)¹⁷⁸, *Marcianus Graecus* 652 (fol. 170 verso - 172 verso), *Baroccianus* 116 (fol. 50), *Monacensis* 284 (fol. 60 recto - 62 verso)¹⁷⁹, and *Coislinianus* 176 (fol. 27 verso - 28 verso), as a supplement to the Τέχνη γραμματική attributed to Dionysius

¹⁷⁵ For the view that Diassorinus composed Book twenty, the possibility that Diassorinus worked with Constantine Paleokappa on it or that the creator of Book twenty was Angelus Vergecius see Cohn (1888), 142-3.

¹⁷⁶ See also the discussion on the interpolations in Book 20 by Hiller (1866), 29.

¹⁷⁷ Lentz (1867-70), CXXXIV, cf. XLIV; cf. Galland (1882c), 29-30; Cf. Hiller (1866), 29.

¹⁷⁸ So also *IRHT*, but Uhlig (1883), LV-LVI mentions folios 247 recto - 248 recto.

¹⁷⁹ As opposed to the catalogue of the library, the *IRHT* gives fol. 10-54, but I have not been able to examine the manuscript by autopsy.

Thrax.¹⁸⁰ Closest to *Parisinus* 2102 are *Coislinianus* 176 and *Monacensis* 284.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, words whose breathings are commented on in the extract *Περὶ πνευμάτων* again occur as lemmata in a section of the so-called *Λεξικὸν τῆς γραμματικῆς* published by Bachmann in his *Anecdota Graeca* (I 443.18 – 446.25).¹⁸² The section at 225.26 – 226.16 (Schmidt) is found in none of the above manuscripts, and the part from 226.24 (Schmidt) to the end is also completely different from anything found in the other manuscripts,¹⁸³ but this does not include the lemmata of the *Λεξικὸν τῆς γραμματικῆς*.

The *Περὶ χρόνων* is related to a section of the so-called *Λεξικὸν τῆς γραμματικῆς*, published in Bachmann's *Anecdota Graeca* (I 446.26 – 450.14).¹⁸⁴ Certain examples whose vowel quantity is commented on in the *Περὶ χρόνων* appear as lemmata in the *Λεξικὸν τῆς γραμματικῆς*, suggesting some relationship between the *Περὶ χρόνων* and the grammatical treatise which was the basis for the *Λεξικὸν τῆς γραμματικῆς*.

Given the relationships between the sections of the Book 20 we have and other known treatises, Book 20 was certainly not composed by Diassorinus from scratch. He either took them over more or less as he found them in one or more sources apart from *π*, or he made his own compilation. But it would be wrong to treat the sections of Book 20 as having no history before Diassorinus.

¹⁸⁰ For more details of the manuscripts see Uhlig (1883), LV-LVI, and for a discussion see Galland (1882c), 30-1; Egenolff (1887), 8-9.

¹⁸¹ Egenolff (1887), 9.

¹⁸² See Galland (1882c), 27.

¹⁸³ Egenolff (1887), 9.

¹⁸⁴ See Galland (1882c), 27.

Diassorinus may be thought to have added Book 20 in his copy in order to make it seem more complete. There are other indications in C which suggest that Diassorinus struggled to present his copy as fully as and close to the classical style as possible, and therefore the addition of Book 20 should not surprise us. Diassorinus almost always adds οἶον before the examples for the rules, and creates *hyperbata* in his attempt to imitate a classical style. When I edit the remaining books of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome I plan to print Book 20 as transmitted in C as an appendix.

The Appendix

The Appendix is not transmitted by any of the manuscripts. All the evidence we have for its existence is the Table of Contents preceding our Epitome. We are not even sure whether this was originally another book, standing alongside the other twenty comprising the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας, or whether it was an appendix with some sort of special status, accompanying the twenty books. The way this section is presented in the Table of Contents suggests that it was probably an appendix, both because it is not named Book 21, and because its description –in a separate paragraph– follows the Table listing the other twenty books. For the purposes of this thesis, I will call this section 'Appendix', except when mentioning another scholar's view that this section was Book 21. A general treatise on accents, as the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας is, would have been incomplete without this section that was dedicated to the accentuation of words in sentences.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Lentz (1867-70), LVIII.

The Appendix dealt with the forms of words in connected speech. To this end, this section treated διαστολή and συναλοιφή and ‘all the other things that accompany reading’ (περὶ ... τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρακολουθούντων τῇ ἀναγνώσει). In this context διαστολή indicates: (i) punctuation (see sch. Hom. *Il.* 1.62-3a), (ii) word division (e.g. whether to read δι’ ἀσπίδεος or διὰ σπίδεος, see sch. Hom. *Il.* 11.754a, 11.754b), and (iii) the separation of words which belong closely together in meaning but are not real compounds, a synonym for διάλυσις and παράθεσις (e.g. sch. Hom. *Il.* 10.109 δουρὶ κλυτός).¹⁸⁶ συναλοιφή is the connection between words which go together syntactically (e.g. sch. Hom. *Il.* 12.446-7a2 πρυμνὸς παχύς).¹⁸⁷ κρᾶσις, ὑφέν, and ἔκθλιψις are types of συναλοιφή.

In a part with this content it would be normal to expect a treatment of enclisis and anastrophe. I have dealt with the view that two sections on enclitics which are transmitted at the end of Book 15 could have been part of the Appendix in my treatment of ‘The sections on enclitics’ in the framework of Book 15, and with the possibility that the Appendix contained a treatment of prepositions in anastrophe in my treatment of Book 18.

d) Pseudo-Arcadius’ method of excerpting Herodian

In the preface to our epitome we learn why the epitomator created an abridgement of the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας and how he excerpted Herodian. For discussion of these two issues see the Notes on the epitomator’s preface.

¹⁸⁶ For a further discussion of the meaning of the word διαστολή see Lentz (1863), 113-4, from whom I have derived the examples in brackets.

¹⁸⁷ For a further discussion of the meaning of the word συναλοιφή and examples see Lentz (1863), 114.

e) Grammatical terminology and concepts

This section will discuss the evidence for the range of meanings with which several terms are used in the Epitome. The treatment of the Terminology relating to syllables and concepts of syllable division (2) is discussed for the first time, while in my discussion of the terms βαρύτονος (1), προσηγορικόν (4), κύριον (5), ἔθνικά (6), and in my section entitled Indication of the genders a word has as a way of distinguishing between nouns, proper names, and adjectives (3), I will clarify how certain terms are used and how specific concepts are understood in the Epitome.

1. *'Barytone' and 'Recessive' words*

The term βαρύτονος 'barytone' refers to words with no accent on the final syllable. Within this group of words there is a significant subset: words whose accent is as far from the end of the word as allowed by the limits on the position of the Greek accent, called 'recessive' in modern terminology.¹⁸⁸ The term βαρύνειν / βαρύνεσθαι (βαρύτονος etc.; henceforth simply 'βαρύτονος') is used in our Epitome to refer both more broadly to words with no accent on the final syllable and more narrowly to recessive words. When βαρύτονος is used in its wider sense it is a cover term for different groups of non-final-syllable accented words: paroxytone, proparoxytone, and properispomenon. βαρύτονος as a cover term for the above groups does not coincide with our notion of recessiveness.

The following list shows cases where the term βαρύτονος is used as a cover term for non-final-syllable accented words: (1) 49.6-8 ποίησις, γνῶσις, πρᾶξις, φάνσις, μίανσις; (2) 117.16-7 βλέννος, θύννος, Κύννος, Δάτυννος, Ἄργυννος, τύραννος; (3)

¹⁸⁸ See further Probert (forthcoming).

120.4-5 αἶνος, Αὔαινος, Κόλαινος, οἶνος, σχοῖνος; (4) 125.5-6 Λίπαξος, Ἄραξος, Πύξος; (5) 157.4-5 τεῖχος, βέλος, πάθος, πέλαγος, ὕψος; (6) 100.13-5 (Schmidt) κακοῦργος, πανοῦργος, ἐκάεργος, περίεργος, πολύεργος, πάρεργος; (7) 108.4-5 (Schmidt) Πέλοψ, Δρύοψ, μέροψ, βούκλεψ, τυρόκλεψ; (8) 110.10-1 (Schmidt) ψύλλα, Σκύλλα, Σίβυλλα, ἄμιλλα, ἄελλα, ἀνάπαυλα; (9) 142.24-143.1 (Schmidt) τεῖχος, βέλος, πέλαγος, ὄνειδος; (10) 157.2-4 (Schmidt) δοῦλοι, κοῦφοι, νυμφῖοι, Ὀμηροί, τίμιοι; (11) 171.10-3 (Schmidt) θάλλω, λάμπω, πέμπω, λείπω, μέλπω, βλέπω, ἐρείπω; (12) 194.14-5 (Schmidt) τύπτω, τύπτωμαι, τύπω, τύπωμαι; (13) 196.11-2 (Schmidt) τύπηθι, δάρηθι, τύφθηθι (τύφθητι), βῆθι, στήθι, ἴσθι; (14) 197.13-4 (Schmidt) τύψαι, τυφθῆναι, τετύφθαι, τύπτεσθαι; (15) 209.21-2 (Schmidt) ἄρα, κᾶτα, ὄφρα, ἵνα, ἔνεκα, οὔνεκα, δῆτα. The following passage also illustrates the wider sense of the term βαρύτονος:

158.17-22 (Schmidt) αἱ γὰρ αἰτιατικαὶ πληθυντικαὶ εἰς ΑΣ λήγουσαι βραχυκατάληκτοι οὐκ ὀξύνονται, ἀλλὰ βαρύνονται. ὁμοτονουῖσι δὲ τῇ πληθυντικῇ εὐθείᾳ οὐδέποτε ὀξυτονουμένη, οἷον· γυναικός γυναιῖκες γυναιῖκας, θυγατρὸς θύγατρες θύγατρας προπαροξυτόνως, καὶ φωτός φῶτες φῶτας.

A glance at Pseudo-Arcadius makes it clear that βαρύτονος is more often used with reference to recessive words, but this first impression can be made more precise. In what follows I shall examine the extent to which the term βαρύτονος is reserved for recessive words in the Epitome, and the extent to which the Epitome provides evidence for a clear conception of the category 'recessive'.

I have done a TLG search of the terms βαρύτονος, προπαροξύτονος, παροξύτονος, προπερισπώμενος in the Epitome and have organised the collected material in four tables: (i) proparoxytone words with a light final syllable called βαρύτονος in the first column, and called προπαροξύτονος in the second column, (ii)

paroxytone and properispomenon words of more than two syllables with a light final syllable called βαρύτονος in the first column, and called παροξύτονος / προπερισπώμενος in the second column, (iii) disyllabic words with the accent on the first syllable called βαρύτονος in the first column, and called παροξύτονος / προπερισπώμενος in the second column, and (iv) polysyllabic words with heavy final syllable and accent on the penultimate called βαρύτονος in the first column, and called παροξύτονος in the second column. Since the number of words exemplifying the several accentuation rules in the Epitome is random, I count the occurrences of the terms that are used with reference to the above-mentioned groups of words, not the number of examples with which each of the terms is exemplified.

The table below (i) shows how frequently words that have at least three syllables and a light final syllable are called ‘βαρύτονος’ in the first column, and ‘προπαροξύτονος’ in the second column:

Proparoxytone words with a light final syllable called ‘βαρύτονος’ etc.	Proparoxytone words with a light final syllable called ‘προπαροξύτονος’ etc.
38	131

Table (i) shows that proparoxytone words with a light final syllable are more often called προπαροξύτονος than βαρύτονος. Moreover, a comparison of the first column of this table with the list of cases where the term βαρύτονος is used as a cover term (for words not accented on the final syllable) shows that the term βαρύτονος is more often used to describe recessive words than as a cover term, something which suggests a notion of recessiveness. On the other hand none of the other terms (προπαροξύτονος, παροξύτονος etc.) is usable in relation to such lists of words. It would be premature to

conclude that βαρύτονος is the preferred term here because the instances covered are all recessive; a further comparison is needed.

In table (ii) below I have collected the occurrences of βαρύτονος and παροξύτονος / προπερισπώμενος with reference to non-recessive words of more than two syllables with the accent on the penultimate and a light final syllable:

Paroxytone and Properispomenon words of more than two syllables with a light final syllable called 'βαρύτονος' etc.	Paroxytone and Properispomenon words of more than two syllables with a light final syllable called 'παροξύτονος' or 'προπερισπώμενος' etc.
2	89

It is striking that paroxytone and properispomenon words of more than two syllables with a light final syllable are almost never called βαρύτονος. Could it be the facts of the Greek language, rather than any ancient conception of recessiveness, which make βαρύτονος especially useful in relation to lists of recessive words? In order to answer this question we need to have more evidence.

Table (iii) below shows that disyllabic words with the accent on the first syllable are most frequently referred to with the term βαρύτονος. This suggests that βαρύτονος is used in its narrower sense, i.e. recessive, and that there is a tendency not to use παροξύτονος/προπερισπώμενος when βαρύτονος is sufficient.

Disyllabic words with the accent on the first syllable called 'βαρύτονος' etc.	Disyllabic words with the accent on the first syllable called 'παροξύτονος' or 'προπερισπώμενος' etc.
87	38

The indications for a notion of recessiveness in the use of the term βαρύτονος in the Epitome are reinforced by the greater frequency of the use of the term βαρύτονος

than παροξύτονος when referring to polysyllabic words with heavy final syllable and accent on the penultimate, as illustrated in table (iv) below.¹⁸⁹

Polysyllabic words with heavy final syllable and accent on the penultimate called βαρύτονος	Polysyllabic words with heavy final syllable and accent on the penultimate called παροξύτονος
53	20

Further evidence that the term βαρύτονος is mostly used with a notion of recessiveness derives from the passage below. The phrase βαρύνονται ὡς δισύλλαβα with reference to disyllabic words with the accent on the first syllable differently from proparoxytone words with three syllables almost suggests that disyllabic words are not long enough to be proparoxytone, but since their accent is as far from the end of the word they are recessive.

196.20-2 (Schmidt) Τὰ εἰς Αἰ ὑπερδισύλλαβα προστακτικὰ προπαροξύνονται· ποιήσαι ἄσπασαι. τὸ δὲ λοῦσαι καὶ δέξαι καὶ κτῆσαι βαρύνονται ὡς δισύλλαβα.

The term βαρύτονος is also used in the Epitome for an oxytone word whose accent has been turned into a grave in connected speech. This use only occurs in the two sections on enclitics that are transmitted at the end of Book 15.¹⁹⁰

167.12-4 (Schmidt) Ἔτι καὶ αἱ ὀξυνόμεναι λέξεις, βαρυνόμεναι δὲ διὰ τὴν συνέπειαν, ἐγκλιτικῷ ἐπιφερομένου τὴν βαρεῖαν ἐγείρουσιν· αὐτός, αὐτός μοι.

160.20-3 (Schmidt) πᾶσα λέξις ὀξύτονος πολλάκις ἐν τῇ συνθέσει κοιμίζει τὴν ὀξεῖαν εἰς βαρεῖαν, χωρὶς τοῦ τίς, οἶον· Ζεὺς Ζεὺς δέ· καλὸς καλὸς ἄνθρωπος· σοφὸς σοφὸς ἄνθρωπος.

The above observations lead us to conclude that the term βαρύτονος in the Epitome, in addition to being usable in its wide sense ‘having no accent on the final

¹⁸⁹ All page and line numbers in this table refer to Schmidt’s edition.

¹⁹⁰ See the discussion of Book 15, pp. 64-102.

syllable’ is also employed to refer to a subset of barytone words whose accent is as far from the end of the word as allowed by the limits on the position of the Greek accent, i.e. to recessive words. However, despite this awareness of the category of recessives, the lack of a special term to refer to recessive words exclusively suggests that the category ‘recessive’ was conceived less clearly than it is today.

2. Terminology relating to syllables and concepts of syllable division

Syllables in ancient grammar are grouped into three categories: (i) long by nature (φύσει μακρά): a syllable containing a long vowel or a diphthong, (ii) long by position (θέσει μακρά): a syllable containing a vowel (most often a short vowel) in a closed syllable (i.e. the vowel is followed by a consonant belonging to the same syllable), and (iii) short (βραχεία): a syllable containing a short vowel in an open syllable (i.e. the vowel is not followed by a consonant belonging to the same syllable). Modern linguistic terminology uses the terms long and short with reference to vowel lengths, and names syllables light and heavy. A syllable is light if it contains a short vowel and is an open syllable. A syllable is heavy if its vowel is long, or if it is a closed syllable (either a long or short vowel followed by a consonant belonging to the same syllable), or both.

Usually in our Epitome a distinction is made between vowels that are long by nature and those that are long by position, with the use of the terms φύσει and ἐκτεινόμενον (ἐκτεῖνον) or θέσει respectively. It is noteworthy that the general term μακράν is used in 74.1, 90.5, 100.6, 101.7, 104.6, 106.8, 132.4, 110.2 (Schmidt), 125.1 (Schmidt), 221.17 (Schmidt) to refer both to (‘naturally’) long vowels (e.g. Μούλιος) and to short vowels in closed syllables (e.g. Σέργιος, Βάκχιος). When a long vowel appears in

a closed syllable there are no indications in the Epitome that a vowel could be considered long both by nature and by position.

Syllable division as taught by ancient grammarians is linked to the written language, while modern linguistic views on syllable division are related to the rhythm of the language and are heavily based on evidence from metre.¹⁹¹ An ancient grammarian would say that two consecutive consonants in the middle of a word belong to the second syllable if this cluster could be word-initial. Otherwise the two consonants belong to two different syllables. From a modern point of view, two consonants in the middle of a word are divided between syllables in all cases where the syllable containing the preceding vowel scans as a heavy syllable.¹⁹²

Our Epitome employs the terms ἐπιπλοκή, σύλληψις and διάστασις to indicate consonant clusters. ἐπιπλοκή and σύλληψις are used to refer to consonant clusters that belong to the same syllable, while διάστασις is used to refer to consonant clusters that do not belong to the same syllable in syllable division. For example, at 105.11-106.6 we read:

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΛΟΣ μονογενῇ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι πρὸ τοῦ Ω δύο σύμφωνα κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν, ὧν τὸ δεύτερόν ἐστι Τ, οἷον [...] Καστωλός δὲ ὀξύνεται ἔχον δύο σύμφωνα, ὧν τὸ ἐν Τ ἐστι. τὸ μέντοι Σπάρτωλος βαρύνεται· τὰ γὰρ δύο σύμφωνα οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν συλλήψει, ἀλλ' ἐν διαστάσει.

The consonant cluster στ in Καστωλός belongs to the same syllable (κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν) because it is a possible word-initial cluster (although from a modern point of

¹⁹¹ See further Morpurgo Davies (1987), 92-3, 100. For an account of the ancient grammarians' views on syllable division see Hermann (1978), 123-132. For a modern discussion of syllabification of ancient Greek see Malikouti-Drachman (2007), 537-41.

¹⁹² See further Morpurgo Davies (1987), 92-3.

view the cluster is divided between syllables).¹⁹³ The two consecutive consonants ρτ in Σπάρτωλος do not belong to the same syllable (they are ἐν διαστάσει), because the cluster ρτ is not word-initial.

The terminology on syllable division becomes obscure at times, when it is used in conjunction with specifications as to the place of the consonant cluster within a word. The passage below presents a number of problems which make its understanding difficult. The first problem is that the phrase μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δύο σύμφωνα κατὰ διάστασιν corresponds neither to αἴτιος nor to ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, ἄρτιος, and ἀντίος. αἴτιος does not have a consonant cluster, while ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, ἄρτιος, and ἀντίος have two consonants κατὰ διάστασιν ('in separation'). The other problem is the inaccuracy of the phrase ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ. We shall deal with this problem here, while the first problem will be dealt with in the Notes.

72.1-5 Ὅσα εἰσὶ μονογενῇ ἀπὸ ἐνεστώτων γενόμενα εἰς ΙΟΣ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δύο σύμφωνα κατὰ διάστασιν προπαροξύνεται· αἰτῶ αἴτιος, ἀρμόζω ἀρμόδιος, ἀρκῶ ἄρκιος, ἀρτῶ ἄρτιος. τὸ δὲ ἀντῶ ἀντίος σεσημείωται.

In the passage above, it is clear that the consonant clusters ρμ, ρκ, and ρτ, in the words ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, and ἄρτιος respectively, are said to be κατὰ διάστασιν (ἀρ-μό-δι-ος, ἄρ-κι-ος, ἄρ-τι-ος).¹⁹⁴ The rule mentions that the two consonants κατὰ διάστασιν are in the third syllable (ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ). The phrase ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ is not an accurate description of the place of the two consonants within the word, since ρ is in the fourth syllable from the end, or the first from the beginning, in the case of ἀρμόδιος, and in the third syllable from the end, or the first from the beginning, in the cases of ἄρκιος and

¹⁹³ On the consonant cluster στ see further Morpurgo Davies (1987), 100, 102.

¹⁹⁴ On the rest of the problems occurring in this passage see note 72.1-5.

ἄρτιος, while the μ in ἄρ-μό-δι-ος is in the third syllable from the end or the second from the beginning, and the κ or τ in ἄρ-κι-ος and ἄρ-τι-ος respectively is in the second syllable, counting from either end. Thus, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ does not strictly mean in the third syllable (counting from either direction) but at the boundary either between the fourth and third syllables, or between the second and third syllables, counting from the end of the word.

The following passage provides another example of obscurity about the place of a consonant cluster within a word:

90.12-5 Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ ὑπερδυσύλλαβα ἔχοντα κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν δύο σύμφωνα μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ προπαροξύνονται· Ἐρύμανθος λαβύρινθος Μέλανθος ὄλυνθος (τὸ μὴ πέπειρον).

In the words cited as examples of this accentuation rule (Ἐρύμανθος λαβύρινθος Μέλανθος ὄλυνθος) the two consonants, i.e. -vθ-, are separated by a syllable boundary, so that v is in the penultimate and θ in the final syllable (Ἐ-ρύ-μαν-θος, λα-βύ-ριν-θος, Μέ-λαν-θος, ὄ-λυν-θος). Thus, the condition which prescribes that there should be two consonants in the penultimate syllable is not precise, because, in fact, the two consonants straddle the boundary between the penultimate and final syllable.

3. Indication of the genders that a word has as a way of distinguishing between nouns, proper names, and adjectives

Three-termination adjectives are indicated in the following ways: ἔχοντα θηλυκὰ / θηλυκὰ ἔχοντα (95.16-7, 102.5, 118.1, 147.8-9); ἔχοντα θηλυκὰ τριγενῇ (136.9); ἔχοντα θηλυκὸν γένος (115.4); εἰ παρασχηματίζοιτο εἰς διάφορα γένη (148.4-5); τριγενές / τριγενῇ (81.10, 88.1, 89.9, 89.13, 90.4, 91.13, 92.1, 96.7 (τριγενεία), 97.4, 98.17, 100.15, 106.6,

108.19, 109.2, 117.6, 120.5, 120.11, 121.12, 131.23, 133.6, 136.9, 137.5, 138.2, 138.8, 138.10, 138.22, 143.9, 146.3, 147.2, 151.6); ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά (133.14-5). In exclusions of three-termination adjectives from accentuation rules one can read εἰ μὴ ἐπιθετικά εἴη ἔχοντα θηλυκόν (147.8-9), or μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκὰ (95.13), or μὴ ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκά (117.10).

Two-termination adjectives are described as ἐπιθετικά μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά (133.10-1). Two-termination adjectives and common nouns are described together as μὴ ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκά (101.13-102.1).

Masculine common nouns and proper names are described as follows: μὴ παρασχηματιζόμενα εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος (91.7-8); ἀπαρασχημάτιστα ὄντα θηλυκῶ γένει (117.15-6); μὴ ἔχοντα θηλυκά (137.2). One would have liked to know whether these descriptions would exclude a noun like θεός which has a feminine counterpart θεά, but the Epitome does not allow us to draw any conclusions.

Words that have only one grammatical form for the nominative singular (one 'termination') are referred to as μονογενῆ. This may apply to: (i) proper names (e.g. 90.18 Φῶκος, 90.18 Σῶκος, 91.21 Πλάκος, 97.1 Ἴλος, 101.2 Σθένελος, 106.1 Κίμωλος, 108.18 Σάμος, Ἄμος, 116.9 Κύθνος, 116.10 Πέφνος, Σίφνος, 117.6 Τύμνος, 120.4 Αὔαινος, Κόλαινος, 130.1-2 Δῶρος, Βῶρος, Χλῶρος, 138.5 Ἄνδρος, Κόδρος, Φαῖδρος, 140.5 Ἴσος, Κῖσος, Κρῖσος, 143.8 Μέλισσος, 146.5 Στράτος, 147.16 Σηστός, 150.16-7 Ἄρητος, Λάμητος, Μέλητος), or (ii) common nouns (89.6-8 πτόρθος, γόνθος, γρόνθος, σμίνθος, 90.2-3 ψάμαθος, κύαθος, κάλαθος, λάπαθος, 90.19 ταῦκος, 91.21 πόκος, τύκος, 97.2 πῖλος, μύλος, στῦλος, γρῦλος, 97.15 αὐλός, δαυλός, καυλός, 101.2-3 ἄμπελος, πύελος,

κύπελος, ἀσφόδελος, 106.2 φάσκωλος, 108.18 γάμος, 116.9 ὄκνος, κύκνος, 116.10 ὕπνος, 117.6 ὕμνος, σκύμνος, 120.4-5 αἶνος, οἶνος, σχοῖνος, 120.8-10 καυνός, γλαυνός, βαυνός, κρουνός, βουνός, κεραυνός, 131.16 κόμαρος, 138.1-2 φάγρος, πάγρος, γόγγρος, 143.7 κυπάρισσος, νάρκισσος, 146.2 βάτος, λάτος, βρότος, 146.3-4 πότος, πάτος, 147.16-7 ἰστός, παστός, μαστός, ξυστός, 150.17-8 βύνητος, τρύγητος, 151.2 ἄμητος). μονογενής cannot designate an adjective, unless the adjective is only used in a single grammatical gender (e.g. βροτολοιγός)¹⁹⁵. At 83.10 the term μονογενής is used to distinguish the noun θάμβος from the adjective θαμβός. The reference to ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, ἄρτιος, and ἀντίος (72.1-5) as μονογενῆ is made difficult by the occurrence of a series of textual problems,¹⁹⁶ but a possible explanation is that these words could be used as nouns, and this use is here being distinguished from their more obvious usage as adjectives.

A nominal form that has only one grammatical form (one termination) but is used in more than one gender, is called κοινὸν τῷ γένει.¹⁹⁷ For example στρουθός in the following passage (88.4-89.3) indicates both the male sparrow (grammatically masculine) and the female sparrow (grammatically feminine):

Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ μονογενῆ δισύλλαβα φύσει μακροῦ παραλήγοντα μὴ κοινὰ κατὰ γένος βαρύνεται μῦθος κῶθος Ζῆθος Ξοῦθος (τὸ κύριον). τὸ δὲ στρουθός κοινὸν τῷ γένει.

¹⁹⁵ See also the note 85.9-13 ἀρσενικά ... βροτολοιγός.

¹⁹⁶ See the note 72.1-5 Ὅσα ... σεσημειώται.

¹⁹⁷ On the meaning of κοινός cf. the individual discussion of κοινός, κοινῶς p. 130 below.

Thus, although στρουθός has one grammatical form in the nominative singular, i.e. it is μονογενές, and is cited in a rule on μονογενῇ, it is also κοινὸν κατὰ γένος, because the single grammatical form indicates both the male and female sparrow.

4. προσηγορικόν

The term προσηγορικόν is usually used to refer to common nouns in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, but there are some cases where προσηγορικόν is used more loosely with the meaning 'nominal', in other words covering adjectives as well. The passages below illustrate this wider sense of the term προσηγορικόν.

If the term προσηγορικά were used to refer only to common nouns in passage (1) below, the comment μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά ('that do not have a separate feminine form') would make no sense. The point of the comment would seem to be to exclude three-termination adjectives but not two-termination adjectives; but the exclusion of three-termination adjectives would be unnecessary if adjectives were already excluded by the specification κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά. What reinforces this view are the words Λιβυκός θηλυκός and ἀλυκός, three-termination adjectives given as examples of words not fulfilling the condition μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά.

(1) 95.12-7 Τὰ εἰς ΥΚΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκὰ κτητικῆς ἐννοίας ἐχόμενα βαρύνεται· Ἰβυκος Ἀμυκος κώρυκος Ἰνυκος. τὸ δὲ Λιβυκός καὶ θηλυκός καὶ ἀλυκός ὀξύνεται θηλυκὰ ἔχοντα. ('Proper names or προσηγορικά in -υκος that do not have a separate feminine form and do not have a possessive sense are recessive: Ἰβυκος Ἀμυκος κώρυκος Ἰνυκος. But Λιβυκός and θηλυκός and ἀλυκός are oxytone because they have separate feminine forms')

Passage (2) reinforces the above argument. If the term προσηγορικόν did not include adjectives, the comment μὴ ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκά ('that do not have a separate

feminine form') would be left unexplained. The mention of the adjective ἐρεμνός not being proparoxytone because it has the feminine form ἐρεμνή, without any earlier mention that the rule applies to adjectives but with the previous mention of προσηγορικά, strongly suggests that adjectives are here considered a sub-group within the larger set of προσηγορικά ('nominals').

(2) 117.9-14 Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά μὴ ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκά, προπαροξύνεται· Λάτυμνος Λύκαμνος Ἐπίδαμνος Αἴσυμνος. τὸ μέντοι ἐρεμνός ἔχει θηλυκὸν τὸ ἐρεμνή, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἐρυμνός (ὁ κεκαλυμμένος). ('Proper names and προσηγορικά with more than two syllables in -νος, that do not have a separate feminine form are proparoxytone: Λάτυμνος Λύκαμνος Ἐπίδαμνος Αἴσυμνος. But ἐρεμνός has the feminine form ἐρεμνή, just like ἐρυμνός ('covered').)

The same conclusion about the wide sense of προσηγορικών as 'nominal' can be derived from passage (3), where the remark μὴ παρασχηματιζόμενα εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος ('if they do not undergo a transformation of form for the feminine') following προσηγορικών would be unnecessary if προσηγορικών simply meant 'common noun'.

(3) 91.7-11 Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ δισύλλαβα προσηγορικά μὴ παρασχηματιζόμενα εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος, εἰ ἔχῃ τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς σύμφωνον καταλήγουσαν, πλήν τοῦ Λ, βαρύνεται· Λάκκος κόκκος ἄρκος κέρκος ὄρκος. ('Disyllabic προσηγορικά in -κος that do not undergo a transformation in form for the feminine, if their penultimate syllable ends in a consonant, except for λ, are recessive: Λάκκος κόκκος ἄρκος κέρκος ὄρκος.')

In passage (4) the adjective κορωνός is called προσηγορικών:

(4) 125.3-4 τὸ δὲ Κόρωνος κύριον, τὸ δὲ κορωνός προσηγορικών. ('Κόρωνος is a proper name, but κορωνός is a προσηγορικών')

In passage (5) the term προσηγορικών is used to refer to deverbal adjectives (on the problem with βρυτός (ὁ βρύων) see Note 147.4):

(5) 147.3-5 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Υ προσηγορικά ὀξύνεται· βρυτός (ὁ βρύων) χυτός ῥυτός λυτός κλυτός. ('Disyllabic προσηγορικά in -τος that

have υ in their penultimate syllable are oxytone: βρυτός ('the one who is full'¹⁹⁸) χυτός ῥυτός λυτός κλυτός.)

5. κύριον

Several categories of proper names are described as κύρια in the Epitome, but they all fall into two large groups: (a) personal names and (b) place names.

The term κύριον used to refer to place names contains several sub-groups: (i) city names (28.8 Ἀστηρ, 50.4 Ἀθάραβις, 87.15 Ἀβυδος, 112.8 Πέργαμος, 117.12 Ἐπίδαμνος, 118.7 Τάνος, 123.14 Ἐχῖνος, 127.5 Ὠρωπός, 136.13 Ἀψωρος, 155.2 Πάφος, 119.14 (Schmidt) Βοίβη, 119.22 (Schmidt) Βέργη, 119.22 (Schmidt) Σέλγη, 119.22 (Schmidt) Πέργη, 121.7 (Schmidt) Νέδη, 122.16 (Schmidt) Ἀρτάκη, 122.16 (Schmidt) Σκυλάκη, 129.16 (Schmidt) Δωδώνη, 132.10 (Schmidt) Σπάρτη, 132.18 (Schmidt) Τράφη, 137.19 (Schmidt) Ἴλιον, 137.19 (Schmidt) Ῥήγιον, 139.7 (Schmidt) Βούδειον); (ii) island names (8.5, 52.27 Σαλαμῖς, 55.6 Μάκρις, 83.9 Λέσβος, 85.13 Ἀμοργος, 97.7 Μῆλος, 97.8 Δῆλος, 119.2 Τῆνος, 127.16 Πάρος, 129.15 Σκύρος, 122.16 (Schmidt) Ἰθάκη, 124.10 (Schmidt) Θούλη, 133.4 (Schmidt) Ἀνάφη, 139.7 (Schmidt) Σίγειον); (iii) mountain names (75.10 Ἄθοος, 117.11 Λάτυμνος, 132.10 (Schmidt) Δίκτη); (iv) river names (80.13 Πηνειός, 80.21 Ὀλμειός, 81.1 Σπερχειός, 112.2 Πύραμος, 115.7 Κύδνος, 119.2 Ῥῆνος, 127.4 Ἴνωπός, 127.5 Ἀσωπός, 127.16 Σάρος, 127.20 Σῆρος, 128.7 Πίρος, 128.7 Τίρος, 139.12 Χάραδρος, 145.9 Κλήτος, 150.16 Λάμητος).

Such place names are sometimes cited with an indication of the exact group of proper name to which they belong: e.g. island names (111.12-3 (Schmidt) Πιτυούσσα

¹⁹⁸ But see Note on 147.4 βρυτός.

Ῥοδοῦσσα (ὀνόματα νήσων)), names of δῆμοι ('subdivisions of a πόλις' 113.5-6 (Schmidt) τὸ δὲ Κηφισιά καὶ Ὑσιὰ καὶ Λουσιὰ ὀνόματα δήμων, 125.17-8 (Schmidt) τὸ μέντοι Ἀγκυλή καὶ Ἀγρυλή ὀνόματα δήμων ὁξύνονται, 131.1-2 (Schmidt) ὁξύνεται καὶ τὰ τῶν δήμων ὀνόματα Βησση καὶ Περγασή), names of regions (113.17-8 (Schmidt) ὀνόματα χωρῶν· Οἰχαλία Θεσσαλία).

Two passages, furthermore, suggest that the term κύριον as a cover term for proper nouns is not considered to identify a word as a specific type of proper noun, especially when it is a place name. At 91.22-3 Φάκος δὲ τὸ κύριον ὄνομα ὄρους the term κύριον is completed by the information that Φάκος is the name of a mountain. At 81.4-7 the phrase καὶ τὰ πλείω ὀνόματα ποταμῶν is added to the term κύρια in order to specify to which kind of proper noun the majority of examples belong:

81.4-7 Τὰ εἰς Εἰοσ τρισύλλαβα κύρια καὶ τὰ πλείω ὀνόματα ποταμῶν ὁξύνεται· Σπερχειός Ἀλφειός Πηνειός Κητειός Ἐπειός. τὸ δὲ Ἀρνεῖος καὶ Δαρειός προπερισπῶνται.

6. Are ἐθνικά included among the adjectives or proper names?

The passages below help to show that ethnic designations are not considered a category of proper names:

(1) 68.5-8 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ Διοσ προπαροξύνονται, εἰ μὴ τρισύλλαβα ὄντα τριβράχεια εὐρεθῶσι, καὶ παροξύνονται πρὸς διαστολήν κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων, ὥσπερ ἔχει τὸ Ῥοδῖος καὶ Σχεδῖος. ('Words ending in -διος are proparoxytone, unless, being trisyllabic, they have three short syllables, and they are paroxytone so that there is a distinction between proper names and adjectives, as in Ῥοδῖος and Σχεδῖος.')

(2) 144.12-145.7 Τὰ εἰς Τοσ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ ΟΥ ἢ ΟΙ ἢ ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ, μὴ τῇ ΕΙ, ἀρσενικὰ ὄντα μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ μέρος σώματος σημαῖνον πλουτος οἶτος κοῖτος Προῖτος γοῖτος (ὁ ῥῦπος) Λαῖτος βροῦτος. τὸ δὲ Κλειτός ἔχει τὴν ΕΙ· καὶ τὸ γλουτός μέρος σώματος δηλοῖ· καὶ τὸ Βουτός θηλυκὸν (κῶμη

Αἰγύπτου) καὶ τὸ Παιτός ἐθνικόν. ('Disyllabic words in -τος that have the diphthong ΟΥ or ΟΙ or ΑΙ in their penultimate syllable, but not (the diphthong) ΕΙ, if they are masculine and are not adjectives, are recessive, unless they indicate a part of the body: πλουτός οἶτος κοιτός Προῖτος γοῖτος ('dirt'). But Κλειτός has (the diphthong) ΕΙ, and γλουτός indicates a part of the body; and Βουτός is feminine (a village in Egypt) and Παιτός is an ethnic designation').

(3) 119.8-10 Τὰ εἰς ΥΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὴ κύρια εἶη, ὀξύνεται. Θυνός ξυνός γρυνός (ἡ ῥίζα τῶν ξύλων ἢ ξηρὰ καὶ παχεῖα) πλυνός. ('Disyllabic words in ΥΝΟΣ, if they are not proper names, are oxytone: Θυνός ξυνός γρυνός (the dry and thick root of woods) πλυνός.')

(4) 138.14-8 Τὰ εἰς ΚΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα ὀξύνεται· μακρός μικρός πικρός νεκρός Λοκρός Τευκρός (τὸ ἐθνικόν, Τεῦκρος δὲ τὸ κύριον). Τὸ δὲ ἄκρος καὶ ἱγκρος βαρύνεται. ('Disyllabic words in ΚΡΟΣ that begin with a consonant are oxytone: μακρός μικρός πικρός νεκρός Λοκρός Τευκρός (the ethnic designation, Τεῦκρος is a proper name). ἄκρος and ἱγκρος are recessive.')

(5) 123.11-6 Τὰ εἰς ΙΝΟΣ τὸ Ι μακρὸν ἔχοντα κύρια ἢ ἐθνικὰ ἢ ἐπιθετικὰ ἢ ὑποκοριστικῶν ἔννοιαν ἔχοντα προπερισπῶνται· Φιλῖνος Κρατῖνος Ἐχῖνος (τὸ κύριον) Λατῖνος Λεοντῖνος Ῥηγῖνος Μαμερτῖνος. τὸ δὲ λαρινός ὀξύνεται. ('Words in -ΙΝΟΣ that have a long I, being proper names or ethnic designations or adjectives or having a diminutive sense, are properispomena: Φιλῖνος Κρατῖνος Ἐχῖνος (the proper name) Λατῖνος Λεοντῖνος Ῥηγῖνος Μαμερτῖνος. λαρινός is oxytone.')

(6) 81.10-4 Τὰ εἰς ΕΙΟΣ τριγενῇ μὴ ἐθνικὰ προπαροξύνεται, εἰ ἀπὸ βραχείας ἀρχοῖτο· βρότειος τέλειος φλόγειος λύκειος βόειος. τὸ δὲ Ἐπειός κύριον. τὸ δὲ φατειός κατὰ πλεονασμὸν ἔσχε τὴν δίφθογγον. ('Three-termination (adjectives) in ΕΙΟΣ, with the exception of ethnic designations, are proparoxytone, if they begin with a short (syllable): βρότειος τέλειος φλόγειος λύκειος βόειος. But Ἐπειός is a proper name. And φατειός had the diphthong because of pleonasm'.)

In passage (1) the accentuation of the personal names Ῥοδῖος and Σχεδῖος is contrasted with that of the adjectives Ῥόδιος and σχέδιος, but it is noteworthy that Ῥόδιος ('Rhodian') is an ethnic designation. The implied status of Ῥόδιος as adjective suggests that ethnic designations are a kind of adjective. The accentuation rule on masculines in -ουτος, -οιτος, and -αιτος in passage (2) prescribes recessive accentuation

and excludes adjectives and parts of the body. After a list of recessive examples we get some examples of words which are not recessive because they do not fulfil the conditions for the rule. Here we read γλουτός, a part of the body, the feminine Βουτός, and finally the ethnic designation Παιτός. The phrasing of the accentuation rule made no mention of ethnic designations being exempted from recessive accentuation, and at the same time we observe that no ἐπιθετικόν is cited as an example. Thus, the ethnic designation Παιτός is cited as an adjective. In passage (3) Θυνός, an ethnic designation for a person from Θυνία (see also the note on Θυνός), is cited as an example of an oxytone disyllabic word in –υνος. The exemption of proper names from oxytone accentuation suggests that ethnic designations are not classified as proper names. In passage (4) the ethnic designation Τευκρός is contrasted with the proper name (more specifically personal name) Τεῦκρος. In passage (5) the ethnic designations are announced separately from proper names in the phrasing of the accentuation rule. The rule in passage (6) prescribes proparoxytone accentuation for words in –ειος that are τριγενῆ, that is to say, three-termination adjectives, but not ἔθνικά. If ethnic designations were not considered to be a group of adjectives there would be no reason to exclude ethnic designations from the category of adjectives. The fact that Herodian or the epitomator felt the need to specify that ethnic designations are not proparoxytone, although three-termination adjectives in –ειος generally are, suggests that ethnic designations are regarded as adjectives. The same rule might be thought to provide evidence that ethnic designations are also treated as a category of personal names, since Ἐπειός is cited as an example of a non-proparoxytone word with the justification that this is a proper name, and Ἐπειός can generally be either a personal name (*LGPN* IIIA) or an ethnic designation (St. Byz. ε 90). However, it is

unlikely that the ethnic designation is intended here, and that ethnic designations are therefore treated as a category of proper names, because one would have to assume that the epitomator or even Herodian was inconsistent when referring to ethnic designations, sometimes calling them adjectives and sometimes proper names, even within the same rule.

7. κοινός, κοινῶς

The term κοινός is used in four different senses in the Epitome: (i) to refer to the agreement (common form) of the greatest part of the dialects (115.1, 149.2, 155.3, 99.25 (Schmidt), 106.16 (Schmidt), 146.23 (Schmidt), 150.16 (Schmidt), 170.5 (Schmidt), 190.1 (Schmidt), 190.6 (Schmidt));¹⁹⁹ (ii) to refer to colloquial or non-literary Greek (98.15); (iii) to refer to common gender (47.9, 89.1, 89.3): this usage is dealt with in sub-section 3; (iv) to refer to a vowel capable of being long or short (147.2 (Schmidt), 152.20 (Schmidt)).

2.2.2 Indirect sources

The Περί καθολικῆς προσηφίας was not only consulted and cited as an authority on accentuation, but also employed as a reference work for its large lists of examples arranged according to their termination. The encyclopaedic content of the Περί καθολικῆς προσηφίας, with long lists of examples accompanied by their meanings and passages illustrating their use, despite encouraging the creation of epitomes and finally bringing to an end the transmission of the original work, remained attractive to later

¹⁹⁹ On this use of the term κοινός cf. Stephan (1889) and Consani (1991), 27-33. See further Probert (2004), 277-91, who argues that when Herodian says κοινόν or κοινῶς he probably means that it is the usual Greek form, but on matters of accentuation Herodian's knowledge of what is 'normal' comes from the *koiné*.

scholarship, which employed and perceived the material from various perspectives. Among these later texts are: Stephanus of Byzantium, Choeroboscus, Theognostus, the *Etymologicum genuinum*, the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, the *Etymologicum magnum*, and the *Epimerismi homerici*.

These late antique and Byzantine works have either a) incorporated or b) adjusted the accentuation rules of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* to their needs, sometimes selecting the bits that serve their aims and describing only the part of a rule which they need to explain a word's accent, or c) have transformed them so as to fulfil their goals relating to matters other than accentuation (e.g. to create orthographical²⁰⁰ or declensional rules). This indicates the large influence of Herodian and specifically of his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* on later grammatical and lexicographical tradition.

To the extent that these later sources derive material from Herodian's work, and therefore provide us with evidence for the work, they may be employed as indirect sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. These later works, being indirect witnesses, often help us to reconstruct the text of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome.²⁰¹ In my reconstruction of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome I have often taken into account readings transmitted in the indirect sources for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.²⁰²

The comparison of certain passages from our Epitome with the indirect sources not only reveals that the latter go back to Herodian, but close verbal similarities and the use of common examples, often in the same order, suggest that these Byzantine sources

²⁰⁰ Cf. Hunger (1967), 30. On the case of Theognostus specifically see Galland (1882a), 33.

²⁰¹ Cf. Schneidewin (1842), 1974-6.

²⁰² For my editorial principle on the employment of the Indirect Sources see pp. 179-80.

did not possess a copy of Herodian's original work, but an epitome that was actually close to ours. One should keep in mind that it remains an unanswered question how long anybody was using original Herodian. Nevertheless, the use of Herodian by later authors, working either from his original work or from epitomes, proves the significance and the great influence of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* not only on later works on prosody, but also on the later grammatical and lexicographical tradition in general.

2.2.2.1 *Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century AD)*

Stephanus of Byzantium was a grammarian of the sixth century AD. He is very well known for his *Ethnica*, an extensive geographical lexicon providing geographical, linguistic, historical and mythological information about place names and their corresponding ethnic adjectives.²⁰³ The work survives mainly in an epitome. Stephanus of Byzantium derives material from Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.²⁰⁴ Herodian is very often mentioned by name. Stephanus' main interest is in geography, ethnic designations and place names, but he incorporates parts of Herodian's accentuation rules into numerous entries of his work. Unlike some of the other scholars and scholarship we will look at, Stephanus does not transform Herodian's rules, but just incorporates sections of them. Stephanus' citations of specific books of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* are accurate and reliable, as far as one may conclude on the basis of words cited from a

²⁰³ For further information and bibliography on Stephanus Byzantius and his work see Dickey (2007), 101.

²⁰⁴ On the value of Stephanus of Byzantium as a source for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see Lentz (1867-70), CXXXVI-CLXXX; Honigmann (1929), *RE* 3A, 2380; Tolkiehn (1925), *RE* 12, 2469-70 s. v. Lexikographie. For the view that Lentz exaggerated the dependence of Stephanus on Herodian see Hiller (1871), 530; Egenolff (1887), 42; Lasserre (1969), 85-6. In defence of Lentz see Buehler (1973), 49-91, esp. 89.

specific book of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* and actually found in the corresponding book of Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome. To illustrate this point, I quote below all the passages in which examples cited by Stephanus with reference to a specific book of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* survive in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome in the book mentioned by Stephanus. The passages quoted from Stephanus below are not only important because they are parallel to passages from Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, but also because they reinforce the view that Pseudo-Arcadius maintained the arrangement of the material in certain books as in the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*.

Ps.-Arcad.	St. Byz.
53.12-5 Τὰ εἰς ΑΝΙΣ θηλυκὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ὀξύνεται· Ὠκεανίς Τιτανίς στεφανίς. τὸ δὲ νεᾶνις προπερισπᾶται καὶ τὸ Ἀδανις προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ Θήβανις.	α 55.11-3 Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τετάρτῃ τῆς καθόλου „τὸ <u>Ἀδανις</u> καὶ <u>Θήβανις</u> θηλυκὸν τὸν Αἰολίδος <διαλέκτου> ἔχει τόνον.
52.19-22 Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ παρώνυμα τῷ Ω ἢ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται· Πακτωλὶς Αἰτωλὶς Ἰουλὶς. τὸ Ἀδουλις προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ ἀρτόπωλις.	α 59.1-3 Ἀδουλις· πόλις Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ δὲ Πανὸς νῆσον αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. καὶ τὰμοῦ βιβλία Ἀδουλι δίχα τοῦ ς. σφάλμα δέ ἐστιν. Ἀδουλις γὰρ ὀφείλει, ὡς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τοῖς εἰς λις τῷ ω <ἢ διφθόγγῳ> ²⁰⁵ παραληγομένοις.
6.3-8 Τὰ εἰς ΗΝ λήγοντα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Η τὸ Σ, ἢ διπλοῦν σύμφωνον μὴ παραληγόμενα ²⁰⁶ τῇ ΟΥ διφθόγγῳ ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, εἰ μὴ παρασχηματίζοιτο οὐδετέρῳ γένει, οἷον· ἐσσήν καμασὴν (ὁ ἰχθυς) νασσὴν τέρσῃν† <u>Αἰζήν</u> ἀζήν ἀψήν.	α 72.2-5 οἱ πολῖται Ἀζανῖται, τὸ θηλυκὸν Ἀζανῖτις. Ἡρωδιανὸς διὰ τῆς αἰ ἐν α <τῆς> Καθόλου λέγων „ <u>Αἰζήν</u> Ταντάλου παῖς, ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ πόλις Αἰζανοί“.
49.10-50.5 Τὰ εἰς ΒΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται	α 79.1-2 <u>Ἀθάραβις</u> · πόλις Αἰγύπτου, ὡς καὶ

²⁰⁵ Billerbeck correctly completes the *lacuna* which one may still find in Meineke's edition. It is noteworthy that the passage of our Epitome helps to emend the text of the epitome of the *Ethnica* by adding the phrase ἢ διφθόγγῳ. Meineke's text (26, 18-22) is as follows: Ἀδουλις, πόλις Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ δὲ Πανὸς νῆσον αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. καὶ τὰμοῦ βιβλία Ἀδουλι δίχα τοῦ σ. σφάλμα δέ ἐστιν. Ἀδουλις γὰρ ὀφείλει, ὡς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τοῖς εἰς λις τῷ ω ... παραληγομένοις. (‘Ἀδουλις, city of the Ethiopians. Others call it the island of Pan. And my books (call it) Ἀδουλι without the ς. This is a mistake. It ought to be Ἀδουλις, as Herodian says (in the section) on the (nouns ending) in λις that have ω or ... in their penultimate syllable.’).

²⁰⁶ παραληγόμενα scripsi: παραληγόμενον codd.

ἡ <προ>παροξύνεται. ὀξύνεται τὰ παρώνυμα καὶ ἐπιθετικά· Νιοβίς Λυκαμβίς Περραιβίς. σεσημειώται τὸ καλλαβίς ²⁰⁷ . τὰ δὲ κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά βαρύνεται· <u>Ἀθάραβις</u> κάνναβις. σημειῶσαι τὸ καλλαβίς.	Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν δ „Ἀθαρραβίτης νομὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Ἀθάραβις πόλις“.
136.12-4 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια προπαροξύνεται· Θεόδωρος <u>Ἀψωρος</u> Ἰσίδωρος.	α 580.1-2 <u>Ἀψωρος</u> · πόλις Ἰλλυρίας, Ἡρωδιανὸς η.
145.8-10 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα ἐνὶ τῶν φύσει μακρῶν κύρια ὄντα βαρύνεται· Κλήτος <u>Δῶτος</u> Ὠτος.	257.15-7 ἐκλήθη δὲ Δῶτιον ἀπὸ Δώτου τοῦ Πελασγοῦ παιδός, ὡς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν η’ „ <u>Δῶτος</u> ὁ Πελασγοῦ, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ Δῶτιον πεδίον“.

The Herodianic material that Stephanus has incorporated in his work, and which renders him an indirect source for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας*, may be employed effectively for the reconstruction of Pseudo-Arcadius’ Epitome and ultimately the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας*. For examples of the employment of Stephanus of Byzantium for the reconstruction of Pseudo-Arcadius see the notes on *Ἡρών*, *Λυχνιτός* (ἡ πόλις), and *Λωμεντός*.

2.2.2.2 Georgius Choeroboscus (8th/9th century AD)

Georgius Choeroboscus was a Byzantine teacher of the eighth and ninth centuries AD who composed a number of grammatical treatises. Choeroboscus’ works consist mainly of his teaching notes and are intended for students.²⁰⁸ His writings, especially the *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione nominum et verborum*, the *De Orthographia* and the *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, often take the form of question and answer. Choeroboscus used the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* (in some form)

²⁰⁷ καλλαβίς MAOBC: κάνναβις Lobeck *PSGP* 288, n. 5.

²⁰⁸ See also Dickey (2007), 80.

as a source not only on accentuation but also on declensional and orthographical issues.²⁰⁹

There are similarities in wording and common examples between Choeroboscus and Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome. These similarities suggest that Choeroboscus' source, if not Herodian's original work, was close to our Epitome. The parallel passages from Choeroboscus are noted in the apparatus of parallel passages, and the Notes on the text contain discussion of certain passages in Choeroboscus.

The parallel passages in the table below include common examples, and the two texts almost seem to paraphrase one another in the wording introducing the examples. This list is not meant to be exhaustive; for the rest of the parallels one may consult the apparatus of parallel passages:

Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome	Georgius Choeroboscus
154.7-10 Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΟΣ ὑπερδυσύλλαβα παραληγόμενα ὁ ἐπὶ ποσότητος τασσόμενα ὁξύνεται· πολλοστός· εἰκοστός· τριακοστός· πεντηκοστός.	<i>Ep. Ps.</i> 133.3-6 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Τ τὸ Σ καὶ τὴν γενικὴν περατουμένην εἰς ΟΥ, ἐπὶ ποσότητος τασσόμενα, ὁξύνονται, οἷον πολλοστός, ὀλιγοστός, εἰκοστός.
130.6-9 Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δυσύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ, εἰ μὲν κύρια εἴη, βαρύνεται· Σφαῖρος· Σκαῖρος· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ὁξύνεται· καιρός. τὸ δαῖρος διαφορεῖται (ἦτοι ὁ καυστικός).	<i>Ep. Ps.</i> 46.35 – 47.3 Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ καθαρὰ δυσύλλαβα τῇ ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενα, εἰ μὲν εἰσὶ κύρια, βαρύνονται, οἷον σφαῖρος, καῖρος ²¹⁰ , εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁξύνονται, οἷον καιρός, θαιρός.
135.1-5 Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενα τῇ ΕΙ διφθόγγῳ ἢ μόνῳ τῷ Ι ἐκτεταμένῳ βαρύνεται· Κάμειρος· ὄνειρος· πέπειρος· μάγειρος· Στάλιρος· Σύσιρος.	<i>De Orthogr.</i> 245.7-9 Ὅνειρος· Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ειρος προπαροξύτονα διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου γράφεται· οἷον, ὄνειρος· μάγειρος·

²⁰⁹ On Choeroboscus as a source of evidence for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see Lentz (1867-70), CLXXXV-CXC.

²¹⁰ It is possible that the correct reading is σκαῖρος, which comes after Σφαῖρος in Pseudo-Arcadius' passage, but the scribe omitted the σ- at the beginning because the previous word ends in -ς. It is noteworthy that the example preceding and the one following καῖρος are the same as those of Pseudo-Arcadius' passage and it would have been too much of a coincidence that this was different. Since the edition of Choeroboscus' *Epimerismoi in Psalmos* does not contain an apparatus criticus, we do not know if there is any *varia lectio*.

107.10-8 Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ λήγοντα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Σ προσηγορικὰ ὄντα ὀξύνεται, μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ τὸ Σ εἰς Ο μόνον καταλήγον, βρυσμός <u>δεσμός</u> δασμός θεσμός <u>χρησμός</u> σπασμός. πρόσκειται προσηγορικά, ἵνα φύγωμεν τὰ βαρύτενα κύρια τὸ Κροῖσμος καὶ τὸ Κάσμος. τὸ δὲ κόσμος βαρύνεται, καὶ τὸ κρουσμός οὐκ ἔχον τὸ Ο μόνον ὀξύνεται, καὶ τὸ σύνδεσμος προσπαροξύνεται σύνθετον ὄν.	<i>Ep. Ps. 76.6-7</i> Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Σ ὀξύνεται, οἷον <u>χρησμός</u>, ξυσμός, <u>δεσμός</u>.

2.2.2.3 Theognostus (9th century AD)

From Theognostus a work on orthography entitled *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* or *Κανόνες* has come down to us. Theognostus mentions in the preface of his work that he has gathered the rules from Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*: οὗς (sc. κανόνας) δὲ ἐκ τῆς πολυῦλου βίβλου τῆς καθόλου Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἀναλεξάμενος, καὶ λέξει λέξιν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπισυνάψας (32-4) ('having gathered the rules from Herodian's copious work *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* and attaching to every word the appropriate word').²¹¹ Theognostus is writing a work on orthography and yet he recognizes that the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* is his foundation. Of course one might want to treat with caution Theognostus' statement that he employed original Herodian, because Theognostus lived about seven centuries after Herodian and it is uncertain whether Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* had survived in its entirety until the time of Theognostus. The view that Herodian's work had not come down to such a late period as

²¹¹ On the transformation of Herodian's accentuation rules into orthographical ones see also Galland (1882a), 33. On the value of Theognostus' *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* as a source of evidence for the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* see Lentz (1867-70), CLXXX-CLXXXIV; Galland (1882a), 33-5; Krumbacher (1897), 585-6; Wendel (1934), 1987; Alpers (1964), 27-8.

Theognostus' time is based on the idea that the creation of epitomes as early as the fourth century AD is likely to have discontinued the transmission of the original work.²¹²

A large number of passages in Theognostus are parallel to passages of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, as illustrated in the apparatus of parallel passages of my edition. The similar wording and the employment of common examples suggest that Theognostus' source was close to our Epitome, and perhaps was another epitome which has not survived. The fact that usually we find more examples in Theognostus than in our Epitome is not sufficient evidence to conclude that Theognostus had in his hands the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. He could have consulted an epitome that was more extensive than ours, or he could even be deriving material from an epitome without many more examples than our Epitome. In the latter case he may as well have added examples of his own.

It is noteworthy that Theognostus deals with the orthography of words on the basis of their terminations as Herodian did in his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, and that Theognostus follows the exact arrangement of the endings as this appears in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome. One can trace the correspondence in the arrangement of the material, and common word lists with the words often in the same order, between Pseudo-Arcadius' Book 1 to 8 and rules 143 to 430 in Theognostus (II 26.24 - 77.11). After this very close correspondence the two texts continue to have similarities in the arrangement of the material, but the correspondence is less close. It is significant, nevertheless, that the treatment of neuters in Theognostus follows the classification of neuters found in the

²¹² See also the argument in Wouters (1975-6), 602.

Τέχνη γραμματική attributed to Dionysius Thrax, with the slight variation that we have observed in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, i.e. the arrangement of the terminations is α ι υ ν ρ ζ as in Pseudo-Arcadius, not α ι ν ρ ζ υ as in the Τέχνη γραμματική. This correspondence between Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome and Theognostus is significant, given the differences between Philoponus and Pseudo-Arcadius in the arrangement of the material, since it suggests that the material of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας was arranged as in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome.

In Theognostus there are numerous examples of the transformation of Herodian's accentuation rules into orthographical ones. Theognostus derives material from Herodian's work, but since his goal is to prescribe rules on orthography, facts about accentuation are presented as conditions for orthographical rules, whereas for Herodian orthography provides conditions for accentuation rules. The following pairs of parallel passages illustrate how this transformation is made.

Ps.-Arcad.	Theognost.
94.5-9 Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ παραληγόμενα ΑΙ ἢ ΟΙ μὴ ἐπιθετικά προπαροξύνεται. <u>Πάταικος</u> ²¹³ <u>Φά- λαικος</u> ²¹⁴ <u>Μίθαικος</u> σόλοικος μόνοικος (τὸ κατὰ συναλοιφήν). τὸ Εὐβοϊκός ὀξύνεται ἐπιθετικὸν ὄν.	326 τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰκος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, σπά- νια· τὰ δὲ ὄντα, διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· οἶον, <u>Φάλαικος</u> · <u>Πάταικος</u> · <u>Μίθαικος</u> ὄνομα κύριον· μόνον τὸ ἀλῶπεκος σεσημειώται διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ.
126.17-127.7 Τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα [...]. τὰ δὲ παραληγόμενα τῷ Ω κύρια ἢ προ- σηγορικὰ καὶ βαρύνεται καὶ ὀξύνεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν κύρια ἀπὸ φύσει μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα ὀξύνεται· <u>Ἰνωπός</u> ²¹⁵ Ἀσωπός <u>Ὠρωπός</u> . σημειῶσαι τὸ Αἴσωπος. τὸ δὲ Κρότωπος καὶ Μελάνωπος κύρια οὐκ ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἄρχονται.	380.1-5 τὰ εἰς πος κύρια ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀ- πὸ φύσει μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ· οἶον, <u>Ἰνωπός</u> ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Αἴσωπός (scrib. Ἀσωπός)· Εὐρωπός· <u>Ὠρωπός</u> · τὸ Αἴσωπος· ἄνθρωπος, σημειῶδη οὐ κατὰ τὴν γραφήν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τόνον.

²¹³ Πάταικος em. Schmidt ex Theognosto 326.2-3: πάγαικος MAOBC

²¹⁴ Φάλαικος em. Schmidt ex Theognosto 326.2: φίλαικος MAOBC

²¹⁵ Ἰνωπός Schmidt ex Theognosto 380.3: οἶνωπός MAOBC et Götting 219

150.15-151.2 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ κύρια ἢ ἐπίθετα παραληγόμενα τῷ Η μονογενῇ βαρύνονται <u>Ἄρητος</u> <u>Λάμητος</u> ²¹⁶ <u>Μέλητος</u> βύνητος (εἶδος ἱματίου παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις) <u>τρύγητος</u> (ὁ καιρὸς μονογενῶς, τρυγητός δὲ τὸ τρυγώμενον). τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ <u>ἄμητος</u> καὶ ἀμητός.	417 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ητος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς κύρια μονογενῇ προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· οἷον, <u>Ἄρητος</u> ὄνομα κύριον· <u>Λάμητος</u> ὁ ποταμός· Κατάρητος ὁ ποταμός· Ἐνήτος ὄνομα κύριον· <u>Μέλητος</u> ὄνομα κύριον· Μίλητος ὄνομα πόλεως· Κόρητος· οἷς ἀκόλουθον τὸ <u>τρύγητος</u> καὶ <u>ἄμητος</u> προπαροξυνόμενα ἐπὶ καιροῦ λαμβανόμενα, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς πράξεως ὀξύνεται.
151.10-4 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀρσενικὰ παραληγόμενα τῷ Ι μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά βαρύνονται· βάρβιτος <u>Ἀδήριτος</u> ²¹⁷ Λήϊτος <u>Ἀγχιτος</u> . τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται· <u>ἄμαξιτός</u> <u>ἀτραπιτός</u> <u>Λυχνιτός</u> (ἢ πόλις) [δηριτός].	419 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιτος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ προπαροξύτονα, ἐπιθετικά τε καὶ κύρια, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφόμενα σπάνιά ἐστιν· οἷον, <u>Ἀγχιτος</u> ὄνομα κύριον· Ἀφρόδιτος· <u>ἀδήριτος</u> · Οἴκριτος ὄνομα κύριον· τὸ <u>ἄμαξιτός</u> · <u>λυχνιτός</u> · <u>ἀτραπιτός</u> ὀξύτονα, κατὰ τόνον καὶ κατὰ γένος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνακόλουθα.
151.15-152.2 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ τρισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς Ο καταλήγουσαν σπάνιά εἰσιν· <u>ὄνοτός</u> ²¹⁸ <u>Μολοτός</u> ²¹⁹ . τὸ μέντοι <u>ἄροτος</u> ²²⁰ καὶ <u>βίοτος</u> προπαροξύνεται.	420 τὰ διὰ τοῦ οτος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τὸ (scrib. τῷ) ο παραληγόμενα προπαροξύτονα δύο ἐστιν· <u>βίοτος</u> · <u>ἄροτος</u> · ὀξύτονα δὲ τέσσαρα· βιοτός· ὁμοτός· <u>ὄνοτός</u> · <u>μολοτός</u> .
89.10-2 Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ διβράχεια βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ τόπον δηλοῖεν· <u>νόθος</u> <u>πόθος</u> <u>ψόθος</u> < <u>ρόθος</u> > ²²¹ (ὁ ψόφος) <u>μόθος</u> . τὸ μέντοι βυθός τοπικόν.	295.1-3 τὰ διὰ τοῦ οθος δισύλλαβα διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ γράφονται· <u>νόθος</u> · <u>πόθος</u> · <u>ρόθος</u> · <u>ψόθος</u> ὁ ψόφος· <u>μόθος</u> · Κόθος ὄνομα κύριον·

2.2.2.4 The Etymological Lexica

The Etymological Lexica derive lists of examples from the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας, even though the point of interest might be one of declension or orthography rather than accentuation. The lexica that provide the greatest number of parallel passages are the *Etymologicum genuinum* (9th century AD), the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (11th century

²¹⁶ Λάμητος em. Schmidt ex Theognosto 417.3: δάμητος MAOBC

²¹⁷ Ἀδήριτος scripsi ex Theognost. Can. 419: δήριτος MAOB: δάριτος C^{p.c.}: fortasse δάρητος C^{a.c.}; Νήριτος Lobeck PSGP 379; fortasse etiam Οἴκριτος ex Theognost. Can. 419.4

²¹⁸ ὄνοτός corr. Schmidt ex Theognosto 420.3: ὠνοτός MAOBC

²¹⁹ Μολοτός corr. Schmidt ex Theognosto 420.3: μωλοτός MAOBC

²²⁰ ἄροτος corr. Theognost. Can. 420.2 Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* 230.1: εὔροτος MAOBC

²²¹ ῥόθος add. Lentz 145.12 monente Lobeck PGSE¹ 441, n. 9; cf. Theognost. Can. 295.2

AD), the *Etymologicum magnum* (12th century AD). The table below shows some examples of parallel passages between Pseudo-Arcadius, the *Etymologicum genuinum*, the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, and the *Etymologicum magnum*; further parallels are recorded in the apparatus of parallel passages.

Ps.-Arcad.	<i>Et. Gen.</i>	<i>Et. Gud.</i>	<i>EM</i>
49.4-9 Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ ἐσχηματισμένα ἀπὸ βαρυτόνων μελλόντων ἢ δευτέρου προσώπου τοῦ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου βαρύνονται ποιήσω ποιήσεις, γνώσω γνώσεις, πράξω πράξεις, πέψανσαι φάνσεις, μεμίανσαι μίανσεις. τὸ δὲ ἀψίς σεσημειώται μακρὸν ἔχον τὸ Ι.	α 1537.16-7 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ἀπλᾶ ἐκτείνονται τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον, οἶον κνημῖς ψηφίς σφραγίς κρηπίς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀψίς	κ 317.14-7 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις θηλυκὰ ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν κοινολεκτούμενα, ἀποστρέφονται τὴν εἰ δῖφθογγον· οἶον, ἀσπίς, ῥάνις, βολίς, κρηπίς, ψηφίς. κνημῖς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ κεραμῖς	184.4-7 Τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΙΣ ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀπλᾶ ἐκτείνονται τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον· οἶον, κνημῖς, κρηπίς, σφραγίς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀψίς.
76.9-78.5 Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρόν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενα τῷ Ω μετὰ Ι προσγεγραμμένου προπερισπᾶται· πατρῷος ἡρῷος Ἀχελῷος αἰδῷος· τὸ δὲ κολῳός ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κολοῖός. τὸ μέντοι λαγῳός καὶ πατρῳός ὀξύνονται, διότι οὐκ ἔχουσι τὸ Ι προσγεγραμμένον.	α 149.11-5 προπερισπᾶται δὲ τὸ ἀθῳός διὰ τὸν χαρακτηρη τοῦτον, τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ φος ἔχοντα τὸ ι ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπερισπῶνται χωρὶς τοῦ κολῳός, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβον· Κῳός, Μινῳός, πατρῳός, μητρῳός. τούτοις συνεξηκολούθησε καὶ τὸ ἡρῳός· ἔχει δὲ τὸ ι ἐκ παραδόσεως	α 34.2-5 τὰ εἰς ος ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῇ φ παραληγόμενα προπερισπῶνται, χωρὶς τοῦ κολῳός, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβον· Κῳός, Μινῳός, πατρῳός, μητρῳός. τούτοις συνεξηκολούθησε καὶ τὸ ἡρῳός· ἔχει δὲ τὸ ι ἐκ παραδόσεως	26.31-5 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΙΟΣ ἔχοντα τὸ ι ὑπὲρ β' συλλαβὰς προπερισπῶνται χωρὶς τοῦ κολῳός, [ὃ] σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβον· οἶον, Ἀχελῷος, αἰδῷος, ἡρῳός. οὕτως καὶ ἀθῳός. Πρόσκειται «ἔχοντα τὸ ι,» διὰ τὸ λαγῳός καὶ πατρῳός 26.41-7 Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΩΣ διὰ τοῦ ΩΟΣ παράγωγα σὺν τῷ ι γράφεται καὶ προπερισπᾶται· οἶον, Μίνως Μινῳός· πάτρως πατρῳός· μήτρως μητρῳός· ἡρως ἡρῳός. Οὕτως

	ἦρως ἦρῶος, πάτρως πατρῶος, μήτρως μητρῶος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ Ἄθως Ἀθῶος ὥφειλεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἀθῶος τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀζημίου προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ ι ἀποβάλλει		καὶ Ἄθως Ἀθῶος ὥφειλεν εἶναι· ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἀθῶος, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀζημίου, καὶ τὸ ι ἀποβάλλει, καὶ προπαροξύνεται 29.28-31 Ἐχει δὲ τὸ αἰδῶος τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον· ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΩΣ διὰ τοῦ ΩΟΣ παράγωγα σὺν τῷ ι γράφονται καὶ περισπῶνται· Μίνως, Μινῶος· ἦρως, ἦρῶος· πάτρως, πατρῶος· ἦώς, ἦῶος· καὶ αἰδώς, αἰδῶος

2.2.2.5 *The Epimerismi Homerici* (9th century AD)

This text contains basic grammatical explanations of specific lemmata and was probably intended for pupils. Dealing with a lemma usually involved categorizing the word among the parts of speech according to the categories given in the Τέχνη γραμματική attributed to Dionysius Thrax, indicating the base form of the word, and discussing the derivation of the lemma from the θέμα.²²² The *Epimerismi Homerici* are divided into two groups: a) those that are arranged according to the book and line of the *Iliad*, and b) the alphabetical *epimerismi*. The information we have about the dating of this work to the ninth century derives from the references to Choeroboscus, which render him

²²² On this see Dyck (1983), 4.

a *terminus post quem*, and the fact that the *Etymologicum genuinum* uses it as a source, and is thus a *terminus ante quem*.²²³

The *Epimerismi Homerici* often derive material from Herodian. Despite the fact that the *Epimerismi Homerici* are transmitted anonymously, the use of the first person in passages where the material goes back to Herodian has created to some extent the impression that Herodian is the author of the *Epimerismi Homerici*.²²⁴ Nevertheless, the first person sometimes refers to Choeroboscus, and in fact it seems more likely that he is the author, both because of the didactic nature of the work and because of the quotation of authors and works later than Herodian.²²⁵ It should nonetheless be noted that the author of the *Epimerismi Homerici* sometimes favours Herodian's view against Choeroboscus and *vice versa*.²²⁶ The author of the *Epimerismi Homerici* seems to presuppose that his readers are familiar with the *Epimerismi in Psalmos*,²²⁷ as is suggested by comparison of *Epimerismi Homerici*, 173a1 with *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, 81.32 – 82.6. The former passage mentions that the word θυμός has five meanings ὡς πολλάκις εἴρηται, but in fact nowhere in the *Epimerismi Homerici* are these mentioned, while the passage of the *Epimerismi in Psalmos* provides them.

The epimerist derives grammatical, etymological, orthographical and semasiological material mainly from the D-Scholia.²²⁸ Herodian is the grammarian most often quoted by name in the *Epimerismi Homerici*. Lentz's view that references to earlier

²²³ Dyck (1983), 7.

²²⁴ For a further discussion see Dyck (1983), 5.

²²⁵ For a more detailed treatment of this issue see Dyck (1983), 5-6. For the view that the author is not Choeroboscus see Reitzenstein (1897), 205-6.

²²⁶ For more details on this see Dyck (1983), 6-7.

²²⁷ For a further discussion see Dyck (1983), 7.

²²⁸ For a further analysis of the material drawn from the D-scholia see Dyck (1983), 27-8.

grammarians included in the *Epimerismi Homerici* are drawn from Herodian is confirmed by Dyck as regards Tyrannio and Trypho, while, according to Dyck, the citations of Philoxenus mainly go back to the *Etymologicum Orionis*, which the epimerist must have used for etymologies.²²⁹ Lentz was eager to assign to Herodian much of the anonymously transmitted material in the *Epimerismi Homerici*, whereas Dyck is more cautious.²³⁰ Cohn showed that three passages of the *Epimerismi Homerici*, whose material Lentz attributed to Herodian, should be ascribed rather to Heraclides of Miletus.²³¹

The similarities in wording and common examples between Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome and the *Epimerismi Homerici* have been noted in the apparatus of parallel passages. In the following table we lay out only a small sample:

Ps.-Arcad.	Ep. Hom.
14.22-15.5 Τὰ εἰς ΛΩΝ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνονται, μὴ ὄντα περιεκτικά· Ἀπόλλων Κεφάλων. τὸ δὲ ἀμπελῶν καὶ καμηλῶν ὡς περιεκτικά ὀξύνεται· τὸ Βαβυλῶν ἀρσενικῶς, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ μιμαλλῶν θηλυκόν, (ἦτοι μαινάς).	21,b2a.1-5 τὰ εἰς λων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται, οἶον Ἀσκάλων Ἀσκάλωνος, Ἀπόλλων Ἀπόλλωνος. βαρύνεται· τὰ εἰς λων λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, εἰ μὴ ἢ περιεκτικά· Ἀσκάλων, Ἀπόλλων· τὸ ἀμπελῶν καὶ <κα>μηλῶν περιεκτικά. σεσημειῖται τὸ Βαβυλῶν καὶ τὸ μιμαλλῶν θηλυκόν, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν μαινάδα.
26.7-12 Πᾶν ὄνομα εἰς Ξ λήγον ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ παρὰ ῥῆμα εἶη συντεθειμένον καὶ μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττοι τοῦ ῥήματος, καὶ ἐπιθετικόν ὑπάρχοι, μὴ ἐθνικόν· Φαίαξ θώραξ ἄναξ κλῖμαξ αὐλαξ· τὸ διασφάξ <ἀπὸ ῥήματος> ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφάξ ὀξυτόνου.	7,b. 4-7 πᾶν εἰς αξ λήγον ὄνομα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ παρὰ ῥῆμα εἶη συντεθειμένον καὶ μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττει τοῦ ῥήματος· Φαίαξ, θώραξ, ἄναξ, κόραξ· τὸ δὲ δι<α>σφάξ καὶ ἀποσφάξ (Nic. Ther. 521) ἀπὸ ῥήματος.
62.6-63.2 Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Ι μακροῦ ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ	7, d1.2-6 τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ ι ἐκτεταμένῳ, εἰ ἀρχεται

²²⁹ Lentz (1867-70), CCVII; Dyck (1983), 28, 30-1.

²³⁰ Dyck (1983), 29.

²³¹ Cohn (1884), 622.

δύο συμφώνων βαρύνεται· πῖος Χῖος δῖος Θρῖος Φθῖος. τὸ κριός σεσημείωται.	ἀπὸ συμφώνου, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, τουτέστι προπερισπῶνται, οἷον Πῖος ὄνομα κύριον, Χῖ- ος, δῖος, Θρῖος, Κριός, Φθῖος. σεσημείωται τὸ κριός ὁξυνόμενον καὶ τὸ ἰός, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἄρχεται.

3 Lentz's edition of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*

Lentz's collected edition of Herodian's works (1867-70) is the only one to have been attempted and constitutes one of the foundations of modern Herodianic studies.²³² Nevertheless it is difficult to work with, because Lentz attempts to reconstruct Herodian's work by mixing material derived from the two epitomes with that of other sources²³³ and even by inventing his own rules (and adding his own examples), rather than to lay out the surviving evidence.²³⁴ In his reconstruction of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* Lentz not only combined small rules into larger ones, but sought to bring together material from all the surviving sources which he thought went back to Herodian's work.²³⁵

When Lentz takes material from other sources, the attribution of this material to Herodian is sometimes very secure but sometimes not. When using Lentz's edition one needs to consult the apparatus constantly to see what sources Lentz is using, to the extent that it is preferable to avoid Lentz's edition when one can consult his sources directly.²³⁶

²³² See Dyck (1993), 775.

²³³ See Dyck (1993), 777-8, where he mentions the several other sources: Ἰλιακὴ προσωδία and Ὀδυσσειακὴ προσωδία preserved in the Homeric scholia; Stephanus of Byzantium; Ἰωάννου Φιλοπόνου *Περὶ τῶν διαφόρως τονουμένων καὶ διάφορα σημαίνοντων*; the section of Theodosius' *Canons* entitled *Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πτώσεσι τόνων*; the corresponding material in Choeroboscus' *σχόλια*, Theognostus' *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*; the *Epimerismi Homerici*; Choeroboscus' *Epimerismi in Psalmos*; the etymologica.

²³⁴ See Dyck (1993), 775-8; Dickey (2007), 76.

²³⁵ Galland (1882a), 31.

²³⁶ For a critique of Lentz's edition see also Chandler (1881), XX; Dyck (1993), 775-8; Dickey (2007), 76.

The need for a new edition of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* was already expressed a few years after Lentz's edition, by Egenolff,²³⁷ but such an endeavour has never been accomplished. What makes Lentz's reconstruction even harder to consult is that the existing editions of many of the sources he employed rest on an insufficient manuscript basis.²³⁸

Another disadvantage of Lentz's edition is that it is outdated. Lentz based his reconstruction of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* primarily on the two direct sources, the two epitomes, one misattributed to Arcadius and the other by Philoponus²³⁹. The palimpsest²⁴⁰ which contains sections of Books 5-7 and the fourth-century parchment containing a portion of book 5 (*P. Ant.* ii. 67)²⁴¹, two fragmentary epitomes, were both unknown to Lentz.

In spite of all these disadvantages, Lentz's edition is also valuable and helpful, because it provides a very useful collection of ancient discussions of accentuation, including plentiful parallel passages in different works likely to contain Herodianic material. Another very valuable contribution is the extensive introduction, which contains detailed treatments of numerous issues related to Herodian and his works, and the late antique and Byzantine sources that derived material from Herodian.

In reconstructing the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* Lentz arranged the material in the several books as it is arranged in Pseudo-Arcadius. With regard to the first fourteen

²³⁷ Egenolff (1887), 42; Wouters (1975-6), 604.

²³⁸ On this see Egenolff (1900), 238-9; Alpers (2004), 1-2.

²³⁹ On Philoponus' epitome see pp. 43-7.

²⁴⁰ On the palimpsest see pp. 47-51.

²⁴¹ On the parchment see pp. 51-5.

books, where the accent of the nominative singular of nominals is treated according to their termination, he usually started with the rules as they appear in Pseudo-Arcadius, and then added sections from other sources at points where he thought they best fitted.

On the other hand Lentz kept closer to Philoponus than Pseudo-Arcadius in that he included quotations of ancient authors. The author of our Epitome explains in his preface that for the sake of brevity he has left out the χρήσεις ('examples of usage, i.e. passages cited').²⁴²

In deriving material from Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome Lentz was very bold in adopting emendations suggested by Schmidt in his apparatus (e.g. 8.2 περπέρην] πέρρην MSS, 11.1 ἦ] καὶ MSS, 17.13 Κραννών] καρνών MSS, 19.8 ἦ ἐθνικὰ add., 25.1 ἦ E add., 62.5 οὐκ add.), as well as emendations of other scholars (e.g. 89.11 ὁόθος add. Lentz monente Lobeck *PGSE*¹ 441, n. 9), but he also emended the text himself in many cases (e.g. 10.1-2 Φλέγων. τὸ δὲ φηγών καὶ ἄγών: τὸ δὲ φλεγών καὶ ἄγών MSS, 12.12 καὶ] ἦ MSS, 17.10 μὴ del., 17.13 Ἄγων] ἄγων MSS, 19.3 πόλει add. ante ὁμώνυμα).

²⁴² See also Note 2.5-9 ἀλλὰ ... συγγραφεῖ.

PART TWO

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE PREFACE AND BOOKS 1-8 OF PSEUDO-ARCADIUS' EPITOME

1 The manuscript tradition

Our Epitome survives in five main manuscripts:²⁴³ a) Codex *Matritensis* 4575 = 32²⁴⁴ (M) (15th, c. 1482), b) Codex *Baroccianus* 179 (O) (1495), c) Codex *Hauniensis regius* 1965 (A) (end of 15th cent.), d) Codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2603 (B) (16th cent.), and e) Codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 (C) (16th cent.). I have studied and collated the above manuscripts in full, although I am editing only part of the text for this thesis.

The manuscripts O.10.14 (1466; 16-17th cent.) in Trinity College, Cambridge, and 171 (445; 17th cent.) in the *Bibliothèque Municipale*, Caen, have been left out of this study of the Manuscript Tradition because they have been proved to be copies of codex *Baroccianus* 179.²⁴⁵

Codex *Vindobonensis* theol. gr. 287 (16th cent.) contains only the second section on adverbs in Book 19.²⁴⁶ I have examined this manuscript in photocopies. My collation has revealed that it shares errors with codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2102, but both manuscripts

²⁴³ I have retained the symbols ABC employed in Schmidt's edition for codex *Hauniensis regius* 1965, codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2603, and codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 respectively. I have followed Dyck (1993) in using the symbols M and O for the manuscripts codex *Matritensis* 4575 = 32 and codex *Baroccianus* 179 respectively.

²⁴⁴ See footnote 84.

²⁴⁵ Catalogues of manuscripts indicate that they are copies of *Baroccianus* 179. I have verified that manuscript O.10.14 (1466) in Trinity College, Cambridge is indeed a copy of *Baroccianus* 179 by examining the manuscript by autopsy and in digital images.

²⁴⁶ On the problem with the two sections on adverbs in Book 19 see the discussion of Book 19, pp. 104-7.

have separative errors. This observation, together with the above analysis of the problem about the two sections on adverbs in Book 19, suggests that the two manuscripts derived the material from the same source. Since codex *Vindobonensis* shares the same source with C, and C is ultimately derived from another extant manuscript, M, and since it offers no good readings that are not already in the five manuscripts that preserve the Epitome in its entirety, we will not consider it further, either in this chapter or in the reconstruction of the text.

Manuscript Royal 16 D XIV (16th cent.) in the British Library preserves part of the first section on enclitics and part of the section *περὶ πνευμάτων* in Book 20. With regard to the section on enclitics this manuscript shares just a few errors with the five manuscripts we will be dealing with in this section, and in fact these mistakes could have been committed independently. Thus it is not possible to know the relationship of this manuscript to the rest of the tradition.

We now come back to the five main manuscripts we shall be looking at in more detail:

a) Codex *Matritensis* 32 (M): ²⁴⁷ Madrid, *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. The manuscript is made of paper, 280x205mm, and consists of 83 folios. It was written by Constantine Lascaris in Messina, copied from a *παλαιὰ βίβλος*, as he himself says in *Matritensis* 4689 (139): μόλις εὔρον τὸ περὶ τόνων τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἐν βίβλῳ παλαιᾷ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῆς ἐν ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῆς Μεσσήνης. It is dated to the 15th century,

²⁴⁷ For more information see De Andrés (1987), 55-6 and Iriarte (1769), 141-4.

most likely no later than 1482, as Galland argues,²⁴⁸ because in 1482 Lascaris had excerpted the sixteenth book of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* for the use of Jacob Ximenes.²⁴⁹ Therefore, according to Galland's argument, Lascaris must have already copied Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*, before excerpting the sixteenth book, since he must have had in his possession a copy of the epitome before he excerpted the specific book. The possible counter-argument, namely that Lascaris could have had in his hands a copy of Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome, from which he first excerpted the sixteenth book and then copied the whole epitome, is weak if one takes into consideration Lascaris' statement ἐπεὶ ἡ τοιαύτη πραγματεία [...] δυσκολώτατα εὑρίσκεται διὰ τὰς δυστυχίας τοῦ γένους. πολλὰ γὰρ πονήσας, μόλις εὔρον τὸ περὶ τόνων [...] ('since this treatise is very difficult to find because of the ill fortune of our nation (i.e. the Fall of Constantinople). For with much effort I just found Theodosius' *Περὶ τόνων* [...]', codex *Matritensis* 4689 (139)). This suggests that the Byzantine teacher, being aware of the difficulty of finding the treatise, is most likely to have copied it as soon as he found it.

In the first four folios there is a treatise on accents with the title *περὶ προσφωδιῶν γενικῶς*. In folio 5 there is a preface and a Table of Contents. The main text of our Epitome is in folios 6-54v and begins with the title *κανόνες τῆς καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ οὗς περιέτεμε Θεοδόσιος ὁ γραμματικὸς φυλάξας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων*. Folios 55-83 are blank.

²⁴⁸ Galland (1882*a*), 7-8.

²⁴⁹ This excerpted sixteenth book is an abridgement of the sixteenth book of Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome and is contained, together with the letter addressed to Jacob Ximenes, in codex *Matritensis* 4689.

The handwriting is hasty, cursive, angular, not very clear, and leans towards the right.²⁵⁰ Middle points are usually used as dividers between the words quoted to exemplify the accentuation rules.²⁵¹ Lascaris systematically employs accents, breathings and the iota subscript, but these are not always clear because they are small or because the *ductus* is thin.

The manuscript passed around 1494 to the cathedral of Messina, around 1690 to the Duke de Uceda and in 1712 to the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

This manuscript was examined in photocopies, CD-rom, and by autopsy.

b) Codex *Baroccianus* 179 (O):²⁵² Oxford, Bodleian Library. The manuscript is made of paper and consists of 61 folios. It was written by Leon Chalkiopoulos (Λέων Χαλκιόπουλος) from Crete, in Messina in 1495.²⁵³ Although Galland mentions that Leon was a pupil of Constantine Lascaris, Martínez Manzano argues that there is no manuscript that confirms any collaboration between the two men.²⁵⁴ In my view, Leon's scribal activity in Messina in the last decade of the 15th century does not exclude the possibility of a cooperation with Lascaris. The name of the scribe and the date are mentioned in the colophon which is written in Byzantine dodecasyllable verses:

ή βίβλος αὕτη, δευτέρᾳ σχοῦσα τέλος | δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ελαφρῖναι (sic) τοῦ πόνου
(κόπου O^{a.c.}) | εἰς τὰς δύο δὲ μηνὸς τοῦ φλεβαρίου (ἰαννουαρίου O^{a.c.}) | ἰνδικτιῶνος
δωδεκάτης εὐούσης | Λέων γὰρ ὁ γράψας τε τὴν βίβλον ταύτην | κρήτηθεν ἐν

²⁵⁰ For further comments on Lascaris' handwriting see Fernández Pomar (1966), 235; Martínez Manzano (1994), 307.

²⁵¹ See also RGK I 223.

²⁵² My description of the manuscript is not intended to be exhaustive. For further information about the manuscript see Coxe (1969), 298-9.

²⁵³ For further information on this scribe and his characteristics see Gamillscheg – Harlfinger – Hunger (1981), I 237 (from now on I will refer to this work as RGK).

²⁵⁴ Galland (1882a), 7; Martínez Manzano (1994), 301, (1998), 72.

Μεσσήνη τε γέγραφε ταύτην (*supra* ταύτην habet δὲ νιν O^{s.l.}) | οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχεσθε πάντες | ἐτῶν δὲ τρεχουσῶν²⁵⁵ ἐν οἷς ἐγράφη | ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων τε καὶ τριῶν ἔτι | δόξα τῷ παρέχοντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος | παμμεδέοντι Πατρὶ σὺν Υἱεῖ, Πνεύματι δόξα. ('This book, coming to an end in second place,²⁵⁶ allowed us to be relieved of the labour on the second of February (of January O^{a.c.}) of the twelfth indiction. Leon from Crete is the one who wrote this book, and he has written it in Messina. Let all those who read (this book) pray, seven thousand and three years having passed (*scil.* from the creation of the world, i.e. 5508 BC) when it was written. May there be glory to the greatest guardian Father who provides beginning and end together with his Son and the Holy Spirit').

In folios 1-4 there are small treatises on accents and breathings: *περὶ προσωδιῶν γενικῶς* ('on prosodies in general') (fol. 1), *κανόνες καθολικοὶ τῶν τόνων* ('general accentuation rules') (fol. 3), *περὶ πνευμάτων πότε τὰ φωνήεντα ψιλοῦνται ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα λέξεων καὶ πότε δασύνεται, ἔντευθεν γνωστέον ἂν εἴη συντόμως* ('on breathings: when vowels have a smooth breathing at the beginning of words and when they have rough breathing should be known briefly from here') (fol. 3b), *περὶ τῶν δασυνομένων φωνηέντων* ('on vowels with a rough breathing') (fol. 4). In fol. 5 there is a prologue to the rules of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, attributed to Theodosius. Our Epitome starts in folio 6 with the title: *κανόνες τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ οὗς περιέτεμε Θεοδόσιος ὁ γραμματικὸς φυλάξας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων* ('rules of the prosody in general of the very wise Herodian, which the grammarian Theodosius cut down preserving the number of the books'). As it is noted in the top margin of the last page of the epitome, Book 20 is missing: *λείπει τὸ εἰκοστὸν τὸ περὶ χρόνων τῶν φωνηέντων καὶ πνευμάτων*.

²⁵⁵ There is no grammatical agreement of the participle *τρεχουσῶν* with its subject *ἐτῶν*.

²⁵⁶ We know of a total of two manuscripts written by this scribe, the first (Lond. Harl. 5662) in 1493 in Messina and the second, this one in 1495.

The manuscript is preserved in good condition, despite many worm holes, especially in the margins of the paper. The handwriting is quite clear. Leon systematically writes accents, breathings and the iota subscript. He usually employs middle points as dividers between the words cited as examples of the accentuation rules.

The manuscript was acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford in 1629, when William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Chancellor of the University of Oxford bought the Barocci collection for the University.²⁵⁷

This manuscript was examined by autopsy.

c) Codex *Hauniensis regius* 1965 (A):²⁵⁸ Copenhagen, *Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Nationalbibliotek, Københavns Universitetsbibliotek*. The manuscript is made of paper, 250x213mm, and consists of 910 pages. Smith identified Urbano Valeriano²⁵⁹ as the scribe of this manuscript.²⁶⁰ Urbano was a pupil of Constantine Lascaris, the scribe of *Matritensis* 4575 = 32 (M); with Lascaris Urbano improved his knowledge of Greek.²⁶¹

The manuscript contains various grammatical treatises and is dated to the end of the 15th century. A preface²⁶² is found on pages 41-2 and the Table of Contents (πίναξ τοῦ ὅλου βιβλίου τοῦ περὶ τόνων) of the whole book on the rest of page 42 and on page 43. The main body of this epitome of Herodian's Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας begins with the title κανόνες τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ οὗς περιέτεμε

²⁵⁷ For further information see Macray (1984), 68-74.

²⁵⁸ For information not included in my description of this manuscript see Schartau (1994), 168-77.

²⁵⁹ This scribe is also called Urbano Bolzanio, or Bellunese or Urbano da Belluno. On this see Adler (1938), 77; Martínez Manzano (1994), 25, n. 85.

²⁶⁰ Smith (1978), 58-9; see also Schartau (1994), 175.

²⁶¹ On this see Adler (1938), 77; Fernández Pomar (1966), 220-1; Foti (1989), 124; Martínez Manzano (1994), 25; Pellegrini (2001) IX, 111, 178.

²⁶² See also the section on the authorship, pp. 56-63.

Θεοδόσιος ὁ γραμματικὸς φυλάξας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων and occupies pages 44-186.

This manuscript is preserved in very good condition, although there are minor worm holes.²⁶³ The red ink is, however, quite faded almost everywhere.²⁶⁴ The handwriting is clear. The scribe systematically writes accents, breathings and the iota subscript, and he sometimes uses abbreviations (κύ^ς for κύριον, πό^λ for πόλις). He usually employs middle points to separate the words cited as examples of the accentuation rules. The scribe is generally careful, although he makes some errors.

After the death of Urbano Valeriano (1524), the manuscript passed to the convent S. Niccolò in Venice. Afterwards Frederik Rostgaard (1671-1745) acquired it in Venice in 1699, and then the nobleman Christian Danneschiold-Samsøe (1700-1728) bought the manuscript in 1726.²⁶⁵ Since 1732 the manuscript has been in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.²⁶⁶

This manuscript was examined in photocopies and CD-rom.

d) Codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2603 (B):²⁶⁷ Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. This manuscript is made of paper and consists of 81 folios. It is dated to the 16th century. The manuscript contains the ‘grammaticae institutiones’ of Theodosius of Alexandria in folios 1-16. Our Epitome is found in folios 17-64 and bears the title Ἀρκαδίου γραμματική, and

²⁶³ Schartau (1994), 175.

²⁶⁴ Schartau (1994), 175.

²⁶⁵ Graux (1879), 50; Schartau (1994), 176.

²⁶⁶ Graux (1879), 50; Schartau (1994), 176.

²⁶⁷ See also Omont (1888-98), III, 12.

is succeeded by a treatise on breathings by Theodoretus or by Georgius Choeroboscus starting on folio 65. In folio 73 there is a small work on grammar by Theodosius.

This manuscript was examined in photocopies and by autopsy.

e) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 2102 (C)*:²⁶⁸ Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. It is made of paper and consists of 244 folios. It is dated to the 16th century and was written by Jacob Diassorinus.²⁶⁹ It contains the 'logica' of Nicephorus Blemmydes in folios 1-86 *recto*. From 86 *verso* we read the Egyptian, Roman, Greek, Athenian and Hebrew months. Our Epitome starts on folio 88 and occupies the rest of the manuscript. This is the only manuscript in which the Table of Contents of the epitome precedes the prologue. Moreover, this manuscript differs from all the others in that it provides Book 20.²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the Table of Contents in this manuscript does not contain any description of Book 20. Between the Table of Contents and the prologue there is the phrase Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνου τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως τῶν προσωδιῶν καὶ περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν καὶ ἐγκλινομένων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πνευμάτων καὶ χρόνων ('Arcadius' (treatise) on the accent of the eight parts of speech and on the invention of prosodies and on enclitics and enclinema, and also on breathings and quantities'), which attributes the authorship of our Epitome to Arcadius.²⁷¹ C in general tends to add οἶον before the

²⁶⁸ See also Omont (1886-98), I-II, 194.

²⁶⁹ On this see Galland (1882a), 14, who mentions Pulch's remark that C is written in the same hand as Pseudo-Dracon and Pseudo-Philemon, i.e. Jacob Diassorinus; see also Cohn (1888), 141-3; Hunger (1978), 12.

²⁷⁰ For a discussion of the history of Book 20 as transmitted by C see my discussion in the Introduction.

²⁷¹ See also the discussion of this phrase in the section on the authorship of our Epitome, pp. 58-9 and in the discussion of Book 20, p. 154.

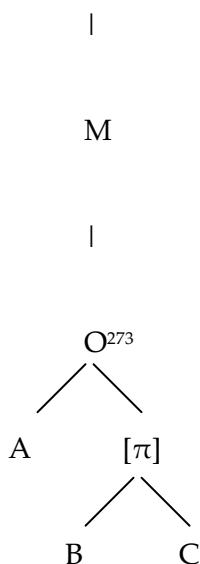
words cited as examples for the accentuation rules, and creates *hyperbata* probably in an attempt to imitate a classical style.

This manuscript was examined in photocopies and by autopsy.

Families of manuscripts

The first scholar to work on the affiliations between the five main manuscripts of our Epitome was Galland.²⁷² The stemma he provided was as follows:

[Βίβλος παλαιά]



Galland had correctly deduced that B and C are *codices gemelli*.²⁷⁴ These two manuscripts share common errors which are found in no other manuscript, and each of the two has some separative errors. The three lists below show, for the Preface and Books

²⁷² Galland (1882*a*), 4-15.

²⁷³ Galland uses the name *Bodleianus* for *Baroccianus* 179 (O).

²⁷⁴ Cf. Egenolff (1887), 6, who says that B and C must share a common source.

1–8: (i) the common errors in B and C, (ii) the errors of B alone, and (iii) the errors of C alone.²⁷⁵

(i) 1.14 ἐπὶ πολλοῖς] ἐπιπολλῆς BC; 1.22 μὲν om. BC; 2.17 πρὸ] πρὸς BC; 2.19 αὐτὸς om. BC; 3.5 δὲ om. BC; 6.2 Αἰζήν ἀδήν] ἀδήν BC; 6.4 μὴ om. BC; 6.8 ἀψήν] ἐψήν BC; 6.13 ἐσσήν] εἰσσήν BC; 9.1-2 μόσυν om. BC; 12.13 ἦ om. BC; 14.17 Αἰολοσίκων] αἰολεσίκων BC; 17.11 πόλεων] πόλεως BC; 17.12 Δάφνων] ἄμφνων BC; 18.15 ἀνδρῶν om. B^{a.c.}C^{a.c.}; 19.2 θυρῶν om. BC; 19.9 ὄξυνθῇ] ὄξυνθῆ BC; 20.14-5 καὶ κατηφῶν om. BC; 21.4 Πολυσπερχῶν] πολυσπερχῶν BC; 22.3 σταγῶν] ταγῶν BC; 22.4 γλήχων] γλίχων BC; 23.2 βαρυνθῇ] βαρυνθῆ BC; 23.18 φιλοκτησιφῶν om. BC; 27.20 συλλαβήν om. BC; 27.21 εἴτε θηλυκὰ om. BC; 28.2 μάρτυρ] μάτυρ BC; 33.4 παρακειμένου σύνθετα] παρασύνθετα BC; 33.6-7 γαλακτοκράς] γαλατοκράς BC; 34.3 ἐπὶ] ἀπὸ BC; 34.9 συναληλιμμένα] συναλιλειμμένα BC; 34.15 ἐξᾶς] ἐξῆς BC; 35.2 ἰλᾶς] ἰλιᾶς BC; 35.4 Πάλλας om. BC; 36.18 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ BC; 37.12 ἐκ τοῦ φθογγήεις om. BC; 38.2 ληστής] ληστής BC; 38.4 Τὰ] ἃ BC;²⁷⁶ 39.13 Ὅπλης] ὄπλης BC; 39.14 δὲ] δῆ BC; 39.14 περισπασθῇ] περισπασθῆ BC; 39.25 γύης] γύνης BC; 40.3 μὲν om. BC; 40.8 ΗΕΙΣ] εἰς BC; 41.1 Ἔτι] τι BC;²⁷⁷ 41.12 καὶ] αἰ BC; 41.12 Ἀρταφέρνης] ἀντιφέρνης BC; 42.5 τριετής] τριτής BC; 42.6, 42.12 εἰς om. BC; 48.4-5 τὸν ... φυλάττουσι om. BC; 50.2 Λυκαμβίς] λυκανβίς BC; 50.17 Κραθίς] κράθις BC; 50.20 Μένουθις] μενουθίς BC; 52.19 τῷ M: τὸ BC; 55.17 Σύβαρις] σέβαρις BC; 56.6 κέκρισαι] κέκρισθαι BC; 58.3 πολίτις] πολίτις BC; 58.8 σταφίς] στραφίς BC; 58.9 Ἴφίς] om. BC; 59.5 ῥάχίς] ῥᾶχίς BC; 60.13 ταῶς] μῶς BC; 70.10 ὀξύνεται om. BC; 71.3 Φρυγίος] φρυγίος BC; 72.4-5 ἀρμόζω ... ἀντίος om. BC; 73.9 νοσφίδιος] νόσφιος BC; 74.9 πολλὰ δὲ inv. ord. BC; 76.5-8 Τὰ εἰς – συνεσταλμένον om. BC; 85.18 ὀξυτονηθῇ] ὀξυνθῆ BC; 86.10 ζεῦδος] ζεῦγος; 86.13 ὄγδος] ὄγδοος BC; 90.17 μακρᾶ] μακρᾷ BC; 91.20 κύκος] κύκλος BC; 94.5-6 Τὰ εἰς – προπαροξύνεται om. BC; 95.1 μακρῶ] μακρῷ BC; 95.15 κώρυκος] κάρυκος BC; 97.2 γρυλός] στρογγύλος BC; 99.16 τῷ] τῶ BC; 103.1 μύτιλος] μίτιλος

²⁷⁵ In all the lists that follow, in cases where I do not give the symbol of a manuscript after a reading, it should be taken as the reading of every manuscript. Although I have collated the manuscripts in full, in this chapter I cite only the readings occurring in the Preface and Books 1-8. However, I mention readings occurring in the rest of the work where they affect the argument. I do not list the instances of omission of the iota subscript. I have also left out instances of errors that are not separative and/or could have been committed independently.

²⁷⁶ The omission of τ of the article τὰ at the beginning of rules occurs another 48 times. This error is due to the fact that the scribe wanted to write τ with red ink later but in the end he forgot to write it. Cf. the omission of ε in ἔτι (see footnote 277 below).

²⁷⁷ The omission of ε of the word ἔτι at the beginning of rules occurs another 6 times. This error is due to the fact that the scribe wanted to write ε with red ink later but in the end he forgot to write it. Cf. the omission of τ in τὰ (see footnote 276 above).

BC; 103.4 ἡ om. BC; 103.9 προπερισπᾶται] περισπᾶται BC; 104.8 ἀγκύλος] ἀγγύλος BC; 104.15 κόνδυλος] κίνδυλος BC; 104.19 ἔχοι] ἔχοιεν BC; 106.19 ἀλαλαγμός] ἀλλαγμός BC; 106.21 Ῥίγμος] ροίγμος BC; 106.21 οὐ om. BC; 107.18-20 ὃν — ὁξύνεται om. BC; 108.12 δὲ om. BC; 113.1 τῶ] τὸ BC; 119.6 σχῖνος] σχίνος BC; 122.3 Τισαμενός] στησάμενος BC^{pc}; 122.3 Ἀκεσαμενός] ἀκεσάμενος BC^{pc}; 122.10 ἀναπεμφθέντα] ἀναπεφθέντα BC; 126.5 διαφοράν τινα] διαφοράν τινά BC; 126.18 τῶ] τῷ BC; 127.6 Κρότωπος] κρίτωπος BC; 131.8 τι] τις BC; 132.6 καρτερός] κατερός BC; 132.7 ΤΕΡΟΣ] ερος BC; 133.10 ἢ] εἴτε BC; 134.3 τὸν] τὸ BC; 134.4 ἐπίμοχθον] ἐπιμόχθηρον BC; 136.4 τῶ] τὸ BC; 136.18 ἄλλα om. BC; 140.17 εὔρεθῇ] εὔρεθῇ BC; 141.1 θύρσος] θάρσος BC; 141.20 βαύνασος καὶ βάναυσος] βαύνασος BC; 146.8-9 Τὰ εἰς — ὁξύνεται om. BC; 146.10 τρίτος om. BC; 147.12 τικτός om. BC; 148.14 πνικτός] πνυκτός BC.

(ii) 1.14 ὀρισμῶν] ὀρισμῶν duobus accentibus B; 1.16-7 ἀκολουθεῖν] ἀκολουθεῖν B; 1.21 δὲ] δὲ δὲ B; 1.22 τῶν¹ om. B; 5.1-2 Περί ... α' om. B; 5.6 πελεκάν] πελεπᾶν B; 6.12 ἀπλᾶ] ἀπλὰ B; 35.12 Τὰ] ἃ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) B;²⁷⁸ 35.16 Ἔτι] τι (ε om. in spatio vacuo) B;²⁷⁹ 56.11 πρὸ τοῦ] προτοῦ B; 57.18 ἐλλησποντίς] ἐλησποντίς B; 59.3 ΧΙΣ] χης B; 63.1 ἦ om. B; 64.8 ζῶός] ζῶος B; 70.1 Ὅσα] σα (ο om. in spatio vacuo) B; 75.10 τὸ] ὁ B; 78.6 Πᾶν] ἄν (π om. in spatio vacuo) B; 80.5 παρὰ] περὶ B; 89.5 πρὸ] προ sine accentu B; 89.11-2 ψόθος ... ψόφος] ψόφος ὁ ψόφος B; 89.17 Πάρθος] πάροος B; 91.3 πρὸ] προ sine accentu B; 91.9 πρὸ] προ sine accentu B; 91.19-20 διαστολή τις] διαστολή τις B; 95.1 Κάικος] κάικος κάικος B; 96.7 λάλος] λάαος B; 96.9 ὑπὲρ] ὑπερ sine accentu B; 98.5 οὔλος] οὔλος B; 99.12 ὀφθαλμός] ὀφθαλμος sine accentu B; 99.15 ὑπὲρ] ὑπερ sine accentu B; 100.13-7 ὁξύνεται ... Ἰταλός om. B; 103.1 κατὰ] κατα B; 103.1 ὅ] ὁ B; 103.5 οὔ] οὔ B; 103.10 ὑπὲρ] ὑπερ B; 103.10 ἀπλᾶ] ἀπλὰ B; 104.16 σφόνδυλος] σφόνδειλος B; 105.11 ὑπὲρ] ὑπερ B; 107.14 πρόσκειται] πρόκειται B; 108.4 πρὸ] προ B; 108.18-109.2 Σάμος ... βαρύνεται om. B; 113.4 ἀπλᾶ] ἀπλὰ B; 116.4 παρὰ] περὶ B; 117.1 ἄμνός] ἄμνος B; 117.4 τὴν] τὸ B; 117.4 πρὸ] προ B; 117.5 μακράν] μακρᾶν B; 119.4 ὃν] ὃν B; 123.9 ἐρινεός] ἐρνεός B; 123.14 Λατῖνος] λατίνος B; 129.13 δὲ] δὴ B; 131.5 τὸ Νευρός] τινευρός B; 131.6 ἔθνους] ἔθνοος B; 131.10 ναῦς] ναὺς B; 131.11 τὸ] τὸν B; 134.1 ἰστέον] στέον B; 136.7 ὅ] ὁ B; 136.17 φύλαξ] φύλακας B; 138.2 γόγγρος] γόγρος B; 138.13 συνεστραμμένος] συναστραμμένος B; 138.23 λυπρός] λυπαρός B; 140.17-8 τῇ ... συλλαβῇ] τῇ ... συλλαβῇ B; 141.4 ἀμεταβόλου] ἀμεταλου B; 141.15 κατὰ] κατα since accentu B; 142.2 ἔχον] ἔχοντα B; 145.13 πλωτός] πλωτος sine accentu B; 147.1 μακρῶ] μα μακρῶ B; 147.11 κοντός] κοντος sine accentu B; 149.11 Ἐλατος] ἔλατος B.

²⁷⁸ The same kind of error occurs another 226 times.

²⁷⁹ The same kind of error occurs another 18 times.

(iii) 1.13 ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ] ἐφεκάστῳ C; 1.19 συναγόμενόν τε] συναγόμενον τε C; 1.19 κατὰ μέρος] καταμέρος C; 1.20 ἀλλὰ] τὰλλὰ C; 2.22 ὄντα om. C; 2.24 Τὸ] ὁ C; 2.26 τὴν om. C; 2.26 κατάληξιν] καταλήγοντα C; 2.27 τὴν] τὰ C; 2.28 Τὸ] ὁ C; 3.1 Τὸ] ὁ C; 3.1 ΜΟΣ] κος C; 3.14-5 περὶ ... διέξεισι] περιέχει περὶ οὐδετέρων ὀνομάτων C; 3.21-2 τὰ... πρόσωπον] πᾶν ῥῆμα καὶ πᾶσαν μετοχὴν C; 3.23-4 πᾶν... μετοχὴν] πᾶν ῥῆμα τῶν εἰς μι καὶ περὶ συνθέτων ῥημάτων C; 5.3 ὁξύνεσθαι] ὁξυνεσθαι sine accentu C; 6.13 σύμφωνον] σύμφωνον σύμφωνον C; 39.2 κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν] κατεπιπλοκὴν C; 39.2-3 εἰ ... τι] εἰ δέ τι εἰ δέ τι C; 39.14 λιμὴν τις] λιμὴν τις C; 39.19 τὸ] τὸ δέ C; 39.20 πλήρης om. C; 40.6 ΕΑΣ] ας C; 41.8 Μηριόνης] μυριόνης C; 42.7 Μενοίτης] μενοιτης sine accentu C; 42.10 Ἐλεάτης] ἐλεάτης C; 42.11 πειρατής] περατής C; 43.3-5 δεσμώτης... ἐπιθετικά om. C; 44.5 ὁξύνεται sine accentu C; 45.1 εἰς (alt.) om. C; 45.5 πρωτοτύπων] προτοτύπων C; 45.5-46.1 τάσιν] τάξιν C; 47.2-4 βραδυτής ... κουφοτής om. C; 48.5 μὲν om. C; 48.12 ὑποκοριστικὰ] ὑποκορυστικά (sic) C; 50.6 ὁξύνεται] ὁξυνεται C; 50.9 γέγγις] τέγγις C; 51.2-3 τὸ ... παλλακίς om. C; 51.13 ὑποκοριστικὰ] ὑποκορυστικά C; 51.14 ὑποκοριστικόν] ὑποκορυστικόν C; 51.27 μὲν om. C; 52.21 Ἄδουλις] ἄγουλις C; 54.5 τρόπις] βόπις C; 54.6 φωνήεντος] φωνηεντος sine accentu C; 57.5 ῥυτίς] ῥυγίς C; 57.11 κιστίς] κίστις duobus accentibus C; 58.4 πωλῶ] πολῶ C; 59.6 Ὑδελχίς] ὕδελφίς C; 59.7 ἐπὶ τέλους] ἐπιτέλους C; 64.3 ἐός] ἐὸς C; 64.13 σύμφωνον] συμφωνον C; 66.2 ἔχη] ἔχη C; 67.3 τροπὴν] τροτροπὴν (sic) C; 69.7 παροξύνεται] προπαροξύνεται C; 71.3 δέ τὸ om. C; 71.5 Τὰ] ἅ C; ²⁸⁰ 71.17 τρισύλλαβα] τρισύλλαβον C; 71.19 ὀρνέων] ὀρνεων C; 74.5 κωβίος] κυβίος C; 74.10 παροξύτονα τε] παροξύτονα τε C; 76.3 τᾶλλα] τᾶλλα C; 79.5 ὁξυνόμενον] ὁξυνομενον sine accentu C; 79.5 Ἐρυσίχαιος] ἐρυσιχαιος C; 79.8 ἀκμαῖος] ἀλκμαῖος C; 80.3 χύδην] χυδην sine accentu C; 81.12 τέλειος] τελειος sine accentu C; 82.14 καθαρὸν] καθαράν C; 83.4 Ἄρεος] ἄρανος C; 83.11-2 ὅτε ... κύριον om. C; 84.3 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 84.7 ἰχθῦς] ἰχθὺς C; 84.7 ὁξύνεται] ὁξυνεται sine accentu C; 84.10 ἔννοιά τις] ἔννοια τις C; 86.4 σποδός] ὑποδός C; 87.11 σύμφωνον] συμφώνου C; 90.7 προπαροξύνεται] προπαροξυνεται sine accentu C; 90.16 ὁξύνεται ἐπίθετον] ὁξυνεται ἐπιθετον sine accentu C; 90.17 δισύλλαβα] δισυλλαβα sine accentu C; 91.3-4 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 91.21 πόκος] ποκος sine accentu C; 92.5 παραληγόμενα] παραληγομενα sine accentu C; 93.2 ὁξύνεται] ὁξυνεται sine accentu C; 93.8 προπαροξυνόμενα] προπαροξυνομενα sine accentu C; 93.13-6 Τὰ ... ὁξύνεται; 94.1 ΚΟΣ] οκος C; 94.9 ὁξύνεται om. C; 95.5 ὁξύτονον] ὁξυτονον sine accentu C; 95.10 ἡλίκος] ἡλικος sine accentu C; 95.16 ἀλυκός] ἀλυκός C; 98.8 Τέλλος] τέλος C; 98.14 φελλός om. C; 100.13-7 καὶ ... Ἰταλός om. C; 100.20 Τάβαλος] τάβακος C; 101.6 ἐπιθετικά] ὑπερθετικά C; 101.10 σύνθετα] συνθετα sine accentu C; 102.1 ἴδια] ἴδια sine accentu C; 103.8 συλλήψει] συλήψει C; 103.10 ἀπλᾶ] ἀπλὰ C; 104.7 αἰμύλος]

²⁸⁰ The same error occurs another three times.

αἰμύλος C; 104.18 τόνον] τόπον C; 105.13 κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν] κατεπιπλοκὴν C; 105.13-106.1 δεύτερόν ἐστι] δεύτερον ἐστὶ C; 107.1 ῥυθμός om. C; 107.11-2 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 108.14 ἐξ ἧς] ἐξῆς C; 115.2 οἰκτρός] ἱατρὸς C; 115.9 N] η C; 116.1 ὀξύνεται] ὀξυνεται sine accentu C; 116.9 κύκνος om. C; 117.4-5 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 117.7 σεμνός] σιμνός C; 120.6 δαφεινός] δελφεινός C; 121.9 ὁ κανών] κανόνα C; 122.1 τι] τί C; 124.4 εὐξεινος] εὐξεινος C; 124.7 πίσυνος om. C; 124.10 γενικῆς] μετοχῆς C; 125.2 εὐφωνος] ἄφωνος C; 125.3 εὐωνος] ἄγωνος C; 126.5 ποιοίη] ποιεῖη C; 126.13 ἡμεδαπός] ἡμεδαπὸς C; 127.20 Σῆρος] Εὐῆρος C; 128.8 ἦ] εἰ C; 128.12 ΡΟΣ] ος C; 129.7 μέντοι] μεντοι sine accentu C; 132.3 τοῦ] του sine accentu C; 135.4 Στάλιρος] στάλειρος C; 135.5 Σύσιρος] σύσειρος C; 136.6 πάπυρος] πάρσυρος C; 136.9 ὀξύνεται] ὀξυνεται sine accentu C; 137.7 ΡΟΣ] δος C; 138.8 ἐπίθετον] ἐπιθετον sine accentu C; 139.19-21 βαρύνεται ... παραληγόμενα om. C; 139.20 Ω] η C; 140.17-8 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 141.5 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 141.9 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 141.12 Ὑσσοι] ὕσσοι sine accentu C; 143.2 Μάρπησσοι] μάρπισσοι C; 143.2 Μάρπησσα] μάρπισσα C; 143.3 Χερρόνησος] χερρόνησος C; 144.8 Ω] ο C; 147.4 προσηγορικὰ] προσηγορηκὰ C; 147.6 πρὸ τέλους] προτέλους C; 147.16 ἰστός] ἰστὸς C; 149.6 ὀσιώτατος om. C; 149.11 ἔνατος] ἄατος C.

The common source of B and C must have been a now lost manuscript, to which Galland gives the symbol π. Dyck, while sharing the view that B and C are *codices gemelli*, takes their common source to be a bad copy of A.²⁸¹ There are indeed a few mistakes shared by A, B, and C, but at least some of them could have easily been committed independently, while the rest can be otherwise explained, as will be shown later. On the other hand, there are some separative errors in A which are not reproduced by either B or C. Furthermore, the case of the error 18.2 κανών A: καμών MOBC leads me to believe that A cannot be the source of B and C, since B and C reproduce the error of the whole manuscript tradition, καμών, which A corrects into κανών. Galland²⁸² listed a number of examples which, according to him, showed the agreement of A and B, C (from now on I will employ the symbol π when B and C agree) against M, but in fact only one of them is

²⁸¹ Dyck (1993), 777.

²⁸² Galland (1882a), 9. The page and line numbers in Galland's list refer to Schmidt's edition.

correct, 107.25 (Schmidt) Τὰ εἰς ψ Απ: περὶ τῶν εἰς ψ. Τὰ εἰς ψ Μ. I will now cite Galland's incorrect examples, giving them first as they appear in his dissertation and then explaining why they are incorrect: 37.18 ὅτι τῷ ο παραλήγει Μ ὅτι τὸ ο παραλήγει Απ. This is not true, because only A and C have τό, while B has τῷ (sic); 136.14 Ἰσίδωρος Μ Ἰσόδωρος Απ. This is wrong because only C has Ἰσόδωρος, while A and B have Ἰσίδωρος; 121.6 (Schmidt; wrongly cited as 121.16 by Galland) σημαίνη (sic ι omisso) Μ σημαίνει Απ. B has the reading σημαίνη, not σημαίνει like C, and in any case Μ has σημαίνει, not σημαίνη; 146.14 (Schmidt) Αἶας Αἶαντος Μ Αἶαντος ἐκ τοῦ Αἶας Απ. This is a mistake, since only C has Αἶαντος ἐκ τοῦ Αἶας, whereas A and B agree with Μ; 210.5 (Schmidt) Οἱ εἰς ς Μ Αἰ εἰς ς (scil. σύνδεσμοι) male Απ. Here again only C has the mistake Αἰ; B and A have οἱ in agreement with Μ.

Galland also refers to some readings in Μ recorded in Iriarte's catalogue, arguing that these readings do not agree with A, B, and C. But Μ does not in fact disagree with A, B, and C; Iriarte reports Μ's readings wrongly: 2.24 τὸ δεύτερον Μ τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Απ. This is an error because all four manuscripts have τὸ δὲ δεύτερον; 2.29 ἀρχόμενον Μ ἀρξάμενον Απ. All four manuscripts have the reading ἀρξάμενον; 60.4-5 Βενδῖς Μολῖς Αταργατῖς Μ Βενδῖς Μολῖς Τοτῖς Αταργατῖς Απ (Ατεργατῖς π). This is wrong because Μ has the reading Τοτῖς (Iriarte omits it). It is also a mistake to cite Ατεργατῖς as the reading of π, that is of both B and C, since only C has Ατεργατῖς; 83.6 μέχρι τῶν εἰς λος Μ μέχρι τῶν εἰς μος Απ. This information is incorrect, since Μ too has μέχρι τῶν εἰς μος; 133.19 (Schmidt)²⁸³ θεανῶ add. Απ. All four manuscripts have the reading θεανῶ,

²⁸³ Galland gave the wrong citation 133.18.

not only ABC as Galland says (Iriarte omits θεανῶ); 202.20 (Schmidt) ἄκων M ἰέκων Aπ. M indeed has the word ἄκων in the line of the text, but adds an ε above the line, thus correcting ἄκων to ἰέκων. Three cases of common errors (8.6 χρυσώκτιν, 24.14 μωτίων, 50.20 ταμίθις) in A, B, and C can be explained otherwise, as will be shown below, and two (49.8 ἀψίς, 93.2 τῶ) could easily have been committed independently. The fact that A has separative errors not reproduced by B or C and the fact that A, B, and C have common mistakes suggest that A and π are *codices gemelli*. The lists below show, for the Preface and Books 1–8: (i) the errors of A alone, and (ii) the common errors of A, B, and C, which, as it will be argued later, do not support the derivation of B and C from A:

(i) 1.7 πολλοῖς] πολοῖς A; 1.11 παράληξιν] παρᾶληψιν A; 1.13 καὶ om. A; 1.19 τε] δὲ A; 5.8-9 αἰνοτίταν] αἰνοτίπαν A; 6.7 ἄζήν om. A; 6.11 τὸ om. A; 6.14 δὲ om. A; 7.1 ταγήν] ἀπτήν A; 7.10 Δαμήν] δάμήν duobus accentibus A; 7.13 φωνῆεν] φωνήεν A; 7.16 παραλήγοντα] παραλήγονται A; 8.6 εὐάκτιν] ἐνάκτιν A; 9.10 δύναμιν] δύναμην A; 13.6 ὑπάρχοι] ὑπάρχη (sic) A; 13.8 Φαέθοντος] φαέτοντος A; 17.12 Μέμνων] μένων A; 19.1 δὲ om. A; 19.9 τι] τοι A; 19.10 ἀνεδέξατο] ἀναδέξατο A; 20.1 Κράτων] κρώτων A; 20.2 Ἀρίστων] ἄ ἰστων (sic) A; 20.13 Ξενοφῶν om. A; 20.14 Δημοφῶν] δημοφών A; 21.4-5 περιεσπᾶσθη] περισπᾶσθαι A; 21.7 Ξενοφῶν] Ξενοφών A; 22.4 μήκων] μήχων A; 23.14 Ἀσκάλων] ἀγκάλων A; 24.5-6 ὀξυτονούμεναι] ὀξυνούμεναι A; 25.1 A om. A; 25.2 Κρέων] κρείων A; 27.7 ἀλώπηξ] ἀλλώπηξ A; 27.9 κυμοπλήξ] κυμωπλήξ A; 27.10 ἀντίπηξ] ἀντίπληξ A; 33.2 πελεκᾶς] πελακᾶς A; 34.2 ἀκριβᾶς] ἀκρηβᾶς A; 34.14-5 ἀλείψας] ἀλίψας A; 36.6 δυάς] διὰς A; 36.18 τὸ om. A; 39.4 ἱαμβικόν] ἱαμβικοῦ A; 39.8 ζαχρῆς] ζαχνής A; 40.8 HEIΣ] εις A; 40.10 πατρωνυμικά (pr.)] παρο (expunctum) πατρωνυμικά A; 41.2 δυσώδης] εὐσώδης A; 41.21 ἀπλᾶ om. A; 44.4 δισυλλάβου] δισυλλάου A; 45.5-46.1 τάσιν φυλάττει] τάσειν φιλάττει A; 47.2 ἀδροτής] ἀδυτής A; 52.8 πῶμα] πτόμα A; 52.12 ἀναβαλλίς] ἀναβαλὶς A; 53.3 Κρίνις] κέρνις A; 54.13 Ἄλπις] ἔλπις A; 55.1 Δρυοπίς Αἰθιοπίς inv. ord. A; 55.1 φύλοπις] φύλωπις τὸ φ A; 55.27 Θάμυρις] θάλμυρις A; 56.2 Ψένυρις] ψένιρις A; 56.7 νῆσος] νῆσο (sic) A; 56.13 οὐτίς] οὐτις sine accentu A; 57.1 κλέπτις] κλέπις A; 58.3 πολίτις] πολιτις sine accentu A; 60.4 Μολίς] μολίς A; 61.2 Βαῖος] ἐμαῖος A; 61.5 ἀγανός] ἀγανὸς A; 66.3 αὐαλέος] αὐλεος sine accentu A; 70.3 τριβράχεσιν] ἐν τοῖς βραχέσιν A; 71.14 ὀρνέου] ὀρνείου A; 72.4 ἀρμόδιος] ἀρμόδιος A; 78.3 μέντοι] μέντι A; 79.12 σημειοῦνται] σημειοῦνται A; 81.7

προπερισπῶνται] περισπῶνται A; 81.14 ἔσχε] ἔσχει A; 83.10 μονογενές] μονογές A; 83.14 δισύλλαβα] δισυλλαβα sine accentu A; 89.3 τῷ] τῶ A; 90.16 ὀλισθηρός] ὀλίσθηρος A; 91.11 ὄρκος] ὄρκος A; 91.20 σημανομένου] σημενομένου A; 93.8 μαίμακος] μαίμαρκος A; 93.10 Φρυγιάκος] φρυγιάκος A; 95.10-1 οὐ γὰρ κτητικὰ om. A; 97.4 ψιλός] ψίλος A; 98.1 Σαῦλος] δαῦλος A; 98.3 ἐπιθετικὰ] ἐπίθετικά (sic) A; 98.5 τραυλός] πρραυλός A; 99.2 ἔθνους] ἔθνος A; 100.16 ἀπαλός] ἀπαλλός A; 104.12 μηκνομένην] μηκνομένην A; 104.16 δάκτυλος om. A; 105.13 δύο] δύω A; 106.15 ΕΟΣ om. A; 113.9 ἀγώγιμος] ἀγώνιμος A; 118.1 ποθεινός] ποθινός A; 119.2 ἐπίθετα] ἐπιθετὰ A; 120.4 Αὔαινος] ἄναινος A; 120.9 βαυνός] βαννός A; 121.1 τοῦ om. A; 123.6 κορακῖνος] κορακίνος A; 124.9 ἐθνικά] ἔθνικα A; 125.6 Πύξος ἢ πόλις om. A; 127.3 μέν] μέντοι A; 127.7 δὲ om. A; 127.10 ἀλωπός] ἄλωπος A; 128.11 οἶκος] ἰοκος (sic) A; 129.7 ἀφυλιζόμενον] ἀφιλιζόμενον A; 129.14-5 Κῦρος Σκῦρος] κύρος σκύρος A; 131.10 Φροῦρος] φρεῦρος A; 131.11 φρουρός] φρυρός A; 132.5 κύντερος] κάντερος A; 132.13 συγκριτικὰ] συνκριτικὰ A; 136.10 ὄχυρός] ὄχυρὸς A; 137.4 θησαυρός] θυσσαυρός A; 138.18 ἱγκρος] ἱγῆρος A; 138.19 εἰς] εἰ A; 138.23 ὀξύνεται] ὀξύνται A; 138.25 μεθ' ἑτέρου] μετ' ἑτέρου A; 139.6 τέλος] τέλους A; 140.9 διφθόγγῳ] διχρόνῳ A; 141.3 ἀρσός sine accentu A; 141.8 ἕτερον] ἕτερο A; 142.2 Παρνασσός] παρνασὸς A; 143.15 Ἀρκισος] ἀρκισός A; 147.12 κυρτός] κερτὸς A; 147.15 τέλους] τέτους (sic) A.

(ii) 24.14 μωρίων MO: μωτίων ABC; 49.8 ἀψίς MO: ἀψὶς ABC; 50.20 Ταμίαθις Lobeck: ταμίσις MO: ταμίθις ABC

To the examples in this list one might add 8.6 χρυσάκτιν OC: χρυσώκτιν MAB, where I regard χρυσώκτιν as the reading of π. The scribe of C could easily have corrected this to χρυσάκτιν, since he was a native speaker of Greek and since χρυσάκτιν is preceded by εὐάκτιν.

According to Galland's stemma, A and π derive from O. We have, however, no evidence to support the derivation of A and π from O, and indeed Galland later retracted his view that A was derived from O, concluding instead that it was derived directly from M.²⁸⁴ Galland²⁸⁵ believed that π went back to O because B as well as O ends with the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου τέτυμμαι τύμμα. This argument is

²⁸⁴ See Galland (1886), 293.

²⁸⁵ Galland (1882*a*), 6-7.

insufficient for two reasons: firstly because the same phrase exists in M,²⁸⁶ and so provides no reason to believe that π is derived from O, and secondly because, in fact, the last word in B and M is τύψις and not τύμμα, something which would encourage us to support the derivation of π from M, rather than from O. Galland²⁸⁷ in 1882 also argued for the derivation of both A and π from O on the basis of the comparison of M with *Matritensis* 139 = 4689. This manuscript was written by Constantine Lascaris, like M, and contains an abridged version of the sixteenth book of Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome. Galland observed that there are three cases in *Matritensis* 139 = 4689 (concerning rules found at Pseudo-Arcadius 179.1-5, 179.21-180.5, and 183.22-5)²⁸⁸, where Lascaris provides more examples than those appearing in A and π . He then assumed, incorrectly, that those additional examples appear also in M. Finally, he reached the conclusion that A and π are derived from O, considering on the basis of invalid evidence that the omission of the extra examples by A, π and O indicated their closer affinity in opposition to M, and the derivation of A and π from O. The further examples found in *Matritensis* 139 = 4689 were, according to Galland, due to Lascaris' fuller source. However, if Lascaris had had in his possession either the original work or another, more extensive epitome than Pseudo-Arcadius', then he would have either copied that or he would have included those extra examples in M. In my view, the additional examples which appear in *Matritensis* 139 = 4689 should be attributed to Lascaris and are not part of Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome. Lascaris was very well aware of the difficulty of finding Pseudo-Arcadius' epitome as he

²⁸⁶ Galland (1882*a*), 6-7, is ignorant of the existence of the specific phrase also in M.

²⁸⁷ Galland (1882*a*), 10-11.

²⁸⁸ The page and line numbers refer to Schmidt's edition.

himself mentions in *Matritensis* 139 = 4689 (ἐπεὶ ἡ τοιαύτη πραγματεία [...] δυσκολώτατα εὐρίσκεται διὰ τὰς δυστυχίας τοῦ γένους. πολλὰ γὰρ πονήσας, μόλις εὔρον τὸ περὶ τόνων [...]), and he must have tried hard to preserve it as intact as possible. The extra examples could easily have been added by a native speaker and teacher of Greek, as Lascaris was.²⁸⁹

There are certainly common errors in O, B and C, but these are shared by M and A, and do not suggest a closer affinity between O, B, and C. Two common errors in OBC which are not in MA (63.4 βραχὺ om., 102.2 κήτηλος) can be otherwise explained as will be shown later, while two (41.1 τι pro ἔτι, 122.6 Ὀρμενος) could have been committed independently. This, together with the fact that not all of O's mistakes are included in B and C, and the fact that there are common errors in A, B, and C not shared by O suggest that O and the source of A and π were *codices gemelli*. The list below shows, for the Preface and Books 1–8, the errors of O alone:

1.1 ἐφικέσθαι] ἀφικέσθαι O; 1.3 Ἡρωδιανοῦ] Ἡρωδιανῶ O; 1.4 βούλημα] βούλευμα O; 1.7-8 ἀθρόως] ἀθρόος O; 1.10 κείμενα] κείμενος O; 1.10 Ἡρωδιανῶ] Ἡρωδιανῶ O; 2.8 πολλή] πολὺ O; 2.13 ἐνδεικνυμένην] ἐνδεικνουμένην O; 7.4 ἀτταγήν] ἀτταγήν τριβὴν ὁ τρίπους (iteravit ex 7.1-2) O; 8.5 ἀκτίς] ἀκτίς ῥίν καὶ ῥίς O; 11.1 κατὰ] μετὰ O; 11.5-6 σύμμαχος] σύμματος O; 11.6 καταπύγων] κατεπίγων O; 12.10 ἀηδών O^{a.c.}: ἀδών O^{p.c.}; 12.19 ἡ περιεκτικὰ om. O; 13.3 πιθών] τιθών O; 14.14 χαρακῶν] χαλακῶν O; 14.14 ἀνθρακῶν] ἀρθρακῶν O; 17.11 ἡ (alt.) om. O; 17.12 Δάφνων] ἄφρων O; 18.5 ἄξων] ἄξων O; 18.13-4 κλινόμενα βαρύνεται] κλίνονται βαρύνονται O; 23.12 ἡ om. O; 23.20 ἵππαλεκτρῶν] ἵππολεκτρῶν O; 26.13 βλεφαροσπάξ] βλεφυροπάξ O; 27.3 καὶ OΞ om. O; 27.4 βαρύνεται] βαρύνοντα O; 27.4 Καππάδοξ] καππάδορ O; 27.12 χαμαιοσκώληξ] χαμασκώληξ O; 28.8 καὶ ἄστηρ] καὶ ἄστηρ καὶ ἄστηρ O; 29.3 θυγάτηρ] θηγάτηρ O; 30.9 σατυρόφην] σατηρόφην O; 34.9 ὑποκοριστικά] ὑποκορυστικά (sic) O; 35.5 ἔχοι] ἔχον O; 35.5 μέντοι] μέντο (sic) O; 35.5 πελλᾶς] παλλᾶς O; 35.8 ἀδάμας] ἀδώμας O; 41.12 Ἀρταφέρνης] ἀρτιφέρης O; 42.13-4

²⁸⁹ Cf. the discussion on pp. 149, 170.

βαθυρρείτης] βαθυρείτης O; 43.12 αὐτοσφαγής] αὐτοσφαῆς O; 48.9 τύπον] τόπον O; 49.8 μεμíanσαι] μεμíanσε O; 50.4-5 Ἀθάραβις κάνναβις] ἀθαράβις κανιάβις O; 50.8 βαρύνεται] βα βαρύνεται O; 51.8 κιγκλῖς] κυγκῖς O; 51.23 καὶ ὕλις (ἢ ὕλία)] καὶ τὸ ὕλις ἢ ὕλὺς O; 51.23 αὐλις] αὐλῖς O; 51.24 ἢ πόλις om. O; 51.26 προπαραλήγοντα] παραλήγοντα O; 52.8 ἔπηλις] ἔπηλὺς O; 52.13 μοιχαλλῖς] μοιχαλῖς O; 52.13 θρυαλλῖς] θρυαλῖς O; 52.17-21 τὸ - Ἰουλῖς om. O; 52.24 σησαμίς] σιγαμίς O; 53.19 Εἰς] εἰς O; 53.20 ψύξω ψύξις] τύψω τύψις O; 54.1 ἄμαξα ἀμαξίς] ἄμαξις ἀμαξίς O; 54.5 λεπίς om. O; 55.1 Αἰθιοπίς om. O; 55.5 ΚΡΙΣ] κρι O; 55.5 μὲν om. O; 57.4 τὰ μὲν om. O; 58.10 Μέμφις] μέμφις O; 59.7 Τὰ] ἀ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) O; 60.10 παός] παρὸς O; 61.9 κόπρου] κόπλου O; 61.9 κλοιός] κλοιὸς κλοιὸς O; 63.4 τὸ om. O; 64.15 τρισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ] ἀπλᾶ τρισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ O; 65.1 κτητικὰ] κτιτικὰ O; 65.1 σημαίνοντα] σημαίνονται O; 66.6 δαιδάλεος om. O; 68.3 γεγονός] γεγονώς O; 71.15 ἐνάλιος om. O; 73.8 ὄψιος] ὀψίος O; 73.9 ἀεὶ] ἀεὶ O; 73.9 ἀϊδῖος] ἀεῖδιος O; 73.10 ῥήϊδιος] ῥαῖδιος O; 82.7 ταῦτά εἰσι] ταῦτα εἰσὶ O; 82.8 ἀκατεῖος] ἀκρατεῖος O; 84.13 ἔργον] ἔργου O; 85.8 θρηῖνος] θνηῖνος O; 86.1 μέντοι] μέντο O; 87.3 νάρδος] νάρβος O; 90.7-8 εἰ δέ τι καὶ ὀξύνεται om. O; 90.19 ταῦκος] ταῦρος O; 91.16-9 δίσκος — βαρύνεται om. O; 95.15 κώρυκος om. O; 96.1 ΣΚΟΣ] κος O; 96.6 ἔνεκα] ἔνεκε O; 97.2 πῖλος om. O; 97.2 μύλος om. O; 98.1 Σαῦλος] σαύλος O; 98.15 Ἐφεσίους] ἐβεσίους O; 99.11 κρύσταλλος] κρύσταλος O; 99.15 ἐκφερόμενα] ἐκφευρόμενα O; 99.20 κορυδαλλός] κορυδαλός O; 100.3 ὀπτίλλος] ὀπτίλος O; 100.7 ἰξαλος δαίδαλος] δαίδαλον O; 104.8 ἀγκύλος] ἀγλύλος O; 104.15 Χαρμύλος] χαλμύλος O; 104.17 Ὀξύλος] ὄξυος O; 104.19 τριβράχεια] τρισύλλαβα O; 106.1 ἐστι] ἔστι O; 106.3 ἐστι] ἔστι O; 106.10 ἔωλος] ἔωλος O; 106.14 ὕπουλος] ὕπουλος (sic) O; 107.4 τὸ om. O; 107.6 Τρωκμός] τρωκτρὸς O; 107.13 βρυσμὸς] βρυγμὸς O; 107.18 ὄν] δὲ O; 108.1 τιλμός] τολμὸς O; 108.7 τρίβω τριμμός] τρίβον τριμμὸν O; 108.19 τριγενὲς] τριγενενὲς (sic) O; 109.2 ἀρχόμενα] ἀρφώμενα O; 109.8 ἦ ἢ] ἦ O; 111.2 Δεῖμος] δόμος O; 113.1 Ἐχεμος om. O; 113.13 ἔβδομος] ἔβδομον O; 113.14 ἀγροκόμος] ἀγριοκόμος O; 114.2 ἔτυμος] ἔτυμος O; 115.2 ἀλύδοιμος] ἀλύδοιμος O; 117.7-8 ὁ σκληρὸς om. O; 117.16 θύννος om. O; 118.1 ἐραννός] ἐρανὸς O; 118.3 παροξύνεται] ὀξύνεται O; 119.7 μόνον] μακρὸν O; 122.5 παθὸν] παθὸς O; 122.13 Ἀβυδηγός] ἀβυδινός O; 126.20 ὄλυμπος] ὄλυπος O; 126.20 Χάροπος] χάραπος O; 128.9 ὁ (pr.) om. O; 129.1 Εἴ ἢ Εἰ] εἰ ἢ ἦ O; 130.12 κακός] καιρὸς O; 131.1 σταυρός] σαυρὸς O; 131.13 οἰκουρός] νικουρὸς O.

Galland was right in observing that the manuscripts A, B and C go back to M.²⁹⁰

But I will argue that A and π go back to M directly; as mentioned above, Galland himself reached this conclusion in 1886 (Galland (1886), 293), in the case of A. The direct or indirect derivation of A from M could also be supported historically, if one thinks that Urbano Valeriano, the scribe of A, was a pupil of Constantine Lascaris. Leon Chalkiopoulos, the scribe of O, copied his manuscript in Messina, where Lascaris was a renowned teacher of Greek,²⁹¹ and an acquaintance between the two men is possible,²⁹² but the fact that O has some good readings that are not in M, and which should be considered inherited from O's source rather than being Leon's conjectures, suggest that O's main source was not M. The good readings in O should be attributed to its source because Leon is very often careless and makes orthographical errors that one would not expect from a native speaker of Greek, something which suggests that Leon should not be expected to have corrected any errors in his source.²⁹³ It seems necessary to assume that O was copied from the *παλαιὰ βίβλος*, the same source which Lascaris employed to create his own copy.²⁹⁴ However, some readings given in the margins of O, which agree with M, suggest that Leon consulted M after copying from the *παλαιὰ βίβλος*. The three lists below show mainly for the Preface and Books 1-8, but also from the rest of the Epitome: (i) the good readings in O alone, (ii) the mistakes of M which came down to ABC, (iii) the good readings in M alone, and (iv) the errors in which M is alone but which do not speak

²⁹⁰ Galland (1882*a*), 12.

²⁹¹ For further information on this see Martínez Manzano (1994), 21-3.

²⁹² On the relation of the two scribes with Lascaris see also Martínez Manzano (1994), 25 (Urbano), 301 (Leon), *RGK*, and Foti (1989), 124 (Urbano), 127 (Leon). For the assumption that Urbano's manuscript derives from that of Lascaris see also Pellegrini (2001), 178.

²⁹³ Cf. Schneider (1887), 41-2.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Schneider (1887), 41-2.

against the derivation of A, B, and C from M because the scribes could have corrected.

Specifically ὁξύνεται instead of M's ὁξύλεται would have been an easy correction, and

M's μονοίψ could have been easily corrected to μονώψ within a list of words ending in – ωψ.

(i) 18.16-7 Ἑρμοκρῶν O: ἑρμοκρῶν MC: ἑρμοκρῶν AB; 22.2 Ω O: ο MABC; 50.11 ἀλουργίς O: ἀλουργίς AB: αλουργίς spiritu incerto M: ἀλλουργίς (sic) C; 57.2 νυκτίς O: νοκτίς MABC; 57.4 βαρύνεται O: βαρύνονται MABC; 58.3 πολίτις O: πολίτις/ πολίτις duobus accentibus M: πολίτις BC: πολιτις sine accentu A; 66.3 σμερδαλέος O: σμερδάλεος MA; 66.7 ἐγένοντο O: ἐγένετο MABC; 68.5 προπαροξύνονται O: προπαροξύνεται MABC; 77.1 παραληγόμενα ... προσγεγραμμένου O: παραληγόμενα τῷ ῶ μετὰ ι προσγεγραμμένου M: παραληγόμενα τῷ ω μετὰ ι προσγεγραμμένου (A^{pc}: προσγεγραμμένου A^{a.c}) A: παραληγόμενα τῷ ω μετὰ ι προσγεγραμμένου B: τῇ ῶ διφθόγγῳ καταχρηστικῇ παραληγόμενα C; 79.12 ἐν ἀρχῇ O: ἐν ἀρχῇ MAB: ἐναρχῇ C; 104.7 πρᾶος O: πρᾶος MABC; 104.19 ἔχοι O: ἔχει MAB: τι ἔχοι C; 131.4 σπάνια...βαρύνονται O^{it}: γρ (= γράφεται) σπάνια, βαρύτονα O^{im}: σπάνια βαρύτονα MABC; 136.2 κατάκορος O: κατάμορος MABC; 144.1 τῷ O: τῷ MABC; 148.9 λῶστος ῥᾶστος O: λῶστος ῥᾶστος MBC: λῶστος ῥᾶστος A.

(ii) 12.19 μῶθων] μώθων MABC: μύθων O; 22.2 Ω O: ο MABC; 50.4-5 Ἀθάραβις κάνναβις] ἀθαράβις, καννάβις MABC: ἀθαράβις κανιάβις O; 51.8 κιγκλῖς] κυγκλῖς MABC: κυγκίς O; 51.23 καὶ...ύλία] καὶ ὕλις (ἢ ύλία) MABC: καὶ τὸ ὕλις ἢ ὕλὺς O; 52.24 σησαμίς] σισαμίς MABC: σιγαμίς O; 57.2 νυκτίς O: νοκτίς MABC; 66.6 δαιδάλεος] δαιδαλέος MABC: om. O; 113.14 ἀγροκόμος] ἀγριονόμος MABC: ἀγριοκόμος O; 115.4 ὁξύνεται] παροξύνεται MABC: προπαροξύνεται O; 121.14 πρᾶος O: πρᾶος MABC; 141.5 Βάγαρσος] βάγαρος MABC: βάγασος O; 144.1 τῷ O: τῷ MABC; 145.12 τῷ O: τῷ MABC; 151.12 Λήϊτος] δῆϊτος MABC: om. O.

(iii) 4.11 οἱ M: οι A: οἱ OB; 27.9 κυμοπλήξ M: κυμωπλήξ A: κυμοπήξ O: κωμοπλήξ π; 52.19 τῷ M: τῷ A: τὸ π; 55.15 ἄγγρις MAB: ἄγρις OC.

In these instances A, π, and O make mistakes independently of one another.

(iv) 99.20 ὁξύνεται] ὁξύλεται (sic) M; 108.14 (Schmidt) μονώψ] μονοίψ M.

My examination of the manuscripts has shown, in contrast to the views of most earlier scholars, that A and π are derived from M directly.²⁹⁵ An indication of the direct and independent derivation of A and π from M is the fact that in cases where certain readings in M are ambiguous, because a letter of a word is not clear and thus there are two possible readings, at times A agrees with π , but at other times A and π provide the two possible ways of reading M's ambiguity. This observation helps us to explain the random agreement of the following groups of manuscripts in certain readings: 1. M with B and C, 2. M with A, 3. A with B and C. The place of certain phrases in the text or in the margin may be also employed as evidence for the derivation of A and π from M. The examples of errors in the manuscripts which indicate that A and π are directly derived from M, together with my explanations for these errors, have been divided into three groups.

The first category of evidence consists of ambiguities in M that pass on to the other manuscripts either as one or the other possibility:

2.1 κρατυνομένων MC: κρατενομένων AB. The letter υ in M looks like an ε. π must have copied ε, which then B copied but C corrected to υ; 5.6 Δωριάν Lobeck: δωρεάν MBC: δηρεάν A. Here the letter ω in M looks like η; 7.8 μελλείσιν M^{PC}: μελείσιν M^{a.c.} ABC. The second λ is placed below the line rather awkwardly and unusually (since one normally expects the corrections to appear above the line) and thus ABC omit one λ; 18.3 πλατανών MA: πλαταιών BC; 18.14 ἄφρων MA: ἄβρων B: ἄβρων C. The letter φ is not clearly formed and gives the impression of a β; 20.1 Κράτων MOBC: κρώτων A. The shape of α in M looks like ω; 24.14 μωρίων M: μωτίων ABC. The letter ρ in M looks like τ; 27.10 ὕσπληξ MBC: ὕπληξ A. In M σ in the ligature σπ is squeezed, and since it is not clearly formed, A omits it; 27.10 ἀντίπληξ Schmidt: ἀντίσπληξ MBC: ἀντίπληξ A. Here again σ is squeezed before π and A omits it as it is not clearly visible; 28.7 ἐξάυτηρ] ἐξάντηρ A. A provides the reading ἐξάντηρ, because

²⁹⁵ The only scholar who argued this was Schneider (1887), 41-2.

υ in M is quite angular at its base; 36.2 ἐφύλαξε B: ἐφύλαξεν C: ἐφύλαξαν MA. In this case the α in M's ending looks like an ε; 50.20 Ταμίαθις] ταμίσθις M: ταμίθις A^{p.c.}BC: fortasse ταμιθῖς A^{a.c.}. In the ligature σθ the letter σ is squeezed and not clearly visible; 52.3 πενταλῖς MBC: πρυταλῖς A. The ligature εν in M looks very close to the ligature ρυ and thus A has πρυταλῖς instead of πενταλῖς; 52.12 κορυδαλλῖς MB^{p.c.}C: κορυδαλῖς AB^{a.c.}. The first λ in M is rather small and invisible and therefore A and B^{a.c.} leave out one λ; 61.4-5 ναῦος αὔος] νάνος ἄνος A: ναύος αὔος MB: ναύος αὔος C. The shape of υ in these words looks like ν, since the base is pointed rather than circular; 86.11 μαυδός BC: μανδός vel μαυδός M: μανδός A. The shape of the third letter in M is between υ and ν; 102.2 κάπηλος MA: κάτηλος BC. The shape of the π looks like a τ because the two vertical lines of π are right next to each other, so that they give the impression of being only one thick vertical line; 106.21 ῥίγμος M^{p.c.}A: ῥοίγμος BC: ῥγμός M^{a.c.}. The error in B and C is due to the fact that the shape of the rough breathing above ρ and before ι, which has been omitted and later placed above the line in M, creates the impression of the diphthong οι; 106.25 κύδνος MBC: κύδμος A. The shape of the letter after δ is between μ and ν; 137.12 νομηουρός Lobeck: νομουουρός MA: νομιουρός B: νομίουρος C. The shape of the ι in M is ambiguous and looks like an ο; 103.2-3 (Schmidt) τερατολόγος M^{p.c.}: τεθρατολόγος BC: fortasse τειρατολόγος M^{a.c.}: om. A. M probably wrote τειρατολόγος by mistake and then wishing to cross out the iota, drew a vertical line above the iota. So finally the shape of the iota together with the vertical line gave the impression of the letter theta (θ), something which caused the mistake in BC. However, the way M usually forms a theta is not the same as the shape the erased iota eventually takes; 103.23 (Schmidt) ἥοχος MA: ἔοχος B: ἄοχος C. The first letter in M looks like both η and ε, something that causes A to write ἥοχος, while B has ἔοχος.

The second group of indications consists of double readings in M that are either reproduced by the rest of the manuscripts or for which the scribes choose one of the two randomly:

51.15 πρύλις M^{i.l.}AB^{i.l.}C: προίλις M^{s.l.}B^{s.l.}. B reproduces the two readings provided by M in the same position (i.e. the word that is in the line in M is also in B and the one above the line in M is also in B). This suggests that π copied both M's readings, something which B followed, but C did not copy the reading above the line. A copies only the reading of the main text; 108.15 λίπος A: λίπος / λῖπος duobus accentibus M: λῖπος BC. M has both an acute and a circumflex on the word λίπος/ λῖπος; A chooses the acute, while π (BC) chooses the circumflex.

The third type of evidence is linked with the place of certain words in M. In the example 79.8-9 both M and A provide the words ἀραιός ὁ τῆς ἀρᾶς ἀραιός ὁ μὴ πυκνός in the margin of the same line in the text, although A reverses the word order in the following way: ἀραιός ὁ μὴ πυκνός (sic) ἀραιός ὁ τῆς ἀρᾶς. In 111.3 M omits βαρύνεται in the line of the text and adds it later above καὶ οἶμος (spiritu incerto M). A places βαρύνεται before καὶ οἶμος because the place where βαρύνεται is written in M suggests that βαρύνεται was intended to be before καὶ οἶμος. Although βαρύνεται is written above the line even in B, the latter correctly presents βαρύνεται after καὶ οἶμος, together with C.

The ambiguities in M should not, in my view, be attributed to Lascaris. Lascaris was a teacher of Greek, and he should not be expected to have been careless when forming letter shapes. Furthermore, his awareness of the significance of our text and of the difficulties of finding it, as well as his wish to preserve the text as intact as possible – laid out in his letter to Jacob Ximenes –,²⁹⁶ lead me to think that Lascaris, being perhaps uncertain in some cases about what was written in his source, reproduced ambiguities found in the παλαιὰ βίβλος. The attribution of M's ambiguities to the παλαιὰ βίβλος explains two common errors in OBC. In 63.4 M has δίχρονον βραχὺ but δίχρονον is added above the line. OBC have only δίχρονον. It is possible that δίχρονον was above the line in the παλαιὰ βίβλος and that Lascaris reproduced it, while O and π thought that δίχρονον was intended to replace βραχὺ. In 102.2 M has the ambiguous reading κάπηλος/ κάτηλος (i.e. the third letter could be either π or τ). A has κάπηλος while OBC

²⁹⁶ Cf. p. 149.

have κάτηλος. If the ambiguous letter was in the παλαιὰ βίβλος and M reproduced it while O wrote clearly τ, and then the common source for B and C read τ in M, the common error in OBC can be explained without having to assume a closer connection between O and π. Two further common mistakes in Oπ could easily have been committed independently. In 41.1 Oπ omit the ε of ἔτι, but this is due to the fact that the scribes intended to write the ε with red ink but in the end they forgot to write it. At 122.6 Oπ write ὄρμενος with rough breathing while MA have ὄρμενος with smooth breathing but this is probably accidental. The attribution of M's ambiguities to the παλαιὰ βίβλος explains the error in A and O before correction at 60.4 Τοτῖς MB^{p.c}C: τοπῖς A: το~~π~~ῖς (πις expunctum) O: τότες B^{a.c}. M at the specific point has the reading τοτῖς but the shape of τι looks like a π. This is in accordance with my view laid out above, that Lascaris reproduced ambiguities in the παλαιὰ βίβλος. τοτῖς could have been written in the παλαιὰ βίβλος, but τι could have looked like a π. The scribe of O may have first read τοπς, but expecting that the examples should have had the ending -ις, wrote τοπις, but then realized that what he had earlier read as π was the ligature τι, so deleted τοπις and wrote τοτῖς. The same could have happened independently to A by looking at M.

Returning now to the agreement of A and O in error against the rest of the manuscript tradition, two of these errors (14.1 φυλάττον] φυλάττων AO, 93.9 εἰς om. AO, 106.10 ἔωλος] ἔωλος AO) may have well been committed by more than one scribe independently. At the time that these manuscripts are written, there had long ago ceased to be any distinction in length between ο and ω, hence the error φυλάττων instead of

φυλάττον.²⁹⁷ Moreover, the scribes could have been influenced by the reading Ἱπποθῶν, whose accent is commented on at that point (13.10-14.1 τὸ δὲ Ἱπποθῶν περισπᾶται φυλάττον [...]). The omission of εἰς at 93.9 could be due to the fact that εἰς is preceded by διὰ τοῦ in the manuscript tradition. διὰ τοῦ is a phrase which, like εἰς, can be used to denote the ending of a word. The scribes, seeing that εἰς came after διὰ τοῦ, could have thought that εἰς was redundant, and that it was perhaps incorporated into their source as a gloss for διὰ τοῦ, and left it out of their texts on purpose. The writing of the word ἔωλος with a smooth breathing at 106.10 (ἔωλος) could very easily have been committed independently by the scribes of A and O; at their time the rough breathing had, of course, long since ceased to be pronounced.

It is difficult, nevertheless, to consider mistakes 116.5 χαίνειν MBC: χαίρειν AO, 152.5 (Schmidt) καὶ χεροῖν om. AO, and 157.15 (Schmidt) κανᾶ τῶν κανῶν] κακὰ τῶν κακῶν AO, as the outcomes of coincidence. These are suggestive of a closer affinity between the two manuscripts, but Galland's theory of the derivation of A from O should be excluded on the basis of the mistakes in O which are not inherited by A.

Taking into account: (i) the evidence for the direct derivation of A from M, (ii) the fact that O is copied from the παλαιὰ βίβλος but is also looking at M, and (iii) the small number of common errors between A and O, one has to accept that A is also looking either at O, or at the παλαιὰ βίβλος. Historical and practical reasons as well as two other pieces of evidence suggest that A is looking at the παλαιὰ βίβλος rather than O. The

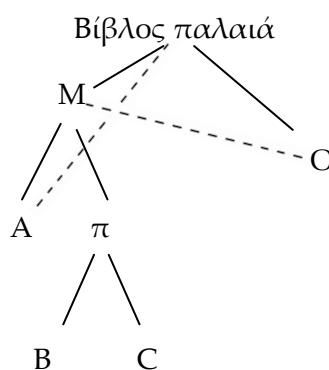
²⁹⁷ The lack of distinction between ω and o also accounts for another two common errors in A and O: 164.7 (Schmidt) ἐγκλίνωνται] ἐγκλίνονται AO, 164.14 (Schmidt) ἐγκλίνωνται] ἐγκλίνονται AO.

παλαιὰ βιβλος was in the possession of the monastery where Lascaris was teaching and where Urbano copied A. It is very likely that Lascaris enabled Urbano to have access both to his own copy and to the one from which he copied M. Leon provides a parallel for the possibility for a scribe copying in that monanstery to gain access to both the παλαιὰ βιβλος and M. This view is reinforced by the case of the error at 204.7 (Schmidt) where the readings of O and A coincide both before and after the correction. The scribe of O had firstly written κλητικαὶ but then replaced λ with τ. A began to write κλητικαί, but realizing that this was a mistake cancelled κλ and wrote κτητικαί. If A was only looking at M, there would be no reason for A's starting to write κλητικαί, because M clearly has κτητικαί. Furthermore, if A was also looking at O, there would be no explanation for A's starting to write κλητικαί, since O clearly corrects to κτητικαί. I take κλητικαί to be a mistake in the παλαιὰ βιβλος, corrected straightaway by Lascaris but by A (looking here later at M) and by O only after first copying the mistake from the παλαιὰ βιβλος.

Finally, a last detail of the relationship between the manuscripts concerns the fact that C, differently from B, preserves both sections on adverbs in Book 19. C must have derived the second section on adverbs from another source, probably M or A. I am not in favour of the view that the second section was in π but B omitted it, because the παλαιὰ βιβλος must have had some blank space after the end of section one on adverbs. This thought is based on four pieces of evidence: (i) O has some blank space between the end of the first section and the beginning of the section on conjunctions. (ii) M must have also initially left some blank space after the end of the first section on adverbs, since towards the end of the second section on adverbs the letters in M become smaller and are squeezed in order to fit in the space before the beginning of the section on conjunctions.

(iii) The fact that B has some blank space after the end of the first section on adverbs suggests that π also left some space. (iv) The space that O leaves between the end of the first section on adverbs and the beginning of the section on conjunctions is roughly the same as the space that the second section on adverbs takes up in M (and roughly the same as the blank space in B). The scribe of C must have tried to present his copy as complete as possible.²⁹⁸ This is the reason why he supplied Book 20, which was not in his source.²⁹⁹

Taking into consideration all the above observations, I conclude that the stemma of the manuscript tradition of our text is the following:



My stemma is closer to that of Schneider,³⁰⁰ but his study has the following flaws:

- (i) Some of the readings of manuscripts he recorded, and on the basis of which he concluded the relationships between the manuscripts, are wrong.
- (ii) He left open the possibility that O was copied directly from M.
- (iii) He did not observe the common errors between O and A which lead us to assume that A as well as O consulted another source.
- (iv) He did not point out that the fact that C transmits the second section on adverbs, differently from B, strongly suggest that C consulted another source apart from π .

²⁹⁸ See also the sections on Book 19 (pp. 104-7, esp. 105) and Book 20 (pp. 107-111, esp. 111).

²⁹⁹ See also the section on Book 20 (pp. 107-111).

³⁰⁰ Schneider (1887), 42.

2 Previous editions of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome

Barker's Edition

E. H. Barker's *editio princeps* of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome of the Περί καθολικῆς προσωδίας was published in 1820.³⁰¹ Barker based his edition almost entirely on a transcript of the worst manuscript, codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2102 (C), prepared by Gregorius Georgiades Zalykius of Thessaloniki in 1816.³⁰² Georgiades noted the variant readings from codex *Parisinus Graecus* 2603 (B) in the lower margin of his copy of C.³⁰³ The notes below Barker's text belong to Zalykius, but were translated from French into Latin by Gottfried Hermann Schaefer. Georgiades' copy contains some mistakes. It sometimes attributes to B and C readings which are not in the manuscripts, and it often fails to note the variant readings of B.

The main disadvantage of this edition lies in the fact that the two manuscripts employed are the worst and most recent. Both these manuscripts contain errors and omissions, not only of single words but of whole accentuation rules. These omissions are due to *saut du même au même*.

Barker's edition is not a real critical edition, but mainly a transcription of C's text, with some variants from B. Barker often allows in his text readings that are obvious mistakes.

³⁰¹ Barker, E. H. (1820), *Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνων* (Leipzig).

³⁰² Barker (1820), V.

³⁰³ Barker (1820), 2.

Schmidt's Edition

Fourty years after the *editio princeps*, in 1860, M. Schmidt prepared a new edition of the Epitome.³⁰⁴ Schmidt employed, apart from manuscripts B and C, the manuscript *Hauniensis regius* 1965 (A). In fact, Schmidt did not examine the manuscript himself, but employed the variant readings of A which Bloch had noted and which W. Dindorf published in the first volume of his book *Grammatici Graeci* (1823, p. 48-70).³⁰⁵ A has some good readings that are not in B and C, so the use of A resulted in some improvement of the text. Nevertheless, since Bloch's variant readings were sometimes untrue, some errors have passed into Schmidt's text.³⁰⁶

Another flaw of this edition is that it inherits some of the mistakes of the previous edition, since it derives the readings of B and C from Barker's edition. Schmidt identified Barker's edition with the text of C and took the variant readings of B from Barker's apparatus, but where there was no note with a variant reading of B, Schmidt assumed that B's text was identical to the text of C. I have noted Schmidt's wrong manuscript readings in an appendix. Another disadvantage of Schmidt's edition is that he trusts readings of C in preference to readings of A and B, in cases where C makes changes in the text in order to make it look either more complete (e.g. the frequent addition of οἶον before lists of examples) or closer to the classical style (e.g. use of *hyperbata*; In 21.6 he printed the reading of C, *πιτύρισμα*. The prefixed *ἀποπιτύρισμα* might have been thought later than *πιτύρισμα*, and therefore the scribe of C preferred *πιτύρισμα*.).

³⁰⁴ Schmidt, M. (1860), *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Καθολικῆς Προσφῆδίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ* (Jena; repr. Hildesheim 1983). For a review of this edition see Lentz (1861), 193-202.

³⁰⁵ Schmidt M. (1860a), V.

³⁰⁶ See also Galland (1882a), 4. In 1881 Egenolff published an article 'In Herodianum technicum critica', in which he provides the results of his new collation of A and corrects Bloch's errors.

Apart from the employment of good readings in A, Schmidt's important contribution to the reconstruction of the text of our Epitome lies in the fact that he provided a critical apparatus, that he made significant conjectures of his own and adopted many good conjectures by other scholars, such as C. A. Lobeck and K. Lehrs, and that in certain cases he noted parallel passages from later grammatical and lexicographical texts which could help in restoring the text. Taking these into consideration, I consider Schmidt's edition the first critical edition of the text.

The present edition

The need for a new edition of Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome arises from the many weaknesses of the previous two editions. These are mainly due to the fact that neither of the two editors examined all the surviving manuscripts, and that they did not read the manuscripts themselves but used copies made by other people.

For the purposes of my edition I have fully collated the five manuscripts that preserve my text in its entirety. The significance of the collation of all the surviving manuscripts lies not only in the fact that I have been able to examine all the witnesses to my text, but in that the two manuscripts which I am the first to employ, *Matritensis* 4575 and *Baroccianus* 179, enable us to improve the text to a considerable degree. This is especially important to the extent that some *voces nihili* (ghost words) and scribal errors in A, B, and C, printed by Barker and Schmidt, can now be replaced by good readings. As shown in the chapter on the Manuscript Tradition, the new examination of the manuscripts I have undertaken comes to a new conclusion about their interrelations, which substantially affects decisions on the text.

Another innovation of my edition is that it contains an apparatus of parallel passages, to help show where other texts have derived material from Herodian, and to contribute to a better understanding of Herodian's influence on later grammatical texts. The parallel passages, as witnesses to Herodian's text in some form, often enable us to correct points in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome.

A further contribution of my thesis consists of the Notes on the text, which discuss corrupt passages, problems, and features of the text that have never been explained before, other points of interest such as rare words, and places where specific details of the epitomator's methods can be identified. The Notes also provide argumentation supporting decisions taken in editing the text (e.g. why a certain reading has been chosen), and other helpful information for the understanding of the text.

Editorial Principles:

I keep what is in the manuscript tradition, unless it does not make sense. Words transmitted in the manuscripts but nowhere else attested sometimes raised the question whether they should be regarded as *hapax legomena* or scribal errors, and it was often very difficult to draw the line between the two possibilities. If there is a word which is attested only in Pseudo-Arcadius, and about which we are not sure if this is a *hapax* or a scribal error, I put a question mark in brackets (?) after it. This practice is also employed by Schmidt and Lentz. If a word is definitely corrupt but there is more than one equally possible solution, I print the transmitted reading with an *obelus*, and I list all the sensible suggestions in the critical apparatus.

In general, in dealing with an epitome it is difficult to find the right balance between what is necessary for the meaning and thus needs to be in the text, and what could be easily inferred and might therefore have been omitted by the epitomator for the sake of brevity. Furthermore, two specific features of the epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian also affect decisions taken in the text: (i) his tendency not to mention all the conditions for a rule in the initial statement of the rule, but to leave some for the later point when an exception is cited, and (ii) his tendency not to mention the reason why something is an exception.³⁰⁷

Exceptions to rules are sometimes justified with reference to facts that a modern scholar would say are associated at best accidentally with forms accented in a certain way, and the accentuation of the same form is sometimes justified in different ways in different rules. These features are typical of ancient grammatical theory: taken by themselves, I do not consider them reasons for emending the text.

In editing the text I have given special thought to postclassical features that occur in the Epitome, for example the fact that with neuter plural subjects the verb can be either singular or plural. Since the singular and plural vary freely in postclassical texts, including grammatical texts, I print each time the reading of the manuscript tradition.

In my edition I sometimes employ the indirect sources for the reconstruction of Pseudo-Arcadius. It is true that the corruption may occur in both the direct and indirect sources, but if these are examined in parallel a conclusion can often be reached. In the

³⁰⁷ See the discussion of these two characteristics of the epitomator's method in Notes 1.17-21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχῃ, 1.21 συντομίας ... 2.1 κρατυνομένων.

cases where I reconstruct Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome on the basis of a later indirect source, I have done so with the following principle: if Pseudo-Arcadius' manuscripts transmit a scribal error, either a *vox nihili* or a word which does not make sense at the place where we read it, and if a palaeographically similar word can be found in a parallel passage in, at least, one of the late antique and Byzantine indirect sources, and this reading would be suitable for the place in Pseudo-Arcadius, then this reading can replace the error in the Epitome.

PART THREE: Text

(1.) Τοὺς ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἐν προσωδίαις καθολικῆς ἀναλογίας ποθοῦντας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς Ἡρωδιανοῦ πραγματείας ἀπαγορεύοντας, ἢ δι' ἐπιτομῆς παράδοσις ὀνήσει πρὸς τὸ βούλημα. Σκόπει οὖν εἴ τι καὶ ἡμῖν ἥνυσται χρήσιμον εἰς 5 συντομίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς σαφήνειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ πολὺν τῶν ὀρισμῶν ἐν πολλοῖς κανόσιν ἀθρόως κείμενον δύσληπτον ἦν, καταδιηρέθη τοῦτο, ἵν' εὐληπτα γένηται διαιρεθέντα <τὰ> ὑφ' ἐν κείμενα τῷ Ἡρωδιανῷ· τὸ γὰρ ἅμα γένος εἶδος 10 σχῆμα κατάληξιν παράληξιν ἀρχὴν χρόνον στοιχεῖον πάθος παρατηρεῖν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, ἣ τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων, χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσέφικτον. ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ὀρισμῶν **(2.)** ἢ μὴ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἅμα [διὰ] τῶν παραδειγμάτων εὐθὺς παράθεσις ἀπαγορεύει διάνοιαν, ὥστε ῥᾶον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκολουθεῖν. δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστου κανόνος 15 περιτέμνοντα λόγον οὕτως ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐντελῆ συναγόμενόν τε ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ἵνα μὴ συντομία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφήνεια τοῖς 20 ἐντευξομένοις ὑπάρχη. συντομίας δὲ χάριν παρεῖται τὸ διὰ ζητήσεως κανονίζειν τῶν μὲν

1 Τοὺς Probert: Πρόλογος οἶμαι Θεοδοσίου εἰς τοὺς κανόνας τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ. Τὸ M: Πρόλογος οἶμαι Θεοδοσίου εἰς τοὺς κανόνας τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας (sic) τοῦ σοφοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ (sic). Τὸ O ἐφικέσθαι M: ἀφικέσθαι O **2** ποθοῦντας ... **3** ἀπαγορεύοντας Schmidt: ποθοῦντες ... ἀπαγορεύοντες M: ποθοῦντες ... ἐπαγορεύοντες O; ποθοῦντά σε ... ἀπαγορεύοντα haesitanter Schmidt in apparatu critico **3** Ἡρωδιανοῦ M: Ἡρωδιανοῦ O **4** βούλημα M: βούλευμα O **5** εἰς ... **6** σαφήνειαν] μὴ μόνον εἰς συντομίαν vel ἅμα καὶ εἰς σαφήνειαν haesitans Schmidt 1.5 (app. crit.) **7** ἀθρόως M: ἀθρόος O **8** καταδιηρέθη M: καταδιηρέθη O **9** <τὰ> add. Schmidt **10** κείμενα M: κείμενος O τῷ Ἡρωδιανῷ M: τῷ Ἡρωδιανῷ O **11** κατάληξιν M: κατάληξιν vel κατάλειξιν O **14** ἐπὶ πολλοῖς] del. Schmidt; ἔτι πολλή Lentz LXIII ἅμα ... **15** διὰ del. Schmidt, et μὰ Δία coni. in apparatu critico **15** διὰ τῶν] δοκίμων Lentz LXIII **16** ὥστε M: ὥς τε O **17** ἐφ' ... **18** περιτέμνοντας] ἀφ' ... παραμένοντα ... [τε] Göttling **18** περιτέμνοντας Schmidt: περιμένοντας MO αὐτὸν M: αὐτὸν O **20** σαφήνεια M^{p.c.}O: σαφηνεία M^{a.c.}

ἀνατρεπομένων τὸν λόγον, τῶν δὲ κρατυνομένων
 ἰκανὸν γὰρ τῷ κρατοῦντι λόγῳ πείθεσθαι περὶ τῆς
 ὀρθῆς προσωδίας, ὥστε τῆς ὀρθότητος τοῦ
 ἑλληνισμοῦ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, καὶ τοῦ ταύτην
 συνιστάντος λόγου μὴ ἀνεπιστήμονα ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ 5
 καὶ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν παραδειγμάτων, καὶ ἡ
 περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξήγησις, καὶ ἡ
 τῆς χρήσεως αὐτῶν πολλὴ παράθεσις καταλέλει-
 πται τῷ συγγραφεῖ· κακεῖθεν αὐτὰ λήψεται ὁ μὴ
 μόνον τὴν τῶν προσωδιῶν ὀρθότητα ζητῶν, ἀλλὰ 10
 καὶ περὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ χρήσεις φιλομαθῶν.
 εὐθύς οὖν τὴν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ διατριβὴν περιελόν-
 τες, ἐνδεικνυμένην τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πραγματείας,
 καὶ τῶν πρότερον γεγραφότων τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἐλέγχου-
 σαν, ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ἤξομεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς 15
 ἀναλογίας κατεπείγοντα. εἰ δὲ τι συντομώτερον
 τοῦ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπειγομένου πεποιήκαμεν, ὥσπερ
 ἐζήτησας, μετὰ τοῦ σαφεστέρου καὶ εὐσυνόπτου
 τοῖς πολλοῖς, αὐτὸς ἐπικρινεῖς.

(3.) Πίναξ τοῦ ὅλου βιβλίου τοῦ περὶ τόνων. 20

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον βιβλίον περιέχει τὰ εἰς Ν
 λήγοντα ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ὄντα ἀρσε-
 νικά καὶ θηλυκά.

Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον περιέχει τὰ εἰς Ξ καὶ εἰς Ρ καὶ
 τὰ εἰς ΑΣ. 25

Τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὴν εἰς ΗΣ κατάληξιν.

Τὸ δὲ τέταρτον τὴν εἰς ΙΣ.

Τὸ δὲ πέμπτον τὰ εἰς ΟΣ λήγοντα καθαρά.

Τὸ δὲ ἕκτον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΒΟΣ
 συμπληροῖ τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τάξιν τῶν 30
 στοιχείων ἡ παράθεσις <ὡς> καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς ΩΝ
 ληγόντων.

1 τὸν Ο: om. M 3 ὥστε Villosion 117: ὅτε ΜΟ 4 μὴ om. Ο

5 συνιστάντος Μ: συνίσταντος Ο 8 πολλή Μ: πολὺ Ο

10 ὀρθότητα Ο: ορθότητα spiritu incerto Μ 12 τῷ Ο: τῷ Μ

13 ἐνδεικνυμένην Μ: ἐνδεικνουμένην Ο 16 τι ΜΟ: τὸ

Schmidt e codice C 17 ἐπειγομένου] προκειμένου Wilson:
 ἐπικειμένου haesitanter conieci ὥσπερ Μ: ὡς περ Ο

18 ἐζήτησας] ἐξήτησας dubitanter Schmidt 2.23 (app. crit.)

24 δὲ om. Ο 26 δὲ om. Ο 27 δὲ om. Ο 28 ΟΣ scripsi: ὡς ΜΟ

καθαρά Μ: om. Ο 31 <ὡς> addidi

Τὸ δὲ ἑβδομον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΜΟΣ μέχρι τῶν εἰς ΠΟΣ.

Τὸ δὲ ὄγδοον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΡΟΣ μέχρι καὶ ΨΟΣ καὶ ἔτι περὶ τῶν εἰς ΟΣ οὐδετέρων.

Τὸ δὲ ἑννατον περὶ τῶν εἰς ΟΣ συνθέτων. 5

(4.) Τὸ δὲ δέκατον περιέχει τὰ εἰς ΥΣ ἀρσενικά καὶ θηλυκά καὶ τὰ ἔχοντα διφθόγγους πρὸ τοῦ Σ· ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΩΣ καὶ Ψ.

Τὸ ἐνδέκατον περιέχει τὰ εἰς Α λήγοντα θηλυκά. 10

Τὸ δωδέκατον τὴν εἰς Η κατάληξιν τῶν θηλυκῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν συμφώνων πάλιν τάξιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ω.

Τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον περὶ οὐδετέρων ὀνομάτων διέξεισι. 15

Τὸ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον περιέχει πᾶν μονοσύλλαβον ὄνομα.

Τὸ δέκατον πέμπτον τὰς πλαγίας τῶν ὀνομάτων κανονίζει, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ κλίσιν ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ θέμα εἰρημένους. 20

Τὸ ἐκκαιδέκατον περιέχει τὰ εἰς Ω καὶ εἰς ΜΙ ῥήματα κατὰ πᾶν πρόσωπον.

Τὸ δέκατον ἑβδομον περιέχει πᾶν ῥῆμα καὶ πᾶσαν μετοχήν.

Τὸ δέκατον ὄγδοον ἄρθρα ἀντωνυμίας καὶ προθέσεις. 25

Τὸ δέκατον ἑννατον περιέχει ἐπιρρήματα καὶ συνδέσμους.

Τὸ εἰκοστὸν περὶ χρόνων τῶν ἐν φωνήεσι καὶ πνευμάτων. 30

(5.) Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ τὸ ἀνα-

2 ΠΟΣ Schmidt: ω ΜΟ 8 ΩΣ Schmidt: ος ΜΟ 12 κατὰ...13 Ω Schmidt: καὶ τὴν εἰς ω μετὰ τῆς τῶν συμφώνων πάλιν τάξεως ΜΟ 14 περὶ...15 διέξεισι Μ: περιέχει οὐδετέρων ὀνομάτων διέξεισι Ο περὶ Μ: περιέχει Ο 18 τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον Ο: τεσσαρακαιδέκατον Μ δέκατον πέμπτον C: ιε^{ov} Ο: ιε Μ 21 ἐκκαιδέκατον C: ιστ ΜΟ^{p.c.}: ιζ Ο^{a.c.} εἰς Ω Ο^{p.c.}: πᾶν ῥῆμα εἰς ω Ο^{a.c.} 23 δέκατον ἑβδομον C: ιζ ΜΟ^{p.c.}: ιστ Ο^{a.c.} 25 δέκατον ὄγδοον C: ιη Μ: ιη^{ov} Ο ἄρθρα ἀντωνυμίας scripsi: inv. ord. ΜΟ 27 δέκατον ἑννατον C: ιθ Μ: ιθ^{ov} Ο

γνωστικὸν εἶδος κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν τῶν λέξεων
 παραδίδεται, ἀκολουθῶς μετὰ τὴν δήλωσιν τῆς
 καθ' ἑκάστην προσῳδίας γινομένης διδασκαλίας
 περὶ διαστολῶν καὶ συναλοιφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 τῶν παρακολουθούντων τῇ ἀναγνώσει, οἷον ὅτε 5
 τὸ Ζεὺς ὀξυνόμενον οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ὀξεϊαν ῥωννυ-
 μένην, ἐν τῷ Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶας, ἀλλ'
 ἐγκλινομένην διὰ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τοῦ δέ συνδέ-
 σμου. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος
 ῥώννυται διὰ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τοῦ τέ. ἢ δὲ οἱ ἀντω- 10
 νυμία περισπωμένη ἐν τῷ οἷ αὐτῷ θάνατον,
 οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὴν περισπωμένην ἐν τῷ καί οἱ
 ἐπευχόμενος, τῆς συντάξεως τοῦτο
 ἀπαιτούσης τοῦ σημαινομένου. οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ
 μάχη ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. 15

3 γινομένης διδασκαλίας Schmidt: γινομένην διδασκαλίαν
 MO **9** γοῦν O: γοῦν M **10** ῥώννυται M: ἔρῳννυται O **11** οἷ
 M: οἱ O **13** ἐπευχόμενος Schmidt: ἐπευχόμενοι MO **15** ἐνὶ
 scripsi e sch. Hom. II. 2.839b1: ἐνὶ MO

(6.) Περί τῶν εἰς Ν.**Βιβλίον α'**

Τὰ εἰς ΑΝ λήγοντα ἀπλᾶ ὀνόματα ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, ἐπ' εὐθείας πτώσεως μὴ τροπὴν ἀναδεξάμενα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΗΝ βαρυτόνων, οἷον· παιάν 5
 Ἰάν Δωριάν Ἀλκμάν τιτάν πελεκάν.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΝ σύνθετα ἀπὸ ἀπλῶν ῥητῶν πάντα βαρύνονται, οἷον· Αἰγίπαν Ἑρμόπαν αἰνο- 10
 τίταν. τὸ δὲ καρβάν ὀξύνεται, καὶ ὅσα μὴ ἀπὸ ἀπλῶν ῥητῶν.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΝ λήγοντα μὴ συντεθειμένα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΗΝ ῥητῶν, εἰ ἔχοι πρὸ τοῦ ΗΝ δασὺ σύμφωνον ἢ ψιλόν, ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, οἷον· Ἀρχήν λειχήν 15
 αὐχήν κηφήν Ὀρφήν.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΝ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ 15
 τὸ Α ἤτοι μόνον, ἢ καὶ σὺν ἐτέρῳ φωνήεντι δισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι οὐδετέρου παρασχημα-

3 Τὰ... 10 ῥητῶν: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 261.5-10 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ εἰς αν λήγοντα εἰ μὲν ὥσιν ἀπλᾶ ὀξύνονται, οἷον Ἀλκμάν παιάν Τιτάν, εἰ δὲ ὥσι σύνθετα βαρύνονται, τουτέστι παροξύνονται, οἷον Ἑρμόπαν Αἰγίπαν Τιτανόπαν· μόνον δὲ τὸ καρβάν (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον) οὔτε ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶν οὔτε σύνθετον ἀλλὰ παρασύνθετον καὶ ὀξύνεται

1 Περί...Ν] Κανόνες τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ, οὓς περιέτεμε Θεοδόσιος ὁ γραμματικὸς φιλάξας (sic) τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων. περὶ τῶν εἰς ν **M**: Κανόνες τῆς καθολικῆς προσωδίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἡρωδιανοῦ, οὓς περιέτεμε Θεοδόσιος ὁ γραμματικὸς φυλάξας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων. Περί τῶν εἰς ν **O** **4** μὴ] μήτε **O** **6** Δωριάν Lobeck; cf. St. Byz. δ 149.51, ubi vox Δωριάν citatur. Meineke in apparatu critico epitomam *Ethnicorum* τὸ ἐθνικὸν Δώριος καὶ Δωριεὺς καὶ Δωριάν καὶ θηλυκῶς Δωρίς habere affirmavit: δωρεάν **MO**: Δαρειάν etiam proposuit Lobeck **7** ῥητῶν Schmidt: ῥημάτων **MO** **8** Αἰγίπαν] αἰγίταν **O** Ἑρμόπαν **MO**^{s.l.} (sed in rasura) **BC**: ἐρμόταν **O**^{i.t} **10** ῥητῶν Schmidt: ῥημάτων **MO** **12** ῥητῶν Schmidt: ῥημάτων **MO** ἔχοι **M**: ἔχει **O** **13** λειχήν... **14** αὐχήν Lobeck, cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 923.7: αὐχήν ναυχήν **MO**; fortasse αὐχήν παρὰ τὸ αὐχμήν coll. Et. Gen. α 1432.1 vel αὐχήν παρὰ τὴν αὐχμήν coll. EM 174.21 **14** Ὀρφήν] Ἀραφήν Schmidt 6.13 (app. crit.) **17** ἔχοι] ἔχει **O**

τισμόν, οἶον· Ἀγήν αὐχήν ἀτμήν ἀπτήν
Αἰζήν ἀδήν (ἡ νόσος).

(7.) Τὰ εἰς HN λήγοντα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ H τὸ Σ
ἢ διπλοῦν σύμφωνον, μὴ παραληγόμενα τῇ ΟΥ
διφθόγγῳ, ὁξύνεσθαι θέλει, εἰ μὴ παρασχηματί- 5
ζοιτο οὐδετέρῳ γένει, οἶον· ἐσσήν καμασήν (ὁ
ἰχθῦς) νασσήν(?) ἐρσήν(?) Αἰζήν ἀζήν
ἀψήν.

Τὰ εἰς HN λήγοντα ὁξύνεται βαλλήν Τελ-
λήν ὠλήν σωλήν κωλήν σιπελήν(?). 10
σεσημειώται τὸ Ἑλλην βαρυνόμενον.

Τὰ εἰς HN ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα δεδιπλασιασμένον
σύμφωνον ὁξύνεται ἐσσήν ὀσσήν Τελλήν
βαλλήν πλήν τοῦ Ἑλλην. τὸ δὲ ἄρσῃν ἀττι-
κῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρσῃν γέγονε. 15

Τὰ εἰς HN κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν δύο συμφώνων
ὁξύνεται πυθμήν Κεβρήν, πλήν τοῦ
Ἑγκτην.

Τὰ εἰς HN ἔχοντά τι τῶν μέσων πρὸ τοῦ H
ὁξύνεται, ὅποτε διχρόνῳ παραλήγοιτο, ἢ φύσει 20

2 Αἰζήν ἀδήν (littera ζ in Αἰζήν tamquam τ apparet in M (de
ambiguitate formae litterarum in codice M vide caput huius
dissertationis de codicum traditione); ἀδήν spiritu incerto M)
M: αἰζήν αἰτήν O; ἀκτὴν (app. crit.) ἀδήν Schmidt 6.17 **4** μὴ
perperam Schneider (1887), 37 codicem O omittere notavit
παραληγόμενα scripsi: παραληγόμενον MO τῇ O: τῇ M
6 καμασήν...7 ἰχθῦς Lobeck: καμασσήν οἰχθὴν MO;
tamquam lemma notavit TGL V 1842D sine adnotatione
7 νασσήν MO haesitans retinui; Δαμασήν vel Βλίσσῃν vel
Λισσῃν Lobeck; possis etiam coniicere Ναυσῃν, Μνασήν
ἐρσήν MO; fortasse Θερσήν vel Χερσήν Αἰζήν] αἰζήν spiritu
incerto M **8** ἀψήν Schmidt: αψήν spiritu incerto M: ἀψήν O
10 ὠλήν Lobeck: ὠλλήν MO κωλήν Lobeck: κελήν MO;
Κυλλήν etiam Lobeck σιπελήν MO: στελήν Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG
iii.ii 923.8; Πελλήν Schmidt; σιπυλήν pro ethnico nomine
σιπυληνός? **15** γέγονε] γέγονεν O **17** Κεβρήν Schmidt:
κερβήν MO **18** Ἑγκτην M: ἔκτην O

μακρᾱ· Ὠγήν ἀδήν ταγήν ἀτταγήν τρι-
βήν (ὁ τρίπους).

Τὰ εἰς HN ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς χαίρουσι τῇ
ὀξείᾳ· ἀτταγήν κορδυλήν μαραθὴν δο-
θιήν, πλὴν τοῦ περπέρεην.

5

Τὰ εἰς HN ἀπὸ ῥητῶν ἦτοι διαλεγομένων τῶν
εἰς **(8.)** HN βαρύνεται· Ἑλλην φιλέλλην, εἴρην
μελλείρην, ποιμήν ἀρχιποίμην.

Τὰ εἰς MHN ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ σύνθετα ἀπὸ
ἀπλῶν εἴη τῶν εἰς MHN· Δαμήν λιμήν ὕμην
ποιμήν.

10

Τὰ εἰς PHN καθαρὸν μὴ ἔχοντα πρὸ τέλους
συλλαβὴν εἰς τὸ E φωνῆεν καταλήγουσαν ὀξύνε-
ται· Σειρὴν Πειρὴν †δεπρὴν, πλὴν τοῦ
εἴρην.

15

Τὰ εἰς PHN καθαρὸν τῷ E παραλήγοντα

9 Τὰ ... **11** ποιμήν: cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 937.20-2 Δαμήν. τὰ
εἰς μὴν λήγοντα ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἐπὶ γενικῇ τὸ
η εἰς ε τρέπει, ποιμένος, λιμένος, πυθμένος, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ
Δαμήν ἐφύλαξε τὸ η; Choerob. in Theod. 264.7-9 Τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ
μίαν συλλαβὴν εἰς ἡν ὀξύτονα ἔαν μὲν ἔχωσι τὸ μ, τρέπουσι
τὸ η εἰς τὸ ε ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον ποιμήν ποιμένος, λιμήν
λιμένος, ὕμην ὕμένος, πυθμήν πυθμένος

1 ἀδὴν O: ἀδὴν (spiritus non liquet) M ταγήν ἀτταγήν]
(ταγήν Lobeck): ἀττήν ἀτταγήν MO; possis etiam Ἀγήν
ἀτταγήν vel Ἀγήν ταγήν cum Schmidt 7.17 (app. crit.); ταγήν
(ὁ ἀτταγήν) Lobeck **4** ὀξείᾳ O: ὀξείᾳ/ ὀξεῖᾳ duobus
accentibus M ἀτταγήν] ἀτταγήν τριβὴν ὁ τρίπους (iteravit ex
7.1-2) O μαραθὴν MO: μαριθὴν Lobeck PGG 192.20-1;
Ἀραφὴν (St. Byz. α 381.1) vel Ἀραδὴν (St. Byz. α 370.1) Schmidt
7.19 (app. crit.) δοθιήν Lobeck: δοθιήν MO **8** μελλείρην
M^{p.c.} O: μελείρην M^{a.c.} ἀρχιποίμην] .ρχεποίμην (prima littera
abscissa) O **10** Δαμήν] δαμείν O^{a.c.}, ut videtur **14** Σειρὴν
Schmidt: σιρὴν MO Πειρὴν Lobeck: πιρὴν MO †δεπρὴν O:
δ.πρὴν (incertum utrum littera secunda i an ε sit) M; πυρὴν
Lobeck **15** εἴρην Schmidt: ἄρρην MO **16** τῷ E O: τῷ ε M

παροξύνεται γέρην τέρην Θέρην (ποταμός) †πέρην.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΝ δικατάληκτα ἀπλᾶ μὲν ὀξύνεται δελφίν καὶ δελφίς, Τελχίν καὶ Τελχίς, Σαλαμίν καὶ Σαλαμίς, ἄκτιν καὶ ἄκτις. σύνθετα δὲ βαρύνεται εὐάκτιν χρυσάκτιν.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΥΝ λήγοντα βαρύνεται ἐξαιρέτως παρὰ

3 Τὰ...6 χρυσάκτιν: cf. Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 395.26-7 καὶ ἀπλᾶ μὲν ὀξύνεται, δελφίν ἄκτιν ῥίν, σύνθετα δὲ βαρύνεται, τριγλώχιν χρυσάκτιν. Τὰ...5 ἄκτις: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.*

193.7-10 τὰ εἰς ις τὰ διὰ τοῦ νος κλινόμενα ἅπαντα δικατάληκτά εἰσιν, οἷον ἄκτις ἄκτινος ἄκτιν, δελφίς δελφίνος δελφίν, Σαλαμίς Σαλαμῖνος Σαλαμίν, Ἐλευσίς Ἐλευσίνος Ἐλευσίν, Τελχίς Τελχῖνος Τελχίν (Τελχῖνες δὲ εἰσι δαίμονες οἰκήσαντες τὴν Ῥόδον); 267.3-6 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ εἰς ιν μακρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ ι, καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰσιν ἀπλᾶ ὀξύνονται, εἴτε ἀρσενικά εἰσιν εἴτε θηλυκά, οἷον Σαλαμίν Ἐλευσίν ἄκτιν δελφίν Τελχίν (Τελχῖνες δὲ εἰσι φθονεροὶ δαίμονες οἱ οἰκήσαντες τὴν Ῥόδον); *De Orthogr.* 167.16-7 πάντα γὰρ τὰ δικατάληκτα διὰ τοῦ ι μακροῦ γράφεται οἷον, δελφίς, δελφίν Ἐλευσίς, Ἐλευσίν γλωχίς, γλωχίν Τελχίς Τελχίν; 192.11-2 Δελφίς: ι τὰ γὰρ δικατάληκτα πάντα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται οἷον, Τέλχης, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια; *Et. Gud.* α 77.4-5 πάντα δὲ τὰ εἰς ις δικατάληκτα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, οἷον δελφίς δελφίν, Ἐλευσίς Ἐλευσίν, γλωχίς γλωχίν, Τελχίς Τελχίν **5** σύνθετα...6 χρυσάκτιν: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 267.19-20 εἰ δὲ εἰσι σύνθετα τὰ εἰς ιν βαρύνονται, οἷον δελφάκτιν εὐάκτιν τριγλώχιν

7 Τὰ...9.2 τέκτων: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 270.8-10 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ εἰς υν λήγοντα προσθέσει τοῦ ος ποιῶσι τὴν γενικὴν, οἷον Γόρτυν Γόρτυνος (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα πόλεως Κρήτης), μόσυν μόσυνος (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν ξύλινον πύργον), Φόρκυν Φόρκυνος; 270.20-2 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πάντα τὰ εἰς υν βαρύνονται, οἷον μόσυν Φόρκυν Γόρτυν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν εὐρίσκονται, καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς δοκοῦντα εἶναι Αἰολικά εὐλόγως βαρύνονται; *Theognost.*

1 παροξύνεται Lobeck: ὀξύνεται ΜΟ γέρην...2 †πέρην (γέρην Schmidt 8.9 app. crit. e Hesychio γ 423 et Choerobosco *in Theod.* 265.16-24; τέρην Schmidt coll. Choerob. *in Theod.* 265.16-24; Θέρην Schmidt; pro πέρην lectionem περπέρην dubitanter Schmidt 8.9 (app. crit.) et postea Lentz 17.14): ἔρην, τέρην, θέρην ποταμός, πέρην ΜΟ **5** ἄκτις] ἄκτις ῥίν καὶ ῥίς Ο **6** χρυσάκτιν Ο: χρυσώκτιν Μ

τοῖς Αἰολεῦσι· Φόρκυν Πόλτυν Γόρτυν μό-
συν τέκτυν (ὁ τέκτων).

Τὰ εἰς ΒΩΝ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ βαρύνεται, εἰ
μὴ μέρος σώματος δηλοῖ· Στίβων τρίβων
Στράβων ἄμβων.

5

(9.) Τὰ εἰς ΒΩΝ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται·
Ἀλαβῶν ἀρραβῶν. τὸ δὲ Χαρναβῶν περι-
σπᾶται.

Τὰ εἰς ΓΩΝ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά, ὅποτε μὴ
περιεκτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ Ο κλίνειτο
κατὰ τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν, βαρύνεται· Πύρ-

10

Can. II 27.16-7 (= 147.1-2) Τὰ εἰς υν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐνικῆς οὐκ οἶδε
τὴν οἱ δίφθογγον· Φόρκυν· Πόλτυν· Κόλυν· Κάπυν· Γόρτυν
ὄνομα ἥρως; *Et. Gud.* κ 322.17-20 ἰστέον, ὅτι τὰ εἰς υν
λήγοντα προσθέσει τοῦ ος ποιεῖ τὴν γενικὴν, οἶον, Γόρτυν
Γόρτυνος, ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα πόλεως, μόσυν μόσυνος, σημαίνει
δὲ τὸν ξύλινον πύργον, Φόρκυν Φόρκυνος **3** Τὰ...8 περι-
σπᾶται: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 30.29 - 31.3 (= 169.1 - 170.3) Τὰ εἰς
βων λήγοντα καθαρόν, εἴτε δισύλλαβα, εἴτε ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβάς, εἴτε βαρύτονα, εἴτε ὀξύτονα, διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται
οἶον, Σκρίβων Σκρίβωνος· Στράβων Στράβωνος· Κίκων
Κίκωνος· στίβων στίβωνος· Ἀλαβῶν Ἀλαβῶνος· ἀρραβῶν
ἀρραβῶνος· σεσημείωται τὸ Χαρναβῶν περισπώμενον, διὰ
τοῦ ντ κλινόμενον καὶ φυλάττον τὸ ω. Τὰ εἰς βων δισύλλαβα
καθαρὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν γράφει διὰ τοῦ ι, ἢ τοῦ υ, ἢ τοῦ ο·
οἶον, Σκρίβων· τρίβων· τὸ τερεβῶν καὶ ὀξύνεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ε
γράφεται. Τὰ...5 ἄμβων: cf. *Sophr. Char. Theodos.* 397.28 Τὰ
εἰς βων ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦ ω, τρίβων τρίβωνος, ἄμβων
ἄμβωνος; *Theodos.* Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 18.4-5 Τὰ εἰς βων
λήγοντα βαρύτονα τὸ ω φυλάττουσι, Στίλβων Στίλβωνος,
Στράβων Στράβωνος, τρίβων τρίβωνος (ἀρχαίων
διδασκάλων ἱματισμός), ἄμβων ἄμβωνος. **6** Τὰ...8 περι-
σπᾶται: cf. *Theodos.* Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξυτ. 22.25-6 Τὰ εἰς βων
ἀρσενικὰ ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνονται, βουβῶν βουβῶνος,
ἀρραβῶν ἀρραβῶνος, Ἀλαβῶν Ἀλαβῶνος (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα
ποταμοῦ).

4 Στίβων Schmidt: στείβων MO; στίλβων Lobeck S. Aj. 137, n.
1 (ed. alt. 166, n. 4) et Choerob. *Onomat.* I, 74.26 (Gaisford)
10 ἔχει Schmidt 9.4: ἔχει MO ἢ add. Schmidt 9.4 **11** Πύργων
MO: πύγων Schmidt 9.5 e Choerob. *Onomat.* I, 74.28 (Gaisford)

γων Αἴγων Μέγων Φλέγων. τὸ δὲ φηγών
καὶ ἄγων ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΓΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύνεται καὶ
βαρύνεται. καὶ βαρύνεται μὲν, ὅσα φυλάττει τὸ Ω

3 Τὰ ...11.9 ἀγκύλων: cf. sch. Hom. II. 21.141.13-7 τὰ δὲ ἄλλως
κλιθέντα βαρύνεται, „Οὐκαλέγων“ (Γ 148), „Πελάγων“ (Ε
695), Σαλάγγων, „μέσφα Σαλάγγωνος ποταμοῦ“ (Ap. Rh. 4,
337). τὸ δὲ καταπύγων βαρυνόμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦ ο κλιθέν
εἶχεν ἀφορμὴν ἢ τὸ βαρυνόμενον παρώνυμον εἶναι τοῦ
κατάπυγος, ὥς καὶ τοῦ ἄπειρος τὸ „ἀπείρων“ (Ω 545. 776);
Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 18.9-17 Τὰ εἰς γων λήγοντα
βαρύτερα ὑπερδυσύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται, Ἐρίγων
Ἐρίγωνος, Σαλάγγων Σαλάγγωνος (ἔστι ποταμός), ἀρίγων
ἀρίγωνος (ἔστι δὲ εἶδος δόρατος). Τὸ Πελάγων Πελάγοντος
καὶ τὸ Ἀρπάγων Ἀρπάγοντος τῷ λόγῳ τῶν μετοχικῶν διὰ
τοῦ ντ κλίνονται καὶ τὸ <Γ 148> Οὐκαλέγων τε καὶ
Ἀντήνωρ· καὶ τὸ Εὐάγων Εὐάγοντος ὥς μετοχή οὐκ
ἀντίκειται τῷ κανόνι, ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνθετόν ἐστι. Πρόσκειται ἐν
τῷ κανόνι «ἀπλᾶ» διὰ τὰ σύνθετα· τὸ γὰρ προάγων
προάγωνος τοῦ <ἀγών> ἀγώνος ἐφύλαξε τὴν κλίσιν· τὸ
καταπύγων καταπύγονος διὰ τοῦ ο κλιθέν οὐκ ἀντίκειται
ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ παρασύνθετόν ἐστι, παρὰ γὰρ τὸ κατάπυγος
σύνθετον γενόμενον, ὥς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύμα ἔγκυμος
ἐγκύμων ἐγκύμονος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶμα ἀναιμος ἀναίμων
ἀναίμονος καὶ πείρα ἄπειρος ἀπείρων ἀπείρονος; Theognost.
Can. II 31.12-23 (= 174) Τὰ εἰς γων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ
βαρύτερα, μὴ ὄντα μετοχικά, διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνεται, καὶ τρέπει
τὸ ω, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφεται τὴν παραλήγουσαν·
οἶον, Σταλάγγωνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· ἀρίγων ἀρίγωνος, εἶδος
δόρατος· Ἐρίγων Ἐρίγωνος, ὄνομα κύριον· τὸ Οὐκαλέγοντος
Ἀρπάγοντος μετοχικά· τὸ προάγωνος σύνθετον ὃν τοῦ
ἀπλοῦ τὴν κλίσιν ἐφύλαξεν· τὸ καταπύγων καταπύγονος,
καὶ ἐγκύμων ἐγκύμονος, καὶ ἀσχήμεν ἀσχήμενος, καὶ εἴτι
τούτοις ὅμοιον τρέποντα τὸ ω οὐκ ἀντίκειται, παρασύνθετα
γὰρ καὶ κοινὰ τῷ γένει· κατάπυγος γὰρ καὶ καταπύγων· καὶ
αὐθις ὁ καταπύγων καὶ ἡ καταπύγων· κύμα ἔγκυμος, ὁ
ἐγκύμων ἢ ἐγκύμων.

1 Αἴγων] αἴγων Ο Φλέγων...2 ἀγών Lentz 23.16: τὸ δὲ
φλεγών (φλέγων B^{a.c.}) καὶ ἀγών ΜΟ; Schmidt 9.6 (app. crit.)
φηγών pro φλεγών vel Φλέγων. τὸ δὲ ἀγών scribere
proposuit **4** φυλάττει] φυλάτ Ο

κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν, ἢ διὰ τοῦ NT κλίνεται ἑλέγων
 Εὐάγων προάγων Σαλάγγων Ἑρίγων.
 ὁξύνονται δὲ τὰ διὰ τοῦ Ο κλινόμενα, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ
 συνθέτου [τοῦ] <εἰς> ΟΣ παρώνυμα ὑπάρχοντες, οἷον·
 Παφλαγῶν Λαιστρυγῶν ἄρηγῶν (ὁ σύμ- 5
 μαχος), πλὴν τοῦ καταπύγων· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ
 συνθέτων εἰς ΟΣ παραχθέντα κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 σημειομένου βαρύνεται ἄπειρος ἀπείρων, ἄναι-
 μος ἀναίμων, ἀγκύλος ἀγκύλων.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΩΝ δισύλλαβα ὁξύνεται καὶ βαρύνε- 10
 ται. βαρύνεται μὲν, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀρσενικὰ διὰ τοῦ NT
 κλινόμενα ἢ φυλάττοντα τὸ Ω κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν,
 χωρὶς τῶν συνεπιπτόντων πόλει, οἷον· κώδων
 Φαίδων Φείδων κλύδων κνώδων. τὸ δὲ

6 τὰ...9 ἀγκύλων: cf. Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 396.12-4 ὡς εἰ μὲν
 εἴη ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ος συνθέτων, διὰ τοῦ ο κλίνεται, οἷον αἶμα
 ἄναιμος ἀναίμων ἀναιμόνος, ἄπειρος ἀπείρων ἀπείρονος
10 Τὰ...14 κνώδων: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 18.18-20
 Τὰ εἰς δὼν λήγοντα βαρύτερα δισύλλαβα διὰ τοῦ ω
 κλίνονται, εἰ μὴ μετοχικὴν κλίσιν ἀναδέχονται, οἷον κώδων
 κώδωνος, Φαίδων Φαίδωνος, χλίδων χλίδωνος (σημαίνει δὲ
 τὸν περὶ τοὺς βραχίονας κείμενον κόσμον)

1 κατὰ] μετὰ Ο ἢ Lentz 23, 21 (iam suasit Schmidt 9.9 app.
 crit.): καὶ ΜΟ ἑλέγων ΜΟ; Πελάγων vel Οὐκαλέγων; de
 Πελάγων et Οὐκαλέγων cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ.
 18.9-14, sch. Hom. II. 21.141.13-7, Theognost. *Can.* II 31.12-23 (= 174)
 (hi loci in apparatu locorum similium citantur); Οὐκαλέγων Schmidt 9.9:
 Οὐκαλέγων Πελάγων Lentz 24.1
2 Σαλάγγων Schmidt 9.10 e Hdn. II. *pros.* Φ 141 (= sch. Hom. II.
 21.141.14-5), Su. σ 42, Zonar. σ 1627: σαλάγων ΜΟ; Σαλγῶν
 male Choerob. *Onomat.* I, 74.34 (Gaisford)); Σταλάγων
 Theognost. *Can.* II 31.14-5 (= 174.3-4); Φαλάγγων Eust. II.
 4.474.21 Ἑρίγων] Ἑριγῶν ... ἄριγων Choerob. *Onomat.* I.
 74.34-5 (Gaisford) **3** ὁξύνονται M: ἐξύνονται (sic) Ο **4** τοῦ]
 delevi <εἰς> add. Schmidt 9.11, 12 (app. crit.) **5** Παφλαγῶν]
 παφλαγῶν sine accentu Ο σύμμαχος] σύμματος (sic) Ο
6 καταπύγων] κατεπίγων Ο **9** ἀγκύλος ἀγκύλων] ἄκυμος
 ἀκύμων dubitanter Schmidt 9.16 (app. crit.) ἀγκύλος BC:
 ἄγκυλος ΜΟ **11** βαρύνεται μὲν] καὶ βαρύνεται dubitanter
 Schmidt 9.18 (app. crit.) **12** ἢ scripsi: καὶ ΜΟ

Σιδών πόλις. **(10.)** ὁξύνεται δὲ τὰ διὰ τοῦ Ο μόνου κλινόμενα, οἷον· Μυγδών Σαρδών σινδών.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἰ παραλήγοιτο τῷ Ο ἢ Α ἢ Υ, βαρύνεται ἀνόδων Κινάδων Κορύδων.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΔΩΝ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὁξύνεται, παραλήγοντα τῷ Υ ἢ Ι, ὀνόματα ὄντα πόλεων ἢ ἐθνικῶν· Ἀμυδών Καλυδών Ἀπιδών χελιδών.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΩΝ θηλυκὰ ὁξύνεται· ληθεδών τηκεδών σηπεδών ἀηδών.

10

Τὰ εἰς ΖΩΝ λήγοντα ἀρσενικὰ βαρύνεται, ὁπότε μὴ εἶη ὑπερδισύλλαβα καὶ πρὸ τέλους ἔχοι μακρὸν τὸ Α ἢ πόλει ὁμωνυμεῖ, οἷον· μείζων Ρίζων Ὀζων <.....> ὀλίζων. τὸ δὲ ἀλαζών (ὁ ὑπερήφανος) ὁξύνεται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔθνους φυλάττει τὸ Ω ἐν ταῖς πλαγαίαις.

15

Τὰ εἰς ΗΩΝ βαρύνεται παιήων ξυνήων.

Τὰ εἰς ΘΩΝ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ βαρύνεται, ὁπότε μὴ ἐθνικὰ εἶη ἢ περιεκτικὰ· μόθων

18 Τὰ ...13.2 Αἶθων: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 274.2-6 τὸ μὲν αἶθων αἶθωνος, ὅτι τὰ εἰς ὦν δισύλλαβα βαρύνοντα ἔχοντα δασὺ σύμφωνον φυλάττουσι τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον Ῥίνθων Ῥίνθωνος (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κύριον), μόθων μόθωνος (ὁ κακοῦργος· οὕτω δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν οἰκογενῆ δοῦλον καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκότριβα φασί

1 πόλις] πό^λ M **2** κλινόμενα] κλινό^{μν} M **4** τῷ] τῶ M Ο... ἀνόδων coni. Lobeck S. Aj. 137, n. 1 (ed. alt. 166, n. 4), quod effugit Schmidt 10.4): Ο... ἀκόδων M (de M vide etiam infra) Ο: Ι... Ἀκίδων dubitans Schmidt 10.4 (app. crit.) βαρύνεται ἀνόδων in situ praebet M, sed βαρύνεται ἀκόδων post τῷ Ο expuncta leguntur in M **7** Υ...Ι Schmidt 10.7: ι ἢ ΜΟ ἢ ἐθνικὰ om. M^{a.c.} **8** Ἀπιδών Lehrs coll. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 914.6-20; cf. etiam Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν ὁξυτ. 22.31-2: ἀσπιδών ΜΟ **10** ἀηδών ΜΟ^{a.c.}: ἀδών Ο^{p.c.}; ἀρπεδών ἀηδών dubitans Schmidt 10.10 (app. crit.) **12** καὶ Lentz 27.14: ἢ ΜΟ **14** <> lacunam statuit Schmidt 10.13; sensus potest esse 'sed ὀλιζών habens nomen idem cum urbe oxytonon est aliter atque ὀλιζών' vel aliquid simile **17** ξυνήων L. Dindorf TGL V 1642A; ξενήων ΜΟ **19** ἢ περιεκτικὰ om. Ο μόθων Schmidt 10.18: μώθων M: μύθων Ο

†ῶθων †Μάθων (ὁ Θηβαῖος)† πίθων (ὁ πίθηκος ὑποκοριστικῶς) Ρίνθων Αἶθων. τὸ δὲ Πυθῶν πόλις καὶ Σιθῶν καὶ πιθῶν καὶ κιθῶν (ὁ χιτών) ὀξύνεται.

(11.) Τὰ εἰς ΘΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνεται, ὅποτε μὴ τόπου ἢ ὄρους ὄνομα ὑπάρχοι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ΝΤ κλινόιτο καὶ φυλάττει τὸ Ω τῆς εὐθείας, οἷον· Φαέθων Φαέθοντος, Πυριφλεγέθων Πυριφλεγέθοντος, Κιναίθων ἐνοσίχθων. τὸ μέντοι Μαραθῶν Ἀργανθῶν ὀξύνεται. τὸ δὲ

5 Τὰ...14.2 κλινόμενον: Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 19.30-2 Τὰ δὲ ὑπερδισύλλαβα μετοχικὰ μὲν ὄντα διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνεται, Φαέθων Φαέθοντος, Πυριφλεγέθων Πυριφλεγέθοντος, Πολυσπέρχων Πολυσπέρχοντος· παρώνυμα δὲ ὄντα διὰ τοῦ ω, Ἀγάθων Ἀγάθωνος, Κιναίθων Κιναίθωνος· τὸ ἐνοσίχθων διὰ τοῦ ο κλιθὲν τοῦ ἀπλοῦ τὴν κλίσιν ἐφύλαξεν. **9** τὸ... 14.2 κλινόμενον: cf. EM 513.29-31 ὅτι τὸ Κιθαιρῶν ὀξύνεται, τοπικὴν ἔχον ἔννοιαν· ὁμοίως καὶ Μαραθῶν, καὶ τὸ Ἀργανθῶν· τὸ μέντοι Ἴπποθῶν περισπᾶται, διαιρεῖται γὰρ Ἴπποθόων

1 †ῶθων MO; κῶθων Lobeck SA 137, n. 1 (ed. alt. 166, n. 4), cf. Choerob. in Theod. 274.2-7; possis etiam ῥῶθων, cf. Theognost. Can. II 33.28 (= 184.2) †Μάθων...Θηβαῖος†] μάλθων (ὁ θηλαῖος/θήλαιος) haesitanter conieci coll. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 19.24-9 Τὰ εἰς ὦν λήγοντα δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ ω ἐν τι τῶν δασέων διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται, οἷον μόθων μόθωνος (σημαίνει τὸν πανοῦργον), κάνθων κάνθωνος, <μάλθων μάλθωνος> (ὁ μαλακός), Ρίνθων Ρίνθωνος (ὄνομα κύριον), σίφων σίφωνος, κύφων κύφωνος, Τύχων Τύχωνος (ὃ ἐστὶ δαίμων ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην), Βρύχων Βρύχωνος, πίθων πίθωνος (οὕτως ὁ πίθηκος ὑποκοριστικῶς)· καὶ τὸ γλήχων γλήχωνος βαρυνόμενον φυλάττει τὸ ω, εἰ καὶ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς ὀξύνεται καὶ θηλυκῶς λέγεται et Su. μ 111 Μά λ θ ω ν· ὁ γύνανδρός τε καὶ μάλθων τύραννος. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκλυτος. πίθων...2 πίθηκος Lobeck S. Aj. 137, n. 1 (ed. alt. 166, n. 4): πῆθων ὁ πῆθικος (πηθικός M^{ac}) MO **3** πόλις] πό^λ M πιθῶν] τιθῶν O **6** ὑπάρχοι O: ὑπάρ^x M **9** Πυριφλεγέθοντος om. M Κιναίθων M: Κιναιθων sine accentu O^{p.c.}: κινέθων (expunctum) O^{ac}. **10** Ἀργανθῶν Lobeck S. Aj. 137, n. 1 (ed. alt.) et postea Schmidt 10.5: ἀργαθῶν MO

Ἴπποθῶν περισπᾶται φυλάττον καὶ τὸ Ω μέγα καὶ διὰ τοῦ NT κλινόμενον.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΩΝ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά, ὅποτε μὴ εἶη περιεκτικά, ἢ μέρος σώματος σημαῖνοι, βαρύνεται Χάλκων Δράκων Κίκων Λάκων. τὸ 5
δὲ κροκῶν πευκῶν χαλκῶν ὡς περιεκτικὰ ὀξύνεται, καὶ τὸ ἀγκῶν μέρος σώματος, καὶ τὸ Ἀγκῶν πόλις ὡς θηλυκόν, καὶ τὸ εἰκῶν.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύνεται καὶ βαρύνεται καὶ περισπᾶται. τὰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ NT κλινόμενα καὶ Ο παραληγόμενα περισπᾶται 10
Ἴπποκῶν Λαοκῶν. τὰ μέντοι μὴ οὕτως καὶ παραληγόμενα τῷ Α ὀξύνεται, εἰ ἔστι τοπικώτερα, οἶον· χαρακῶν ἀνθρακῶν φαρμακῶν (τὸ βαφεῖον)· τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ γυναικῶν Ἑλικῶν ὡς 15
τοπικόν· τὸ μέντοι Τριάκων σαλάκων καὶ Αἰολοσίκων ὑγιῶς βαρύνονται· οὐ γάρ εἰσι τοπικά.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΩΝ δισύλλαβα βαρύνονται μὴ ὄντα τοπικά, οἶον· δόλων Φίλων Γέλων. τὸ δὲ 20
αὐλών καὶ μυλών ὡς τοπικὰ ὀξύνονται.

(12.) Τὰ εἰς ΛΩΝ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς

22 Τὰ ... 15.5 μαινάς: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 36.3-9 (= 196.1-7) Τὰ εἰς λων λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀρσενικὰ ὀξύτονά τε καὶ βαρύτονα φυλάττει τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς· οἶον, Απόλλωνος· Ασκάλωνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις· Κεφάλωνος· Νασσάλωνος ὄνομα πόλεως· Βαβυλῶνος· ἀμπελῶνος· καμηλῶνος· τὸ μιμαλῶν μιμαλῶνος θηλυκόν ὄν καὶ ὀξύτονον διὰ τοῦ ο κλινόμενον οὐ μάχεται· ἐφυλάξατο γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ κανὼν· δηλοῖ δὲ τὰς μαινάδας; *Ep. Hom.* 21,b2a.1-5 τὰ εἰς λων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται, οἶον Ασκάλων Ασκάλωνος, Απόλλων Απόλλωνος.

1 Ἴπποθῶν *MO^{p.c.}*: ὑπποθῶν *O^{a.c.}* φυλάττον *M*: φυλάττων *O*
4 σημαῖνοι *MO^{s.l.}*: σημαίνει *O^{i.t.}* **8** Ἀγκῶν *M^{s.l.}O*: Ἀγγῶν *M^{i.l.}*
εἰκῶν *Schmidt 11.13*: ἐρκῶν *MO*; ἐκῶν *etiam Schmidt 11.13*
(app. crit.) **14** χαρακῶν] χαλακῶν *O* ἀνθρακῶν] ἀρθρακῶν
O φαρμακῶν... **15** βαφεῖον *Lobeck S. Aj. 137, n. 1* (ed. alt. 166,
n. 4) et postea *Schmidt 11.19*: δαρμακῶν τὸ βαφεῖον (*M^{p.c.}*;
βραβεῖον *M^{a.c.}*, ut videtur; forma de littera post α dubia, φ vel
β): δαρμακῶν τὸ βραβεῖον *O* **16** σαλάκων *MO^{s.l.}*: σαλάμων
O^{i.l.} **17** οὐ *BC*: οὐδὲ *MO*

βαρύνονται, μὴ ὄντα περιεκτικά· Απόλλων
Κεφάλων. τὸ δὲ ἀμπελών καὶ καμηλών ὡς
περιεκτικά ὁξύνεται· τὸ Βαβυλών ἀρσενικῶς,
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ μιμαλλών
θηλυκόν, (ἦτοι μαινάς).

5

Τὰ εἰς ΜΩΝ δισύλλαβα μὴ ὄντα τοπικά, [ἢ ἐπὶ
καιροῦ λαμβάνοιτο, ἢ ἔχοι πρὸ τοῦ τέλους τὸ Υ
ἐκτεταμένον,] βαρύνεται· Ἑρμων Σάλμων
Τίμων Σίμων. τὰ μέντοι ὁξυνόμενα τοπικά

βαρύνεται τὰ εἰς λων λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, εἰ μὴ ἡ περιεκτικά· Ἀσκάλων, Απόλλων·
τὸ ἀμπελών καὶ <κα>μηλών περιεκτικά. σεσημειώται τὸ
Βαβυλών καὶ τὸ μιμαλλών θηλυκόν, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν
μαινάδα; *Et. Gud.* α 174.2-6 τὰ εἰς λων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
βαρύνοντα διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνεται, οἷον Ἀσκάλων Ἀσκάλωνος,
Απόλλων Ἀπόλλωνος. βαρύνεται τὰ εἰς λων λήγοντα ὑπὲρ
δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, εἰ μὴ ἡ περιεκτικά,
Ἀσκάλων Ἀπόλλων. τὸ ἀμπελών καὶ <κα>μηλών περιεκτικά.
σεσημειώται τὸ Βαβυλών καὶ τὸ μιμαλλών θηλυκόν, ὃ
σημαίνει τὴν μαινάδα **3** τὸ...5 μαινάς: cf. *EM* 130.30-1
Σεσημειώται τὸ Βαβυλών καὶ τὸ μιμαλλών θηλυκά· ὃ
σημαίνει τὴν μαινάδα; *Ep. Hom.* 21,b2a.4-5 σεσημειώται τὸ
Βαβυλών καὶ τὸ μιμαλλών θηλυκόν, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν
μαινάδα. **6** Τὰ...9 Σίμων: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ.
20.13-4 Τὰ εἰς ων δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ ω ἔν τι τῶν
ἀμεταβόλων φυλάττουσι τὸ ω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς, οἷον
Ἑρμων Ἑρμωνος, Σίμων Σίμωνος, Τίμων Τίμωνος;
Theognost. Can. II 36.10-3 (197.1-4) Τὰ εἰς ων βαρύνοντα
δισύλλαβα κύρια ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ ω ἀμετάβολον φυλάττει τὸ
ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς· οἷον, Σόλων Σόλωνος· Φίλων Φίλωνος·
Ἑρμων Ἑρμωνος· Σίμων Σίμωνος

2 καμηλών Ahrens (1859), II, XLI (*Theognost. Can.* II 36.6-7 (= 196.4-5)): μηλών MO, idem error in codicis aliorum librorum: *Et. Gud.* α 174.5, *Ep. Hom.* 21,b2a.4; κοκκυμηλών Schmidt 12.3 (app. crit.) **4** μιμαλλών Schmidt 12.5: μιμαλών MO **6** ἡ...8 ἐκτεταμένον del. Schmidt **8** ἐκτεταμένον M: ἐκτεινόμενον O^{i.t.}, sed γρ ἐκτεταμένον O^{i.m.} eadem manu Ἑρμων Schmidt 12.8: ἔρμων MO Σάλμων] fortasse Ἄλμων coll. *Et. Sym.* I, 294.20-1 et *St. Byz.* α 222

ἐστιν, ἥ ἐπὶ καιροῦ λαμβάνεται, ἥ ἔχει τὸ Υ ἐκτεταμένον· καὶ τὸ κρεμῶν ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἰ παραλήγοιτο φύσει ἢ θέσει μακροῖ, βαρύνεται· ἀμύμων ἐγκύμων Ἡγήμων Φιλήμων.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΜΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς παραληγόμενα Α βραχεῖ καὶ μὴ κλινόμενα διὰ ΝΤ ὀξύνεται· εἰ δέ τι ἐβαρύνθη, ὡς κύριον. καὶ ὀξύτονα μὲν Τελαμών (καὶ τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ προσηγορικόν), καλαμών πλαταμών κεράμων περιεκτικόν· Κεράμων δὲ τὸ κύριον, ὡς τὸ Ποτάμων †ἀσσάμων. τὸ δὲ τεράμων βαρύνεται ὡς διὰ τοῦ ΝΤ κλινόμενον.

10

Τὰ εἰς ΜΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ἔχοντα τὴν

6 Τὰ...**13** κλινόμενον: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 21.9-14 Τὰ εἰς μων λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς α συνεσταλμένον [κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν] βαρύτονα ὄντα φυλάττουσι τὸ ω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς, Ποτάμων Ποτάμωνος, Νασάμων Νασάμωνος (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα ἔθνικόν καὶ κύριον), Κεράμων Κεράμωνος· τούτοις ἠκολούθησεν τὸ Φοιβάμμων Φοιβάμμωνος κατὰ γενικὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν δύο μμ γραφέν· τεράμων τεράμωνος· σεσημείωται δὲ ἢ χρησὶς παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν Σοφιστῇ τῷ διαλόγῳ· ὁ γὰρ Ἀνακρέων ὡς μετοχικὸν τεράμοντος ἔκλινεν· σημαίνει δὲ τὸν κάλαμον.

14 Τὰ...**17.7** ἔθνος: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 21.7-8 Τὰ εἰς μων λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς βαρύτονα βραχεῖ παραληγόμενα διὰ τοῦ ω κλίνονται, Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος, Πολέμων Πολέμωνος, Διδύμων Διδύμωνος; Theognost. Can. II 35.23-7 (= 194.1-5) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εμων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς βαρύτονα διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφει τὴν παραλήγουσαν, καὶ φυλάττει τὸ ω οῖον, Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος· Πολέμων Πολέμωνος· τὸ κηδεμῶν καὶ ἀκρεμῶν ὀξυνόμενα ἐναλλάξαντα τὰ περὶ τόνων, παρήλλαξε καὶ κατὰ τὴν γραφήν· τρέπει γὰρ τὸ ω εἰς ο; II 37.9-12 (= 200.1-4)

1 ἡ¹ π: εἰ ΜΟ λαμβάνεται Schmidt 12.10: λαμβάνοιτο ΜΟ **2** κρεμών] δρυμών Lobeck S. Aj. 142, n. 2 (ed. alt. 171, n. 20) **7** ΝΤ ΜΟ: τοῦ Ο Lobeck PSGP 157.8 **9** κύριον] κύ^ο Μ **11** κύριον] κύ^ο Μ **12** †ἀσσάμων ΜΟ; Νασάμων (cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 21.9-11, ubi Νασάμων inter Ποτάμων et Κεράμων citatur) vel Ἀσάμων Lobeck PSGP 157.9 e Paus. 6.16.5 **13** ΝΤ] Ο Lobeck PSGP 157.8

πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν βραχεῖαν, ὑπεσταλμένης
 τῆς εἰς τὸ Α **(13.)** παραλήξεως, εἰ μὲν κλίνοιτο διὰ
 τοῦ ΝΟΣ, τῆς πρὸ τέλους οὔσης διὰ τοῦ Ο, ὁξύνε-
 ται· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ω, βαρύνεται, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν βαρυ-
 τόνων Ἀρτέμων Πολέμων Διδύμων. τῶν δὲ 5
 ὁξύτόνων τὸ δαιτυμῶν ἰτυμῶν κηδεμῶν
 ἀκρεμῶν ἐθνυμῶν (τὸ ἔθνος).

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΙΜΩΝ βαρύνεται δαίμων αἶ-
 μων ἀναίμων.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΩΝ [μῆ] ἔχοντα ἐν ἐπιπλοκῇ σύμφω- 10
 νον, ἢ κατὰ διάστασιν, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πόλεων εἴη ἢ
 περιεκτικά, βαρύνεται· Μέμων Δάφνων
 Ἄγνων. τὸ Κραννῶν ὡς ἐπὶ πόλεως ὁξύνεται,
 καὶ τὸ δαφνῶν ὡς περιεκτικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΩΝ ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους εἰς φω- 15
 νῆεν ἢ φωνήεντα λήγουσαν, εἰ μὴ τοπικὰ εἴη,

Τὰ εἰς μων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βραχεῖα παραληγόμενα
 βαρύτερα ὄντα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφε τὴν
 παραλήγουσαν τῆς γενικῆς· οἷον, Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος·
 Σολόμων Σολόμωνος· Πολέμων Πολέμωνος. **15** Τὰ... **18.3**
 ξενῶν: cf. Theodos. Περὶ κλίσ. ὡν ὁξύτ. 23.28-30 Τὰ εἰς νων
 λήγοντα ὁξύτονα φυλάττουσι τὸ ω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς,
 πλατανῶν πλατανῶνος, ξενῶν ξενῶνος, πλυνῶν πλυνῶνος,
 δαφνῶν δαφνῶνος· σεσημείωται τὸ κανῶν κανόνος μὴ
 φυλάξαν τὸ ω; Theognost. *Can.* II 39.12-4 (= 211) Τὰ εἰς νων
 ὁξύτονα περιεκτικά φυλάττει τὸ ω· οἷον, ξενῶν ξενῶνος·
 σεσημείωται τὸ κανῶν κανόνος ὅτι τρέπει τὸ ω εἰς ο.

1 συλλαβὴν] συλλαβὴν συλλαβὴν (*alterum expunctum*
legitur) M **2** μὲν κλίνοιτο Schmidt 13.1: μῆ ... ἐγκλίνοιτο MO
4 Ω] ε MO οἷον] οἷς O **6** δαιτυμῶν Lobeck S. *Aj.* 142, n. 2 (ed.
 alt. 171, n. 20): τυμῶν MO; fortasse ἰτυμῶν ἰτυμῶν] ἰταμῶν
 Lehrs (1857), 368.19 (ed. pr. 297.22)); δαιτυμῶν vel ἰτυμῶν (*alia*
forma vocis Ἰτυμονεύς) G. Dindorf TGL IV 722D **7** ἔθνος]
 ἔθνους O **8** αἶμων Schmidt: αἶμων MO **10** μῆ del. Lentz
 33.16 (vide app. crit.) **11** ἦ² om. O **12** Δάφνων Lobeck S. *Aj.*
 137, n. 1 (ed. alt. 166, n. 4; vide etiam Theoph. Simoc. *Epist.* 8.1,
 56.1; cf. Schäfer (1811), 884) et postea Schmidt 13.10 (app. crit.)
 proposuerunt: ἄφνων M: ἄφρων O **13** Ἄγνων Lentz 33.19:
 ἄγνων MO Κραννῶν Lentz 33.20, praeunte Schmidt 13.10
 (app. crit.): καρνῶν MO

βαρύνεται <.....> καὶ ἰσοδυναμεῖ τοῖς διὰ τοῦ
ΩΝΟΣ· Κόνων Σίνων. τὸ δὲ κανὼν ὀξύνεται,
καὶ πλατανῶν καὶ ξενῶν.

Τὰ εἰς ΞΩΝ, ὅποτε μὴ εἶη ἐπίθετα, δυνάμενα
καὶ ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ τίθεσθαι, βαρύνονται· ἄξων 5
Πράξων. τὸ μέντοι δραξῶν ὀξύνεται ὡς ἐπιθε-
τικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΠΩΝ μὴ ὄντα περιεκτικὰ βαρύνεται
Λάμπων δράπων (ὁ δραπέτης) Δούπων
Ἴππων τὸ **(14.)** κύριον, ἱππῶν περιεκτικόν, 10
πέπων τὸ πεπώνιον, πεπῶν τὸ περιεκτικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΩΝ μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου, εἰ μὴ
εἶη περιεκτικά, ἢ ἐπὶ πόλεων, ἢ διὰ τοῦ NT κλινό-
μενα, βαρύνεται· ἄφρων πρόφρων Μάκρων.
τὸ μέντοι Ἀντρῶν λουτρῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς περι- 15
εκτικὰ ὀξύνεται. τὸ δὲ Δεξικρῶν καὶ Ἑρμο-
κρῶν ὡς διὰ τοῦ NT κλινόμενα περισπᾶται.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΩΝ μὴ παραληγόμενα τῇ Οἱ ἢ Αἰ
διφθόγγῳ, εἰ μὴ τοπικὰ εἶη ἢ πόλει ὁμωνυμεῖ,
βαρύνονται· Θήρων Νέρων γέρων τήρων. 20

10 Ἴππων... περιεκτικόν: cf. Jo. Alex. περὶ διαφ. τον. διαφ.
σημ. b ι 6 (6.) Ἴππων· τὸ κύριον παροξύνεται, ἱππῶν· τὸ
περιεκτικόν ὀξύνεται; cf. c ι 2, e ι 5

1 καὶ scripsi: ἢ ΜΟ ἰσοδυναμεῖ Ο: εἰσοδυναμεῖ (sic) Μ
2 κανῶν Α: καμών ΜΟ **5** ἄξων] ἄξων Ο **6** Πράξων]
Πρήξων haesitanter Schmidt 13.19-20 (app. crit.) coll. Choerob.
Onomat. I, 76.25 (Gaisford); cf. etiam Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων
βαρυτ. 19.9 Πρήξων Πρήξωνος, Ἄξων Ἄξωνος **8** βαρύνεται]
βαρύνονται Ο **10** κύριον] κύρ Μ ἱππῶν περιεκτικόν M^{s.l.}Ο:
om. M^{i.l.} **11** πεπώνιον] πεπῶν ΜΟ: πεπαινόμενον Lentz
34.17-8: ἐν πεπάνσει ὄν Schmidt 14.1 (app. crit.) **13** κλινό-
μενα... **14** βαρύνεται B^{p.c.}C^{p.c.}: κλίνεται βαρύνεται Μ:
κλίνονται βαρύνονται Ο **14** ἄφρων Μ: ἄβρων Ο
16 ὀξύνεται] ὀξύνονται Ο Δεξικρῶν Schmidt 14.7 e π.μ.λ. GG
iii.ii 915.9 et Choerob. in *Theod.* 283.4, 283.34, 284.26: ἐξικρῶν
ΜΟ Ἑρμοκρῶν Ο: ἐρμοκρῶν Μ **17** περισπᾶται Schmidt 14.8:
ὀξύνεται ΜΟ **20** τήρων ΜΟ; τρήρων (cf. Choerob. 298.34,
299.34) vel Τείρων (cf. *Su.* τ 456; *TGL* VII 2153C-D, 1929D) vel
Ἡρων dubitanter Schmidt 14.11 (app. crit.)

τὸ δὲ οἰρῶν καὶ †σχειρῶν διὰ τὰς διφθόγγους,
καὶ τὸ προθυρῶν θυρῶν ἀχυρῶν
Πλευρῶν ὡς τοπικὰ ἢ ὁμώνυμα.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΩΝ ἀρσενικά, εἰ μὴ ἐθνικά ἢ περιε-
κτικὰ εἶη, βαρύνονται· Παύσων Θράσων Αἵ- 5
σων Ἰάσων. τὸ δὲ Ὀλοσσῶν πόλις <.....> καὶ
τὸ κισσῶν ὡς περιεκτικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΩΝ μὴ περιεκτικὰ <ἢ ἐθνικά> διὰ τοῦ
Ο κλινόμενα, βαρύνεται· εἰ δέ τι ὀξυνθῇ, τοῦτο
διαστολὴν **(15.)** ἀνεδέξατο βαρυνομένου· Πλού- 10

8 Τὰ...20.4 ὀξύνεται: cf. St. Byz. β 106.1-8 Βιστονία· πόλις
Θράκης, ἀπὸ Βίστονος <τοῦ> Ἄρεος καὶ Καλλιρρόης τῆς
Νέστου. ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν Ὀδόμαντος καὶ Ἥδωνοῦ. ἔνιοι δὲ
Παίονος τοῦ Ἄρεος παιδός. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βιστών, τῶν εἰς τῶν
δισυλλάβων βαρυνομένων, οἷον Πλάτων Κρίτων, εἰ μὴ
διαστολὴ γένοιτο σηματομένου· χιτῶν γὰρ πρὸς διαστολὴν
ὀξύνεται τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὸ κροτῶν τὸ ζωύφιον
πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὀνόματος· ἢ περιεκτικὸν
διὰ τὸ κοιτῶν ἰστών· ἢ ἐθνικὸν διὰ τοῦ ο κλινόμενον, ὡς τὸ
Βιστόνος. τὸ θηλυκὸν Βιστονίς.

1 οἰρῶν] οἰορῶν Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν ὀξυτ. 23.15-6,
Theognost. Can. II 38.31-2 (= 208.3-4); Hsch. ο 389 οἰρῶν; Su. ο
97 Οἰρῶνος †σχειρῶν] fortasse σφαιρῶν (coni. L. Dindorf
TGL VII 1643B; vide Lentz 35.15) vel Χαιρῶν (cf. Theodos. Π.
κλίσ. ὦν ὀξυτ. 23.16 and Theognost. Can. II 38.32 (= 208.4));
Schmidt 14.12: 'deest cautio de Χαίρων' **6** Ὀλοσσῶν TGL V
1905D haesitanter propter ἀρσενικά, sed genus femininum
verbi Ὀλοσσῶν/ Ὀλοοσσῶν non obstat, quod hoc verbum
tamquam exceptio canonis citatur; vide infra coniecturale
supplementum lacunae. Hi fontes genus femininum esse
inducunt: Hom. II. 2. 739, Str. 9.5.19.3-4, 9.5.19.53, sch. Hom. II.
2.739e, sch. Lyc. 905.6, St. Byz. 490.10-1, Eust. II. I 519.18, 520.25,
Choerob. in Theod. 317.15: λουσῶν ΜΟ πόλις] πόλ' Μ <> sensus
debet esse: ὀξύνεται ὡς θηλυκὸν vel θηλυκῶς (vide etiam
Schmidt 14.16, ubi lectionem οὐκ ἀρσενικὸν ad supplendam
lacunam proposuit) et postea fortasse aliquid exemplum
nominum ethnicorum citabatur **8** <ἢ ἐθνικά>] Schmidt 14.18
lacunam statuit et verba ἢ ἐθνικά abesse in apparatu critico
annotavit coll. St. Byz. β 106.7, sed primus Lentz 36.12 in textu
haec verba addidit

των Πλάτων Κράτων Χίτων ποταμός,
χιτών δὲ τὸ ἱμάτιον. τὸ Ἀρίστων Ἐκάτων
Χαρίτων βαρύνονται τὸ δὲ κοιτών ἰστών
προβατών ὡς περιεκτικὰ ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΥΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς καὶ βαρύν- 5
νεται καὶ ὀξύνεται. καὶ βαρύνεται μέν, ὅσα κλίνε-
ται διὰ τοῦ Ω, μὴ συνεμπίπτοντα πόλεσιν, ὡς ἔχει
Ἀμφιτρύων Ἡλεκτρύων. τὸ δὲ σικυών
ὀξύνεται. τὰ μέντοι κατὰ γενικὴν τρέποντα τὸ Ω
εἰς Ο ὀξύνονται· Ἀλεκτρυών Γηρυών Κερ- 10
κυών Ἀμφικτυών.

Τὰ εἰς ΦΩΝ ἀρσενικὰ σύνθετα διὰ τοῦ ΝΤ
κλινόμενα περισπᾶται· Ἀγλαοφῶν Ξενοφῶν
Ἀντιφῶν Δημοφῶν. τὸ μέντοι κολοφῶν καὶ
κατηφῶν ὀξύνεται. 15

Τὰ εἰς ΧΩΝ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ βαρύνονται
μὴ ὄντα μηνῶν ὀνόματα· Βρύχων Τύχων

1 Χίτων...2 ἱμάτιον: cf. Jo. Alex. περὶ διαφ. τον. διαφ. σημ. a, χ
7 Χίτων· πόλις, χιτών (scrib. χιτών)· τὸ ἔνδυμα; b χ 3; c χ 3; d χ
7; e χ 9

5 Τὰ...8 Ἡλεκτρύων: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν
βαρυτ. 21.31 τὰ εἰς ὦν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνοντα τῶ ν
παραληγόμενα οὐ κλίνονται διὰ τοῦ ντ, οἷον Ἡλεκτρύων
Ἡλεκτρύωνος, Ἀμφιτρύων Ἀμφιτρύωνος

9 τὰ...11
ἀμφικτυών: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν ὀξυτ. 22.19-20 ταῦτα γὰρ
τρέπουσι τὸ ω εἰς ο ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς, περικτιῶν περικτιόνος,
Γηρυών Γηρυόνος, Κερκυών Κερκυόνος; Choerob. in Theod.
281.9-12 τὰ εἰς ὦν καθαρὸν ὀξύοντα βραχεῖ διχρόνῳ
παραληγόμενα, τουτέστι συνεσταλμένῳ, τρέπουσι τὸ ω εἰς
τὸ ο ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον περικτιῶν περικτιόνος, Ἀλεκτρυών
Ἀλεκτρυόνος, Ἀμφικτυών Ἀμφικτυόνος (ἔστι δὲ ἔθνος)

12 Τὰ...14 Δημοφῶν: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 272.1-4 Τὰ δὲ εἰς
ὦν περισπώμενα πάντα φυλάττουσι τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς καὶ
οὐδέποτε τρέπουσιν αὐτό, κλίνονται δὲ καὶ <αὐτὰ> διὰ τοῦ
ντ, οἷον Ξενοφῶν Ξενοφώντος, Ἀγλαοφῶν Ἀγλαοφώντος,
Δημοφῶν Δημοφώντος

14 τὸ...15 ὀξύνεται: cf. EM
513.31-2 Τὸ Κολοφῶν καὶ κατηφῶν ὀξύνεται ὡς θηλυκά.

1 Κράτων MO; Κρίτων St. Byz. β 106.4 **5** post Τὰ Barker 15.22
et Schmidt 15.5 δὲ habent, quod nullus codex praebeat
14 κολοφῶν BC: κολυφῶν MO καὶ...15 κατηφῶν Schmidt
15.13-4: καὶ κατιφῶν M: καὶ κατυφῶν O **17** Τύχων Schmidt
15.16 e Choerob. in Theod. 274.7-8: τρύχων MO

Σπέρχων. τὸ δὲ γλήχων ὥφειλε βαρύνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ θηλυκὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦ Β, ὀξύνεται. τὸ δὲ Πα-
χών ὀξύνεται ὄνομα μηνὸς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄν. τὸ
δὲ Πολυσπέρχων διὰ τοῦ ΝΤ κλινόμενον περιε-
σπάσθη.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ ἐν τέλει ἔχοντα τὸν τόνον καὶ κλι-
νόμενα διὰ τοῦ ΝΤ περισπᾶται· Ξενοφῶν Ἰπ-
ποκῶν. **(16.)** σεσημείωται τὸ Ποσειδῶν καὶ
ταῶν καὶ τυφῶν περισπώμενα μέν, οὐ μέντοι
διὰ τοῦ ΝΤ κλινόμενα.

10

6 Τὰ...**10** κλινόμενα: cf. Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.8-14 (26) Τῶν δὲ
ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἐν μὲν τοῖς εἰς ν λήγουσιν ἀρσενικοῖς
τὰ εἰς ὦν ἐπὶ τέλει τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα, εἰ διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνοιτο,
περισπᾶται, εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἔτι, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Ποσειδῶν.
τοῦτο γὰρ περιεσπάσθη συνηρημένον ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδέων. τῶν
δὲ περισπωμένων ὑποδείγματα, Δημοφῶν, ἀμνοκῶν, Ἀντιφῶν
καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον; Choerob. in Theod. 272.1-6 Τὰ δὲ εἰς ὦν
περισπώμενα πάντα φυλάττουσι τὸ ὦ ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς καὶ
οὐδέποτε τρέπουσιν αὐτό, κλίνονται δὲ καὶ <αὐτὰ> διὰ τοῦ
ντ, οἷον Ξενοφῶν Ξενοφῶντος, Ἀγλαοφῶν Ἀγλαοφῶντος,
Δημοφῶν Δημοφῶντος· μόνον τὸ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Τυφῶν καὶ
ταῶν φυλάττουσι μὲν τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ καὶ οὐ κλίνονται διὰ
τοῦ ντ Τὰ...**8** Ἰπποκῶν: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 282.4-7 Ἰστέον
ὅτι τὰ εἰς ὦν περισπώμενα διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνονται καὶ
φυλάττουσι τὸ ὦ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ καὶ εἰς μόνον ἀρσενικοῦ
γένους, οἷον ὁ Θῶν τοῦ Θῶντος (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κύριον), ὁ
Ξενοφῶν τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος, ὁ Ἀγλαοφῶν τοῦ Ἀγλαοφῶντος,
ὁ Ἰπποκῶν τοῦ Ἰπποκῶντος **8** σεσημείωται...**10**
κλινόμενα: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 282.14-7 πάντα τὰ εἰς ὦν
περισπώμενα διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνονται, χωρὶς δηλονότι τοῦ
Ποσειδῶν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ ταῶν ταῶνος καὶ Τυφῶν
Τυφῶνος· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ κλίνονται διὰ τοῦ ντ, ἀλλὰ
προσθέσει τοῦ ὅς ποιῶσι τὴν γενικὴν καὶ φυλάττουσι τὸ ὦ;
284.8-10 Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν αὐτὴν κλίσιν, Τυφῶν μὲν
γὰρ Τυφῶνος καὶ ταῶν ταῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ποσει-
δῶνος, Τυφῶς δὲ Τυφῶ καὶ ταῶς ταῶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ς ἀττικῶς.

1 γλήχων Schmidt 15.17: γλίχων MO; Γλίχων G. Dindorf TGL
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Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ θηλυκὰ μὴ ἐπὶ πόλεων κατηγορούμενα ὀξύνηται, ὅποτε μὴ διὰ τοῦ Ω κλίνεται· χιῶν λαγῶν τρυγῶν σταγῶν γοργῶν. τὸ δὲ τρήρων μήκων γλήχων βαρύνονται ὡς φυλάττοντα τὸ Ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς.

5

1 Τὰ...5 γενικῆς: cf. Theodos. *Can.* iv.i 28.8-11 Ἡ τρήρων τῆς τρήρωνος, ἡ Πυθῶν τῆς Πυθῶνος, ἡ τρυγῶν τῆς τρυγόνος: τῶν εἰς ὧν θηλυκῶν τὰ μὲν ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ο κλίνεται, τὰ δὲ βαρύτονα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ πόλεων διὰ τοῦ ω ὀξύτονα μὲν τρυγόνος ἀηδόνας, βαρύτονα δὲ τρήρωνος μήκωνος; Theognost. *Can.* II 39.15-20 (= 212.1-6) Τὰ εἰς ὧν θηλυκὰ βαρύτονα μὲν ὄντα φυλάττουσι τὸ ω οἶον, μήκων μήκωνος· τρήρων τρήρωνος· ἄλων ἄλωνος· Ἀσκάλων Ἀσκάλωνος· τὸ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ ἀπλοῦ τὴν κλίσιν ἐφύλαξεν· ὀξύτονα δὲ ὄντα, καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πόλεως λαμβανόμενα τρέπουσι τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς· σταγῶν σταγόνος· τρυγῶν τρυγόνος Τὰ...3 γοργῶν: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 317.7-11 Τὰ δὲ εἰς ὧν ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ μὴ ὄντα ἐπὶ πόλεων τρέπουσι τὸ ω εἰς τὸ ο ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἶον πλαγγῶν πλαγγόνος, χελιδῶν χελιδόνος, ἀηδῶν ἀηδόνας, τρυγῶν τρυγόνος, εἰκῶν εἰκόνος, σινδῶν σινδόνας, λαγῶν λαγόνος, χιῶν χιόνος, σταγῶν σταγόνος; Theognost. *Can.* II 38.13-4 (= 206.1-2) Τὰ εἰς ὧν ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ διὰ τοῦ ο κλίνεται οἶον, λαγῶν λαγόνος· σταγῶν σταγόνος· τρυγῶν τρυγόνος **3** τὸ...5 γενικῆς: cf. Theodos. Π. γραμμ. 128.29-31 ὅτι ὅσα μὲν εἰσι παροξύτονα, ἅπαντα φυλάττουσι τὸ Ω μέγα ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς, οἶον τρήρων τρήρωνος, μήκων μήκωνος; Choerob. *in Theod.* 316.37-317.1 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ εἰς ὧν λήγοντα θηλυκὰ βαρύτονα φυλάττουσι τὸ ω ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἶον μήκων μήκωνος (ἔστι δὲ εἶδος βοτάνης), τρήρων τρήρωνος (σημαίνει δὲ τὴν δειλὴν περιστερὰν, οἶον <X 140> τρήρωνά πέλειαν); Theognost. *Can.* II 39.15-6 (= 212.1-2) Τὰ εἰς ὧν θηλυκὰ βαρύτονα μὲν ὄντα φυλάττουσι τὸ ω οἶον, μήκων μήκωνος· τρήρων τρήρωνος **4** γλήχων...5 γενικῆς: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὧν βαρυτ. (e cod. Haun. 1965) 19.28-9 καὶ τὸ γλήχων γλήχωνος βαρυνόμενον φυλάττει τὸ ω, εἰ καὶ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς ὀξύνηται καὶ θηλυκῶς λέγεται.

2 Ω Ο: ο Μ **5** Ω] ω μέγα Μ Ο

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ δισύλλαβα ἐπὶ πόλεων ὀξύνονται· εἰ δέ τι βαρυνθῇ, ἑτέρῳ χαρακτηρῇ, ἢ διαστολῇ σηματομένου· Ἡϊών Πλευρών Πυθών Σιδών. τὸ Ἴτων βαρύνεται, ὡς [έν] ἑτέρῳ χαρακτηρῇ ὑποπεσόν· (καθόλου γὰρ τὰ εἰς ΤΩΝ δισύλλαβα φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα βαρύνεται μὴ ὄντα τοπικά, διὰ τὸ κοιτών. τὰ δὲ βαρύτονα· Πλούτων γείτων Τρίτων) <.....> Σούλων πόλις Σικελίας, πλὴν τοῦ κροτών.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἐπὶ πόλεων ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, εἰ μὴ εἰς ΛΩΝ λήγοι ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους Α, ἢ ἔννοϊαν συνθέσεως· Ἐλεών Μεδεών Σικυών Βαβυλών. σεσημείωται τὸ Ἀσκάλων καὶ Ἰάσσάλων.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ σύνθετα ἀπὸ ἀπλῶν, συντεθειμένα ῥητὰ ἀπὸ βαρυτόνων βαρύνονται· Ἀνακρέων Χα(17.)μαιλέων. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ περισπωμένων περισπῶνται· φιλοξενοφῶν φιλοκτησιφῶν· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ ὀξύτόνων φυλάττει τὴν ὀξεϊαν· φιλομακεδῶν ἱππαλεκτρῶν.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ ὀξύτονα δισύλλαβα καὶ μονοσύλλαβα ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ἀναβιβάζουσι τὸν τόνον,

1 Τὰ...9 κροτών: cf. St. Byz. α 144.8-12 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ὧν δισύλλαβα ἐπὶ πόλεων ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ διαστολὴν ἔχου σηματομένου, ὡς τὸ Κρότων βαρύνεται (ὀξυνόμενον γὰρ ῥητοὶ ζώφιον)· ἢ χαρακτηρῇ ὑπάγοιτο, ὡς τὸ Ἴτων συναπενεχθὲν τῷ Τρίτων Γίτων Βίτων, οἷον Ἡϊών Κραννών Γυρτών Νεών. σεσημείωται τὸ Σούλων. ἔστι πόλις Ἰταλίας.

3 Ἡϊών Schmidt 16.10 e St. Byz. α 144.11: ἰών MO **4** ἐν del. Schmidt 16.11 **8** γείτων] Γίτων St. Byz. α 144.10 <>] fortasse σεσημείωται (τὸ) vel (ὥσπερ) καὶ τὸ (vide etiam annotationem ad hanc lacunam) **11** λήγοι MO^{s.l.}: λήγει O^{i.l.} **12** A Schmidt 16.18: ω MO ἢ om. O ἔννοϊαν O: ἔνοϊας M (haud recte Galland (1886), 296 codicem M lectionem ἔνοϊαν habere enotavit) Ἐλεών Schmidt: ἔλαιών MO **13** Μεδεών Schmidt coll. sch. Hom. II. 2.717 correctum: μηδεών MO^{p.c.}: μηδέων O^{a.c.}; L. Dindorf TGL V 979B s. v. μηλιών: 'dubium videtur an ad hoc vocabulum referendum sit quod apud Arcadium ponitur μεδεών' **14** Ἰάσσάλων MO; Νασσάλων coll. Theognost. Can. II 36.6 (= 196.4); Καστάλων Götting (1835), 266-7 (cf. St. Byz. 366.8-10, 710.8) **20** ἱππαλεκτρῶν M: ἱππολεκτρῶν O

όποτε μὴ σχέσει τοπικῇ ἦνται, ὥς ἔχει τὸ κατὰ συνήθειαν· προκοιτῶν προπυλῶν προθυ-
ρων. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναβιβάζουσι τὸν τόνον, οἷον·
βαθυλείμων ἀχίτων αὐτόχθων.

Αἱ εἰς ΩΝ λήγουσαι δισύλλαβοι μετοχαὶ ὀξυ-
τονούμεναι ὥς ὀνόματα κλινόμενα μετατιθέασι
τὸν τόνον, οἷον· Ἀμφίων Ὑπερίων. Καὶ το-
σαῦτα περὶ τῶν εἰς Ν ληγόντων ἀρσενικῶν καὶ
θηλυκῶν.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπιδέχεται τόνους· τὰ
μὲν γὰρ ὀξύνεται, ὥς αἰών, τὰ δὲ βαρύνεται, ὥς
Πλάτων, τὰ δὲ περισπᾶται, ὥς Ξενοφῶν.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ συγκριτικὰ καὶ ὑποκοριστικὰ βαρύν-
νεται Ἀτρείων Κρονίων μωρίων Ἡφαι-
στίων.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΝ ἀρσενικὰ δισύλλαβα παραλη-

16 Τὰ...25.3 περιεκτικόν: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ.
16.30-3 Τὰ εἰς ὦν λήγοντα ἀρσενικὰ δισύλλαβα βαρύτονα
βραχεῖα παραληγόμενα φυλάττει τὸ ω, οἷον Κάων Κάωνος,
Φάων Φάωνος, Νέων Νέωνος, Θέων Θέωνος, Δίων Δίωνος,
[Ἴερων Ἴέρωνος]· τὸ Κρέων Κρέοντος ὡς μετοχικὸν ὕστερον
ἐροῦμεν· τὸ δὲ λέων λέοντος ἔχον θηλυκὸν τὸ λείαινα διὰ τοῦ
ντ· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ θεράπων θεράποντος καὶ δράκων
δράκοντος; Theognost. Can. II 30.10-2 (= 164.1-3) Τὰ εἰς ὦν
καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ βαρύτονα βραχεῖα
παραληγόμενα φυλάττει τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς· Κάων
Κάωνος· Φάων Φάωνος· τὸ Κρέων Κρέοντος, καὶ λέων
λέοντος

1 τοπικῇ Lobeck PGG 201.15: τονικῇ (τονικῇ B) MO **3** τόνον]
τόν M **6** ὥς Schmidt 17.11: καὶ MO **7** Καὶ...9 θηλυκῶν] in
fine huius libri transponenda sunt **10** Τὰ...12 Ξενοφῶν] ante
9.3-5 τὰ εἰς βων δισύλλαβα ... ἄμβων transponenda sunt
11 βαρύνεται] βαρύνονται O **12** περισπᾶται] περισπῶνται O
13 συγκριτικὰ...ὑποκοριστικὰ] debemus addere καὶ
πατρωνυμικὰ vel scribere πατρωνυμικὰ pro συγκριτικὰ
συγκριτικὰ M^{p.c}: O: γυγκριτικὰ M^{a.c}, ut videtur· ὑποκοριστικὰ]
ὑποκορυστικὰ O βαρύνεται] βαρύνονται O **16** ΩΝ Schmidt
17.19: αων MO παραληγόμενα...25.1 E>] παραληγόμενα
haesitans βραχεῖ Schmidt 17.19 (app. crit.)

γόμενα Α βραχεῖ <ἢ Ε> βαρύνεται, μὴ ὄντα περιεκτικά· Φάων Κάων Κρέων Λέων Νέων, νεών δὲ ὡς περιεκτικόν.

(18.) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΩΝ βραχεῖ παραληγόμενα βαρύνεται· Ἡμαθίων Ἐνδυμίων.

5

Ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἔχοντα τὸ Ι μακρόν· κίων πρίων Ἐχίων Δηϊών Ἀμφίων βραχίων.

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΩΝ· Μαχάων Ἀρετάων Ποσειδάων.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝ ὀνόματα μηνῶν ἢ χρόνων ὀξύνεται· Ποσειδεών Ἐλαφηβολίων. καὶ τὰ τοπικὰ περιεκτικά· ἄγών ἱππῶν ἀνδρῶν.

10

6 Ἔτι... **7** βραχίων: cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 16.21-5 Τὰ εἰς ὦν καθαρὰ βαρύτερα διχρόνῳ παραληγόμενα εἰ μὲν ἐκτείνουσι τὸ δίχρονον, τρέπουσι τὸ ὦ εἰς ο, εἰ δὲ συστέλλουσιν αὐτό, φυλάττουσι τὸ ὦ, οἶον ... κίων κίονος, πίων πίονος, πρίων πρίονος; *Et. Gud.* π 468.35-7 τὰ εἰς ὦν δισύλλαβα τῷ ι παραληγόμενα μὴ ὄντα κύρια, ἐκτείνει αὐτό, οἶον, κίων πρίων οὕτως οὖν καὶ πίων; *EM* 674.6-9 τὰ εἰς ΩΝ δισύλλαβα τῷ ι παραληγόμενα, μὴ ὄντα κύρια, ἐκτείνει αὐτό· οἶον, κίονος, πρίονος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ πίονος; *Choerob. in Theod.* 272.25-9 Τὰ εἰς ὦν καθαρὸν βαρύτερα ἔχοντα δίχρονον ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ, εἰ μὲν ἐκτείνουσι τὸ δίχρονον, τρέπουσι τὸ ὦ εἰς τὸ ο ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἶον ... Ἀμφίων Ἀμφίονος, Ὑπερίων Ὑπερίονος, <Q 480> Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο, Ἐχίων Ἐχίονος **8** Ἔτι... **9** Ποσειδάων: cf. *Choerob. in Theod.* 272.25-7 Τὰ εἰς ὦν καθαρὸν βαρύτερα ἔχοντα δίχρονον ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ, εἰ μὲν ἐκτείνουσι τὸ δίχρονον, τρέπουσι τὸ ὦ εἰς τὸ ο ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἶον Μαχάων Μαχάονος, Ἰκετάων Ἰκετάονος, Ἀρετάων Ἀρετάονος; *Sophr. Char. Theodos.* 397.19-21 Τὰ εἰς ὦν καθαρὰ βαρύτερα διχρόνῳ μακρῷ παραληγόμενα διὰ τοῦ ο κλίνεται, Ἰκετάων Ἰκετάονος, Μαχάων Μαχάονος, Ἀρετάων Ἀρετάονος **11** καὶ... **12** ἀνδρῶν: cf. *Thegnost. Can.* II 29.19-20 (= 159.1-2) Τὰ εἰς ὦν περιεκτικά, φυλάττει τὸ ὦ καὶ ἐπὶ γενικῆς· ἀνδρῶν· λειμών· χειμῶν· ἄγών

1 A M^{p.c.}O: ι M^{a.c.}, ut videtur <ἢ Ε>] add. Lentz 18.22 (proposuit iam Schmidt 17.21 (app. crit.)) βαρύνεται M: βαρύνονται O

2 Κάων B^{1.t.}: κάκων MO; Κάων Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 16.31, *Theognost. Can.* II 30.11 (= 164.2); *Choerob. Onomat.* I, 71.19-20 (Gaisford) **4** Τὰ διὰ] τὰ δ τὰ O **10** Τὰ] ἃ O

11 Ἐλαφηβολίων] ἐλαμφηβολίων O

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΙΩΝ ὑπερδισύλλαβα, εἰ μὴ εἷη ὀνόματα μηνῶν ἢ ποταμῶν, βαρύνονται· Εὐφραίων Ἀκταίων εὐαίων.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς Ξ καὶ εἰς Ρ καὶ εἰς ΑΣ ληγόντων ὀνομάτων.

5

Βιβλίον β'

Πᾶν ὄνομα εἰς Ξ λήγον ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ παρὰ ῥῆμα εἷη συντεθειμένον καὶ μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττοι τοῦ ῥήματος, καὶ ἐπιθετικὸν ὑπάρχοι, μὴ ἐθνικόν· Φαίαξ θώραξ ἄναξ κλίμαξ αὐλαξ· τὸ διασφάξ <ἀπὸ ῥήματος> ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφάξ ὀξύτονου. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ ῥήματος συγκείμενα· βλεφαροσπάξ καὶ λι-

10

1 Τὰ...3 εὐαίων· cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 28.33 - 29.3 (= 155.1-5) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰων βαρύνοντα κύρια ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, καὶ φυλάττει τὸ ω ἐπὶ τῆς γενικῆς· οἶον· Εὐφραίων Εὐφραίωνος· Αἰγαίων Αἰγαίωνος· ὀνόματα κύρια· Ἀκταίων Ἀκταίωνος· Ἀλκμαίων Ἀλκμαίωνος· Εὐγαίων Εὐγαίωνος **7** Πᾶν...27.2 ἐθνικόν· cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 287.1-5 τὰ εἰς αξ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀπλᾶ διὰ τοῦ κ κλίνονται, οἶον θώραξ θώρακος, Φαίαξ Φαίακος, φύλαξ φύλακος, κόραξ κόρακος, ἄναξ ἄνακος καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ τ ἄνακτος, αὐλαξ αὐλακος, πίδαξ πίδακος (σημαίνει δὲ τὴν πηγὴν), πίναξ πίνακος, κλίμαξ κλίμακος; *Ep. Hom.* 7,b. 4-7 πᾶν εἰς αξ λήγον ὄνομα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ παρὰ ῥῆμα εἷη συντεθειμένον καὶ μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττει τοῦ ῥήματος· Φαίαξ, θώραξ, ἄναξ, κόραξ· τὸ δὲ δι<α>σφάξ καὶ ἀποσφάξ (Nic. Ther. 521) ἀπὸ ῥήματος; *Et. Gud.* α 132.5-7 τὰ εἰς αξ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεσθαι θήλει, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ παρὰ ῥῆμα εἷη συντεθειμένα καὶ μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττοι τοῦ <ῥήματος>· Φαίαξ θώραξ κόραξ. τὸ δὲ <δια>σφάξ καὶ ἀποσφάξ ἀπὸ ῥήματος.

1 Τὰ] ἃ Ο **6** β'] βον' Ο **9** φυλάττοι] φυλάττει Ο **10** ὑπάρχοι] ὑπάρχει Ο **11** κλίμαξ αὐλαξ Schmidt 18.19-20: κλίμαξ, αὐλαξ ΜΟ **13** βλεφαροσπάξ G. Hermann *De emend. rat. graec. gramm.* 434 (regul. de prosod. 63; Schmidt 18.21 (app. crit.) *Lehrsio* attribuit); postea G. Dindorf *TGL* II 284A et *Lehrs* (1857), 344; vide etiam Lobeck *PGG* 277.2-6, qui βλεφαροσπάξ vel βλεφαροστάξ proposuit: βλεφαροπάξ Μ: βλεφυροπάξ Ο λιτροβαστάξ ΜΟ; λιτροβαστάξ Schmidt 18.21, ut Bloch de A notavit; φιτροβάσταξ Lobeck *PGG* 277.6-9

τροβαστάξ καὶ νεκροβαστάξ. τὸ δὲ Ἀσφαξ βαρύνεται ὡς ἐθνικόν.

(19.) Τὰ εἰς ΕΞ καὶ ΙΞ καὶ ΟΞ καὶ ΥΞ πάντα βαρύνεται· Λέλεξ πέρδιξ Καππάδοξ κήρυξ.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΗΞ μὴ ὄντα σύνθετα ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνονται· μύρμηξ σκώληξ ἀλώπηξ.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΞ σύνθετα παρὰ ῥῆμα ὀξύνεται, εἰ ἐπιθετικὰ εἴη· βουπλήξ κυμοπλήξ μεθυπλήξ. τὸ δὲ ὕσπληξ καὶ ἀντίπηξ βαρύνεται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθετικά. τὸ δὲ χηναλώπηξ καὶ αὐτὸ βαρύνεται, ὡς τὸ χαμαισκώληξ λεοντομύρμηξ.

10

Τὰ εἰς ΩΞ ὀξύνεται, ὅσα μίαν συλλαβὴν ἔχει ἐπὶ τέλους ἐν τῇ συνθέσει· ἀπορρώξ κυαμοτρώξ θυλακοτρώξ κυμορρώξ· τὸ δὲ θηροδίων καὶ αἰγοδίων βαρύνεται, ὡς δύο φυλάξαντα συλλαβὰς ἐν τῇ συνθέσει.

15

Τὰ εἰς Ρ.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΡ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν εἴτε ἀρσενικά εἴτε θηλυκὰ εἴτε οὐδέτερα βαρύνεται· μάκαρ δάμαρ ὄναρ οὐθαρ.

20

10 τὸ...**11** ἐπιθετικά: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 291.1-3 τὸ μέντοι ὕσπληξ καὶ ἀντίπηξ βαρύνονται, ἐπεὶ δὲ προσηγορικά εἰσι καὶ μόνου θηλυκοῦ γένους εἰσί· **14** Τὰ...**16** κυμορρώξ: cf. Theognost. Can. II 41.9-11 (= 222.1-3) Τὰ εἰς ὡς ὀνόματα συγκείμενα παρὰ ῥῆμα τὸ ῥώσσω, ἢ τρώγω, ἢ πτώσσω διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται· οἷον ἀπορρώξ· ἀρρώξ· κυαμοτρώξ· θυλακοτρώξ; sch. Hom. II. 2.755b ἀπορρώξ: Ἀρίσταρχος ὀξυτόνως ὡς θυλακοτρώξ. καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις δὲ τοῦτο ἀπαιτεῖ, ὅ τι ἂν σημαίνει, εἴτε πάθος εἴτε ἐνέργειαν.

3 Τὰ] ἃ Ο καὶ ΟΞ om. Ο **4** βαρύνεται] βαρύνοντα Ο Καππάδοξ] καππάδορ Ο κήρυξ B: κήρυξ ΜΟ **9** κυμοπλήξ M: κυμοπήξ Ο **10** ὕσπληξ M: ὕπληξ Ο ἀντίπηξ Schmidt 19.7 e sch. Hom. II. 18.413b.1: ἀντίσπληξ ΜΟ **12** χαμαισκώληξ] χαμασκώληξ Ο **19** Τὰ...Ρ scripsi: τὰ εἰς αρ ΜΟ^{p.c.}: τὰ εἰς αρ α Ο^{a.c.} **22** οὐθαρ Schmidt: οὐθαρ ΜΟ

Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΩΡ· ῥήτωρ κέλωρ ἄπωρ(?).

Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΥΡ· μάρτυρ Κέρκυρ Ἰλλυρ
Λίγυρ.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΡ ὀξύνεται καὶ βαρύνεται. καὶ ὀξύνε-
ται **(20.)** μὲν ἀπλᾶ ὄντα ἀρσενικά. ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ Τ
προηγούμενου τοῦ Η· στατήρ καμπτήρ ἐλα-
τήρ ἐξαστήρ. Ἐξάυτηρ δὲ κύριον, ὥσπερ τὸ
ἀμάτηρ καὶ ἄντηρ, καὶ Ἄστηρ κύριον. ἀρσε-

5

2 Ἔτι...3 Λίγυρ: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 41.21-2 (= 224.1-2) Τὰ εἰς
υρ λήγοντα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· μάρτυρ· ψίθυρ·
Κέρκυρ· Ἰλλυρ· Φίλυρ· Ἄσυρ. **4** Τὰ...30.3 βαρύνεται: cf.

Choerob. *in Theod.* 297.31-298.3 Τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν εἰς
τὴν λήγοντα ὀξύτονα εἰ μὲν ἔχουσι τὸ τ, φυλάττουσι τὸ ἡ ἐν
τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον λουτήρ λουτήρος, σωτήρ σωτήρος, καμπτήρ
καμπτήρος, ὀλετήρ ὀλετήρος, ξυστήρ ξυστήρος, γενετήρ
γενετήρος, ἐλατήρ ἐλατήρος (ἔστι δὲ εἶδος πλακοῦντος·
σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον παρὰ τὸ ἐλαύνειν)· δεῖ προσθεῖ-
ναι «χωρὶς τοῦ πατήρ πατέρος καὶ ἀστήρ ἀστέρος» ταῦτα
γὰρ ἔχοντα τὸ τ τρέπουσι τὸ ἡ εἰς τὸ ε ἐν τῇ γενικῇ· τὰ δὲ μὴ
ἔχοντα τὸ τ τρέπουσι τὸ ἡ εἰς τὸ ε ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον αἰθήρ
αἰθέρος, ἀήρ ἀέρος, δαήρ δαέρος (ὁ ἀνδράδελφος), ἀνήρ
ἀνέρος, χωρὶς τοῦ σπινθήρ σπινθήρος καὶ Ἐλευθήρ Ἐλευθη-
ρος (Ἐλευθήρ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα κύριον)· ταῦτα γὰρ μὴ ἔχοντα
τὸ τ ἐφύλαξαν τὸ ἡ ἐν τῇ γενικῇ. **8** Ἄστηρ κύριον: cf. Jo.

Alex. περὶ διαφ. τον. διαφ. σημ. α α **9** Ἄστηρ· ἡ πόλις
παροξύνεται, ἀστήρ· τὸ προσηγορικὸν ὀξύνεται; c α **9** Ἄστηρ·
ἡ πόλις παροξύτονος, ἀστήρ· ὁ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὸ
προσηγορικὸν ὀξύνεται; d α **33** ἀστήρ· ὁ κατ' οὐρανόν,

1 Ἔτι...3 Λίγυρ post Εἶρ 31.4 transposuit Schmidt κέλωρ
Schmidt: κάλλωρ ΜΟ ἄπωρ haesitans retinui; fortasse πέλωρ
coll. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 937.26; alii alia: ἄκτωρ vel πάτωρ malit
Schmidt 19.18 (app. crit.); ἄχωρ Lobeck PGG 219.22-3 (sed
ἄχωρ in 31.6-7 cum explanatione citatur; vide etiam
annotationem de ἄπωρ); ἄτωρ Hesychius α 8213 **2** Ἔτι] τι (ε
om. in spatio vacuo) Ο **4** ὀξύνεται] ὀξύνετα (sic) Ο **5** ὄντα
M^{p.c.}: μὴ ὄντα M^{a.c.} τοῦ Τ] s.l. scribitur in Ο **7** ἐξαστήρ
(ἐξαστήρ M^{a.c.}) ἐξάυτηρ ΜΟ ἐξαστήρ] ξυστήρ Choerob. *in*
Theod. 297.33, 298.25 Ἐξάυτηρ] ἐξάπττηρ Choerob. *De Orthogr.*
250.16, vide etiam AO II 250, 16; fortasse εὐπάτηρ ὥσπερ] ὡς
scripserunt Schmidt 20.3 et Barker 19.22 **8** ἄντηρ] fortasse
Πάντηρ (LGPN II) καὶ Ἄστηρ] καὶ ἄστηρ καὶ ἄστηρ Ο
κύριον] κύρ M

νικά δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὰ θηλυκά. καὶ γὰρ τὰ εἰς HP
θηλυκά μὴ μετατιθέμενα κατὰ τι ἔθος ποιητοῦ εἰς
διάφορον γένος βαρύνεται· μήτηρ θυγάτηρ
Δημήτηρ. τὸ δὲ γαστήρ ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς HP ἔθνικὰ ἢ κύρια, μὴ συνεπίπτοντα
προσηγορικοῖς, βαρύνονται· Ἰβηρ Ἀννίβηρ
Δόβηρ Πίηρ. τὸ μέντοι Ἑλευθήρ ὀξύνεται, ὡς
τὸ Ἀστήρ.

5

Ἀστηρ· ἡ πόλις; *e a* 44 ἀστήρ· ὁ λάμπων, Ἀστηρ δὲ πόλις;
Eust. Od. II 330.33 καὶ Ἀστηρ μὲν πόλις, ἀστήρ δὲ ὁ κατ'
οὐρανόν **1** καὶ... 4 Δημήτηρ: cf. *Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii*
922.27-35 Γαστήρ. τὰ εἰς τὴν λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν
θηλυκὰ ὄντα βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ, εἰνάτηρ,
Δημήτηρ, οὐδὲν δὲ θέλει ὀξύνεσθαι. σημειώδης ἡ γαστήρ
ὀξυνομένη. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως τὰ εἰς τὴν ὀξυνόμενα ἀρσενικά,
ὁπότε μὴ κατὰ μεταβολὴν γένους εἴη, ἀστήρ, πρηστήρ,
καυστήρ, πληκτήρ, ἀλκτήρ. προσέθηκα δὲ ὁπότε μὴ κατὰ
μεταβολὴν γένους διὰ τὸ ῥαιστήρα κρατερήν (*Σ* 477), ὕλην
στεγαστήρα. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅποιον ἡ αἰθήρ, ἡ ἀήρ;
Choerob. in Theod. 322.6-13 Τὸ ῥαιστήρ σωτήρ ἀήρ καὶ ὅσα
τοιαῦτα ἀρσενικά ὄντα πολλάκις οἱ ποιηταὶ μεταφέρουσιν
εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος, οἷον τὸν ῥαιστήρα τὴν ῥαιστήρα, οἷον <*Σ*
477> ῥαιστήρα κραταιήν (ἀντὶ τοῦ σφύραν, καὶ ἔστι
παρὰ τὸ ῥαίω τὸ φθείρω), τὸν ἀέρα τὴν ἀέρα, τὸν σωτήρα
τὴν σωτήρα. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀντίκεινται ἡμῖν οὔτε κατὰ τὸν
τόνον οὔτε κατὰ τὴν κλίσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ γένους μετηνέχθησαν εἰς θηλυκὸν
γένος, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν κλίσιν καὶ τὸν τόνον τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ
γένους ἐφύλαξαν.

1 εἶπε O: εἶπεν M καὶ... 4 Δημήτηρ] Schmidt 20.6 (app. crit.):
'ἐκ διαφόρου γένους, nisi forte mavis ἀρσενικά δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὰ
θηλυκὰ καὶ τὰ μετατιθέμενα κατὰ τι ἔθος ποιητικὸν εἰς
διάφορον γένος. Τὰ δὲ εἰς HP θηλυκὰ βαρύνεται' **2** κατὰ τι
Schmidt 20.6: κατὰ τι M **3** θυγάτηρ] θηγάτηρ O
5 συνεπίπτοντα O: συνεπίμπτοντα M **6** Ἀννίβηρ MO;
Ἰλλίβηρ (v. Tzschucke (1806), II.ii. 408) vel Κελτίβηρ Lobeck
PGG 211 n. 5; compositum ex Ἄνας (fluvio) et Ἰβηρ Schmidtio
20.10 (app. crit.) videtur **7** Δόβηρ Lobeck *PGG* 211, n. 5: δόμηρ
MO

Τὰ εἰς ΗΡ [ἀπλᾱ] μὴ ὄντα σύνθετα, μηδὲ ἔθνικα, ὀξύνεται· ἀνήρ ἀήρ αἰθήρ σπινθήρ. τὸ μέντοι ἐρήρ ὡς σύνθετον βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΡ ὀξύτονα φυλάττοντα τὸ Η κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν φυλάττει καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐν τῇ συνθέσει, οἶον· δετήρ ἀμαλλοδετήρ, στατήρ ὀβολοστατήρ. τὸ μέντοι ἀνήρ λιπάνηρ, δαήρ πολυδάήρ, πατήρ αἰνοπάτηρ ὡς μὴ φυλάττοντα τὸ Η βαρύνονται. καὶ τὸ πάνθηρ καὶ σατυρόφην ἀπὸ μονοσυλλάβων.

(21.) Τὰ εἰς ΕΙΡ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀσυνήθη

1 Τὰ...3 βαρύνεται: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 6.21.-4 Τὰ εἰς ΗΡ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀπλᾱ, μὴ ὄντα κύρια, μηδὲ ἔθνικα, ὀξύνονται, οἶον αἰθήρ, δαήρ, ἀήρ, ἀνήρ· μάχεται τὸ ἐρήρ· ἴσως δὲ τοῦ ἐρήρος ἐστὶν ἀποκοπή. **4** Τὰ...10

μονοσυλλάβων: cf. Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 401.24-6 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν συνθέσει διὰ τοῦ η κλινόμενα φυλάττει τὴν ὀξεϊαν, ἀμαλλοδετήρ ὀβολοστατήρ, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ε βαρύνεται, πολυδάήρ· τὸ πάνθηρ <πάνθηρος> ὡς μονοσύλλαβον.

11 Τὰ...31.4 Εἶρ: cf. St. Byz. β 82 Βέχειρ· ἔθνος Σκυθικόν, ὡς Σάπειρ, ἢ μετὰ τοῦ σ Σάσπειρ, Ἑλεάζειρ, ὀνόματα βαρβάρων, Λίγειρ ποταμὸς περὶ Γαλατίαν, χρυσοέθειρ παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ ἐν Ἰοβάκχοις, ὅπερ ἀποκέκοπται τοῦ χρυσοέθειρος, ἐκατόγχειρ τὸ σύνθετον; Theognost. *Can.* II 41.23-6 (= 225.1-4) Τὰ εἰς εἰρ λήγοντα, καὶ σπάνια καὶ ἀσυνήθη τῇ κοινῇ διαλέκτῳ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν σημειώσει οἶον, τὸ Βέχειρ ὄνομα ἔθνους· Σάπειρ ὁμοίως· Ἀλάζειρ ὄνομα κύριον· Λίγειρ ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Ἑλάτειρ ὁμοίως; Choerob. *in Theod.* 321.6-9 (Τὰ addend.) Εἰς εἰρ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου ἔχοντες μονοσύλλαβα ἐν μὲν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς τὸ χεῖρ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρσενικοῖς τὸ φθεῖρ καὶ τὸ Εἶρ (Εἶρ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα ποταμοῦ)· ὑπὲρ μίαν δὲ συλλαβὴν εὐρίσκομεν τὸ ἀντίχειρ καὶ τὸ Βέχειρ (ἐστὶ δὲ ἔθνος) καὶ τὸ Σάπειρ (ὁμοίως ἔθνος); *Ep. Ps.* 4.6-12 τὰ εἰς ΗΡ ἐπὶ παντὸς γένους διὰ τοῦ Η γράφεται, πλὴν τοῦ χεῖρ, φθεῖρ, Εἶρ (ὄνομα ποταμοῦ), Βέχειρ (ἔθνους ὄνομα), Σάφειρ, (ὄνομα ἔθνους Ποντικοῦ), ἔθειρ, Ἑλάτειρ (ποταμὸς Κελτικός), Λίχειρ, (ποταμὸς περὶ Πλαταίαν), εἰνάτειρ, Ἑλεάζειρ (βασιλεὺς Λιβύων), καὶ φῖρ καὶ Φθίρ, (υἱὸς Ἐνδυμίωνος) καὶ γράφεται διὰ τοῦ Ι; *De Orthogr.* 273.33-274.4 ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εἰς εἰρ μονοσύλλαβα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου

1 μηδὲ Β: μὴ δὲ ΜΟ **7** λιπάνηρ Lobeck *PGG* 215.24-6: διπάνηρ ΜΟ **9** σατυρόφην] σατηρόφην Ο

μέν, τὰ δὲ εὐρεθέντα βαρύνεται· Βέχειρ Σά-
πειρ Ἐλεάζειρ Λίγειρ Ἐλάτειρ ἑκατον-
τάχειρ ἀντίχειρ. ἔτι καὶ τὰ μονοσύλλαβα·
χείρ φθείρ Εἶρ.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΡ πάντα βαρύνονται· Νέστωρ
Ἐκτωρ Κάστωρ ἄχωρ (τὸ ἀποπιτύρισμα τῆς
κεφαλῆς). τὸ μέντοι ἰχώρ ὀξύνεται.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς ΑΣ.

γγραφόμενα τρία εἰσίν· τὸ φθείρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς φθορᾶς
τοῦ σώματος· καὶ τὸ Εἶρ, ὄνομα δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ τὸ χεῖρ
καὶ τὸ μὲν φθείρ ἀπὸ τοῦ φθείρω· τὸ δὲ Εἶρ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶρω τοῦ
συμπλέκω· τὸ δὲ χεῖρ, ἐπεὶ οἱ Αἰολεῖς ἦρ φασὶν τρέποντες
τὴν εἰ εἰς τὸ η· ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὸ Σαπείρ; *EM* 107.35-9 τὰ εἰς ΗΡ
ἐπὶ παντὸς γένους διὰ τοῦ η γράφεται· πλήν τοῦ χεῖρ, φθείρ,
Βέχειρ, Σάφειρ, ἔθειρ, εἰνάτειρ, Ἐλάτειρ, ποταμός· Λήχειρ,
ποταμός· Ἐλεάζειρ. Ἴρ, καὶ Φθίρ, καὶ Φίρ, ὀνόματα κύρια,
μόνον διὰ τοῦ ι.

5 Τὰ... 7 ὀξύνεται· cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.*
45.18-25 Τὰ εἰς ΩΡ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἐπὶ παντὸς
σχήματος καὶ γένους βαρύνονται, οἷον Ἐκτωρ, Νέστωρ,
μήστωρ, ἔλωρ, ὕδωρ, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Σεσημειῶται τὸ ἰχώρ ὀξύ,
ἐπεὶ τοῦτο μόνον διήλλαξε περὶ τὴν κλίσιν. Τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΩΡ
ἀρσενικὰ δισύλλαβα μὴ ἔχοντα τὸ Λ διὰ τοῦ Ο κλίνονται,
οἷον Νέστορος, Ἐκτορος. Τὸ τοίνυν ἰχώρ μὴ ὁμοίως τοῖς
ἄλλοις κλιθὲν ἐνήλλαξε καὶ περὶ τὸν τόνον. **6** ἄχωρ... 7
κεφαλῆς; cf. Hsch. α 8935 ἄχωρα· τὸν ἄχωρα. εἴρηται δὲ τὸ
πιτυρῶδες <τῆς> κεφαλῆς; α 8900 ἄχορα· τὰ πίτυρα; *Synag.*
(Σβ) α 2610.1-3 ἄχωρα· τὰ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖω
πίτυρα; Phot. α 3448 Ἀχορα· ἀρσενικῶς τὰ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ
τῷ γενεῖω πίτυρα; *Su.* α 4711 Ἀχώρ· τὸ πιτυρῶδες τῆς
κεφαλῆς; *EM* 182.18-9 Ἀχόρα· Ἀρσενικῶς, τὰ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
καὶ τῷ γενεῖω πίτυρα; 182.22-3 Ἀχώρ δὲ σημαίνει τὸ
πιτυρῶδες τῆς κεφαλῆς; Zonar. α 361.27-8 Ἀχώρ. τὸ ἐν τῇ
κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖω πιτυρῶδες.

1 Βέχειρ Schmidt: βλέχειρ MO Σάπειρ MO (cf. etiam Choerob.
in Theod. 321.9; *EM* 195.43, 708.16); Σάσπειρ St. Byz. β 82 et *EM*
195.44; Σάφειρ Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 4.8 et *EM* 107.37 **2** Ἐλεάζειρ
MO et St. Byz. β 82.1-2, Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 4.10-1, Theodos. Π.
γρ. 103.30, *EM* 107.38: Ἀλάζειρ Lobeck PGG 209.2-5 et
Schneidewin (1848), 384 ἑκατοντάχειρ] Ἐκατόγχειρ St. Byz. β
82 **3** ἀντίχειρ... 4 Εἶρ M^{sl.}: om. M^{it.} **6** ἀποπιτύρισμα... 7
κεφαλῆς MO; verbum ἀποπιτύρισμα in Psellum citatur (vide
Boissonade *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Psellus, p. 216, l. 297)

Τὰ εἰς ΑΣ πολυσύλλαβα ἐκτεταμένον ἔχοντα

1 Τὰ... 33.10 Α: cf. Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.14-24 Πάντα τὰ εἰς ας μακροκατάληκτα ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα ὧν ἡ κλίσις ἢ κατ' ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ς ἢ διὰ τοῦ ντ· Μητρᾶς Μητρᾶ, Ζηνᾶς Ζηνᾶ, Γλισᾶς Γλισᾶντος, πελεκᾶς πελεκᾶντος, ἀλλᾶς ἀλλᾶντος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον. Ἰωνικῶς παραλόγως <τὰ> διὰ τοῦ δ κεκλιμένα, ὧν τὸ α μακρόν· οἰβᾶς οἰβᾶδος, ιτᾶς ιτᾶδος. τὰ δὲ παρὰ παρακειμένου συντεθέντα, οἷον ἐστι τὸ χαλκοκράς, νεοκράς, οὐκ ἀντίκειται ὀξυνόμενα· διὰ γὰρ μόνου τοῦ τ κλίνεται. σεσημεῖται τὸ ἰμάς καὶ ἀνδριάς ὀξυνθέντα· ἰμάντος γὰρ καὶ ἀνδριάντος. ἄπερ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς περισπᾶται; Choerob. in Theod. 385.14-6: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰς ας περισπωμένων ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν οὔσαι (scil. αἱ γενικαὶ) ἐκτεταμένον ἔχουσι τὸ α, τουτέστι φύσει μακρόν, οἷον ἀλλᾶς ἀλλᾶντος, πελεκᾶς πελεκᾶντος; EM 470*.233-44 Τὰ (α addidi: τ editio) εἰς ΑΣ ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν (μακρόν) ἔχοντα τὸ α, ἢ βαρύνονται, ὡς Αἴας Θόας, ἢ περισπῶνται (περισπῶντα editio) ὡς βορᾶς ἀλλᾶς (εἶδος δὲ ἐστι πλακοῦντος, (ἐξ οὗ) καὶ ἀλλαντοπώλης,) καὶ πελεκᾶς· τὸ δὲ ἰμάς καὶ ἀνδριάς, ὡς διαλλάξαντα κατὰ τὸν χρόνον πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα, ἡγουν τοῦ ἀρκᾶς (scribendum ἀρκάς), διήλλακται καὶ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα· (τὴν κλίσιν·) ἐπὶ μέντοι τῆς γενικῆς ἰμάντος οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς εὐθείας ἀκολουθοῦντες προπαροξύνουσι τὴν γενικὴν· ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια τοῦτο οὐ παρέλαβεν, διὰ τὸ κ^α (τὸν κανόνα) πάντα διὰ τοῦ NT κ^λ (κλινόμενα). Ἐπάνω θέσει μακρᾶς περισπωμένη οὐ τίθεται; 101.42-4 Ἀνδριάς: Ζητεῖται, εἰ πάντα τὰ εἰς ΑΣ μακρόν καταλήγοντα, ἢ βαρύνονται, ἢ περισπῶνται. Τὸ δὲ ἀνδριάς καὶ ἰμάς σεσημεῖονται. Τὰ... 33.6 ὀξυνόμενα: cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 939.20-5 τὰ εἰς ας λήγοντα καθαρόν, ἐκτεταμένον ἔχοντα τὸ α, εἰ ἔχοι πρὸ τέλους φωνήεν ἢ φωνήεντα, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, [...] σημειῶδες ἄρα τὸ ἀνδριάς ὀξυνόμενον. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι Ἡλιόδωρος ἐβούλετο αὐτὸ περισπᾶν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἰμάς; Sophr. Char. Theodos. 381.5-7 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πᾶν ὄνομα εἰς ας βαρύτονον μακροκατάληκτόν ἐστι, πλὴν τοῦ μέγας καὶ λᾶας· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὰ ὀξύτονα βραχυκατάληκτα, πλὴν τοῦ ἰμάς καὶ ἀνδριάς. Τὰ... 33.2 Θόας: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 122.5-6 Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι καθόλου τὰ εἰς ας ὀνόματα βαρύτερα ἀρσενικὰ μακρόν ἔχουσι τὸ α, οἷον Θόας Δρύας Αἴας Τὰ... 33.1 περισπᾶται: cf. Et. Gud. ι 277.50-2 τὰ εἰς ας ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν μακρόν ἔχοντα τὸ α, ἢ βαρύνεται, ἢ περισπᾶται.

τὸ Α βαρύνεται ἢ περισπᾶται. καὶ βαρύνεται μὲν Αἶας Θόας· περισπᾶται δὲ ἀλλᾶς πελεκᾶς. οὐδέποτε δὲ ὀξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ὥσιν ἀπὸ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου σύνθετα, ὅθεν τὸ ἰμάς καὶ ἀνδριάς ὡς ἐκτεταμένον ἔχοντα τὸ ΑΣ σημειούμεθα ὀξυνόμενα, καὶ τὸ χαλκοκράς καὶ γαλακτοκράς ὡς ἀπὸ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου. βαρύνεται δὲ τὰ εἰς ΑΣ καθαρὸν· Ἀρχίας Λοξίας Γοργίας. τὸ μέντοι τριάς θηλυκὸν καὶ συστελλόμενον ἔχει τὸ Α.

3 οὐδέποτε...7 παρακειμένου: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 324.28-32 Δεῖ προσθεῖναι ἐν τῷ κανόνι «χωρὶς τῶν ἀπὸ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου συντεθέντων»· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ καὶ μακρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ α καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ τος κλίνονται, οἷον κέκραμαι χαλκοκράς χαλκοκρᾶτος (ὁ χαλκῷ κεκραμένος), γαλακτοκράς γαλακτοκρᾶτος (ὁ γάλακτι κεκραμένος) οὐδέποτε...6 ὀξυνόμενα: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 125.28-30 ὑπεσταλμένου τοῦ ἀνδριάς ἀνδριάντος καὶ ἰμάς ἰμάντος, ἅτινα καὶ παραλόγως ὀξύνονται, ὥς φησιν Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ Καθόλου; 325.5-11 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι καλῶς πρόσκειται ἐν τῷ κανόνι «θηλυκά», οἷον «τὰ εἰς ας λήγοντα θηλυκὰ καὶ ὀξύνονται καὶ συνεσταλμένον ἔχουσι τὸ α καὶ διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνονται», διὰ τὸ ἀνδριάς ἀνδριάντος καὶ ἰμάς ἰμάντος· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ μακρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ α καὶ διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνονται ὀξύτονα ὄντα, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ θηλυκὰ ἀλλ' ἀρσενικά, ὁ ἰμάς γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀνδριάς· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ παραλόγως ὀξύνονται, ὡς δείκνυσιν ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ Καθόλου **6** καὶ¹...8 καθαρὸν: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 324.28-32 Δεῖ προσθεῖναι ἐν τῷ κανόνι «χωρὶς τῶν ἀπὸ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου συντεθέντων»· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ καὶ μακρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ α καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ τος κλίνονται, οἷον κέκραμαι χαλκοκράς χαλκοκρᾶτος (ὁ χαλκῷ κεκραμένος), γαλακτοκράς γαλακτοκρᾶτος (ὁ γάλακτι κεκραμένος); *Et. Sym.* I 12.19-22 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ας λήγοντα ὀξύτονα σύνθετα ἀπὸ ῥημάτων γινόμενα μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττοντα τοῦ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ τος κλίνονται, εἴτε εἰς ὡς ὥσιν, εἴτε εἰς ης, εἴτε εἰς ας, οἷον κέκραται χαλκοκράς χαλκοκρᾶτος **9** τὸ...10 Α: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 101.27-8 Τὰ εἰς ΑΣ ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ συστέλλει τὸ Α, οἷον λαμπάς, τριάς, μυριάς.

2 ἀλλᾶς Lentz 525.26, cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 385.14-6, *EM* 470*.233-7: ἀρκᾶς *MO*; Ἀργᾶς *Meineke FCG* III 389; *Μαρκικᾶς Lobeck PGG* 222, n. 3

Τὰ εἰς ΒΑΣ βαρύνονται· βίβας Φόρβας Ἀββας (ποταμός). τὸ δὲ ἀκριβᾶς περισπᾶται.

(22.) Τὰ εἰς ΓΑΣ πάντα βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ σκώμματος εἴη, ὥσπερ ἔχει τὸ φαγᾶς· γίγας μέγας. τὸ μέντοι φυγᾶς ὀξύνεται οὐκ ἔχον τὸ Α 5 ἐκτεταμένον. σεσημειώται τὸ ἀτταγᾶς περισπώμενον, ὅπερ καὶ ἀτταγῆν λέγεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΑΣ βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ΔΟΣ κλίνοιο ἢ συναληλιμμένα εἴη ἢ ὑποκοριστικά· Ἰδας Βρασίδας. τὸ μέντοι Θευδᾶς περισπᾶται, ὡς 10 Μητρᾶς Ζηνᾶς Πυθᾶς· τὸ δὲ Κερκιδᾶς ἀπὸ συναλοιφῆς.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΣ ἐκτεταμένον ἔχοντά τι πρὸ τοῦ α τῶν διπλῶν βαρύνονται· Βύζας Ἑλίξας ἀλείψας. τὸ μέντοι Ὑψᾶς περισπᾶται, καὶ τὸ ἐξᾶς 15 ἐπὶ ποσότητος ὄν.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΑΣ δι' ἐνὸς Λ βαρύνονται, εἰ μὴ ἐκ

8 Τὰ ... 12 συναλοιφῆς: cf. Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.14-8 (27) Πάντα τὰ εἰς ας μακροκατάληκτα ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα ὦν ἢ κλίσις ἢ κατ' ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ς ἢ διὰ τοῦ ντ· Μητρᾶς Μητρᾶ, Ζηνᾶς Ζηνᾶ, Γλισᾶς Γλισᾶντος, πελεκᾶς πελεκᾶντος, ἀλλᾶς ἀλλᾶντος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον.

1 βίβας] alii alia: Ἰβας Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 33.27; Ἀβίβας Zonar. α 6.3; vide etiam adnotationem de Βίβας **2** Ἀββας] hoc verbum numquam tamquam nomen fluminis attestatur; multa nomina fluminum similia voci Ἀββας sunt: Ἀβας St. Byz. α 1.2-4 et Plutarch. *Pomp.* 35.2.4, Ἀλβας St. Byz. α 195.3, Σάμβας Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 33.12-3, Ῥήβας St. Byz. 544.10, Ἀβίβας Zonar. α 6.3 ἀκριβᾶς] Βοιβᾶς Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.19 **7** ἀτταγῆν M^{p.c.}O: ἀτταγῆν M^{a.c.} **8** διὰ ... ΔΟΣ] cf. Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 42.28-30; Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.18-9 **9** συναληλιμμένα] συναλιμμένα MO ὑποκοριστικά] ὑποκορουστικά (sic) O **10** ὡς Schmidt 22.8: ὡς ὑποκοριστικόν (ὑποκορουστικόν (sic) O). ταῦτα γὰρ περισπᾶται MO **11** Κερκιδᾶς O^{p.c.}: κερδᾶς O^{a.c.}, (κι s.l. ut fiat κερκιδᾶς) **13** τι ... 14 τῶν scripsi; possis etiam πρὸ τοῦ α τι τῶν vel πρὸ τοῦ α ἐν τι τῶν vel tamquam Lentz 54.12-3 scribere πρὸ τοῦ α ἐν τῶν: ἔχοντα τι πρὸ τῶν MO **14** ἀλείψας haesitans retinui; Ἀλψας Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 41.22-3; Ἀψας Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 35.18; fortasse Λάμψας

συναλοιφῆς εἴη· Γέλας Ὑλας μέλας. τὸ μέν-
τοι ἰλᾶς περισπᾶται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰλάεις.

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΛΛ <.....> βαρύνεται· κύλλας
Πάλλας Βάλλας χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ σκώμματος
εἴη, ἢ ἔχοι τι ἐντελέστερον. τὸ μέντοι πελλᾶς (ὁ
γέρων) περισπᾶται ἐπὶ σκώμματος ὄν, καὶ τὸ
ἀλλᾶς καὶ βιλλᾶς.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΑΣ βαρύνεται· Τόλμας ἀδάμας, εἰ
(23.) μὴ κατὰ τροπὴν εἴη Δωρικὴν, ὥς τὸ Ἑρμᾶς
καὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμᾶς ὑποκοριστικόν. σεσημείωται τὸ
ίμάς.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΑΣ ὁμοίως, εἰ μὴ εἴη ὑποκοριστικά, ἢ
ἐπὶ σκώμματος· ἀρτύνας Ξένας. Μηνᾶς
μέντοι καὶ Ζηνᾶς ὑποκοριστικά. τὸ δὲ δακνᾶς
περισπᾶται, ὅτι ἐπὶ σκώμματος τάσσεται.

Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΡΑΣ μὴ ὄντα ὑποκοριστικά, ἢ συνα-
ληλιμμένα, ἢ νόμισμα δηλοῦντα· Θήρας Ἀθύ-
ρας Πυθαγόρας. τὸ μέντοι Μητρᾶς Ἡρᾶς
τετρᾶς βορρᾶς περισπᾶται. τὸ δὲ τετρᾶς
τετράδος συστέλλεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΣ σύνθετα πάντα βαρύνεται· παιδο-
πίπας εὐφάρετρας. Τὸ μέντοι χαλκοκράς
ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου συντε-

2 ἰλᾶς Schmidt: ἰλᾶς spiritu incerto MO ἰλάεις Schmidt: ἰλέας
MO 3 <> βαρύνεται] lacunam statuit Schmidt (ἐκτείν
(βαρύν)εται) 22.16 (app. crit.); ἐκτεινόμενον ἔχοντα το α
βαρύνεται Lentz 55.15; ἐκτείνεται M: ἐκτείνονται O
κύλλας ... 4 Βάλλας] Κύλλας Βάλλας Πάλλας Choerob. *Dict.*
Theod. can. I 36.20-1, sed Ἀμύλλας 36.25 κύλλας MO; Μύλλας
ut nomen proprium citatur in TGL V 1265 A; fortasse Κίλλας
coll. Eust. II. I 55.6 5 ἔχοι] ἔχον O τι] τί M μέντοι] μέντο (sic)
O πελλᾶς] παλλᾶς O 8 ἀδάμας] ἀδώμας O 13 ἀρτύνας
Lobeck PS GP 247, n. 22: ἐρπύνας MO 14 μέντοι] δὲ μέντοι O
δακνᾶς Schmidt e Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 43.2: δεκᾶς MO,
Lobeck PS GP 247, n. 22 15 ἐπὶ ... τάσσεται Lobeck PS GP 247,
n. 22: ἐπιτάσσεται MO 16 συναληλιμμένα] συναλιλειμμένα
MO 22 χαλκοκράς] χαρκοκράς (sic) O

θέν. τὸ δὲ φιλοπελλᾶς καὶ φιλοβορρᾶς τὸν τῶν ἀπλῶν ἐφύλαξε τόνον.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΣ συνεσταλμένον ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ΔΟΣ κλίνεται ὁ φυγάς καὶ ἡ **(24.)** φυγάς, ὁ Ἀρκάς καὶ ἡ Ἀρκάς, 5
δυάς τριάς. τὸ μέντοι μέγας καὶ λαᾶς ὡς συστέλλοντα <τὸ α> βαρύνονται.

Πᾶν οὐδέτερον εἰς ΑΣ βαρύνεται γέρας γῆρας δέπας δέμας σέβας.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς ΗΣ ληγόντων 10
Βιβλίον γ'

Πᾶν ὄνομα δισύλλαβον ἀπλοῦν εἰς ΗΣ καθαρεῦον ἀσυνάλειπτον βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι πρὸ τέλους μόνον τὸ Υ· Ναίης Δάης Κλεύης Βρύης. τὸ δὲ Υῆς περισπᾶται ἔχον τὸ Υ, ὥσπερ 15
καὶ τὸ Θυῆς Κυῆς ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα. τὰ δὲ περιττοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα βαρύνονται λύης λύνεντος, ἀπὸ τοῦ λυήεις. καὶ τὸ ζαῆς ὡς σύνθετον ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΒΗΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα φωνή- 20

8 Πᾶν...**9** σέβας: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 80.14-8 (= 448) Τὰ εἰς ας οὐδέτερα δισύλλαβα, τὸ ε παραλήγεται οἷον, δέπας· κέρας· δέμας· πέρας· τέρας· βρέτας· λέπας· κρέας· τοῦτο μονήρες εἰς ας καθαρὸν τὸ ε παραληγόμενον· σκέπας· κνέφας· σέβας· γέρας· σέλας· ψέφας· σεσημείωται τὸ γῆρας διὰ τοῦ η γραφόμενον.

1 φιλοπελλᾶς...φιλοβορρᾶς] φιλαπελλᾶς (i. q. φιλαπελλῆς Ps.-Arcad. p. 29.21-2) καὶ φοινικοβορρᾶς Lobeck *PGSE*¹ 168, n. 30 τὸν M^{p.c.}O: τὴν M^{a.c.} **2** ἐφύλαξε O: ἐφύλαξαν M **6** λαᾶς Schmidt: λάας MO ὡς...**7** βαρύνονται] fortasse excidit ἀλλὰ (vel καὶ) μὴ διὰ τοῦ dos κλινόμενα vel aliquid simile; ἐπειδὴ οὐ διὰ τοῦ dos κλίνονται post βαρύνονται add. Lentz 59.11 **7** <τὸ α> add. Schmidt 24.2 (app. crit.) **8** οὐδέτερον] οὐδε^{τρον} M **11** γ'] τρίτον O **14** post τὸ Υ] lacunam statuit Schmidt 24.8 (app. crit.): sensus esset καὶ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνοιτο ἢ σύνθετα εἶη; fortasse recte Κλεύης TGL IV, 1624 D, s. v. Κλεύας; cf. Choerob. in Theod. 123.17, Et. Gud. κ 326.30, EM 498.33: κλέης MO **17** βαρύνονται...**19** ὀξύνεται] fallitur Lobeck *PGG* 158.20-4 de mutatione accentuum praecepti tonici post βαρύνονται fortasse aliquid excipit **18** λύης λύνεντος] <τὸ δὲ> λυῆς λυῆντος vel δυῆς δυῆντος Schmidt 24.11-2 (app. crit.)

εντι βαρύνεται λέβης Κέβης Χάβης Θίβης.
τὸ δὲ κιβῆς περισπᾶται ἀπὸ τοῦ κιβέας.

Τὰ εἰς ΓΗΣ δισύλλαβα βαρύνονται, χωρὶς εἰ
μή τι ἐκ συνθέτου καταλελειμμένον εἴη, ἢ παρῶ-
νυμον ἐπιθετικόν. τότε γὰρ περισπᾶται, ὅτε συνα-
λήλιπται, ἢ βραχεῖα παραλήγοι καὶ ἰσοσυλλάβως
κλίνοιτο. καὶ τὰ μὲν **(25.)** βαρύνοντα· Μέγης Γύ-
γης Γάγγης Μόργης. τὸ μέντοι ἀργῆς ἐπι-
θετικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἀγῆς ἀπὸ συνθέτου τοῦ
ἀαγῆς (ὁ μὴ κλώμενος). τὸ δὲ μογῆς καὶ δρο-
γῆς ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα περισπᾶται καὶ τὸ
φθογγῆς ἐκ τοῦ φθογγῆς καὶ τὸ Αὐγῆς ἐκ
τοῦ Αὐγέας.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΗΣ δισύλλαβα μὴ διὰ τοῦ ΟΥΣ κλινό-
μενα βαρύνονται· Πύδης ἄδης Γράδης
Μένδης. τὸ μέντοι ψευδῆς καὶ φραδῆς
ἐπιθετικά. καὶ τὸ Ποδῆς καὶ ῥοδῆς
περιεσπᾶσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Ο παραλήγει.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ ἀσυνάλειπτα βαρύνονται· Ἄνθης
Σκύθης Σεύθης Λάχης Πάχης. τὸ μέντοι

14 Τὰ ... **16** Μένδης: cf. *EM* 818.18-9 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΔΗΣ δισύλλαβα
μὴ κλινόμενα εἰς ΟΥΣ βαρύνεται οἶον, μένδης, γράδης,
ἄδης.

1 λέβης...Χάβης] (Χάβης Schmidt 24.14 e sch. Ar. V. 234a):
(κάβης expunctum ante λέβης M) λέβης, κέβης, κάβης MO;
Λάβης pro λέβης dubitanter Schmidt 24.14 (app. crit.) Θίβης
St. Byz. θ 45.4; θίβης Unger (1839), 73.32-6; θήβης MO **4** τι ἐκ
om. O^{a.c.} ἐκ... καταλελειμμένον] ἐκ συνθέσεως τοῦ κατα-
λελειμμένου MO **5** συναλήλιπται Schmidt 24.18:
συναλέλειπται MO **6** βραχεῖα O: βραχεῖα M **8** Γάγγης L.
Dindorf *TGL* VII 14A-B et Lobeck *PGSE*² 51, n. 3; Τάγης vel
Δράγης etiam Lobeck *PGSE*² 51, n. 3; σάγης MO **9** ἀγῆς
MO^{p.c.}: ἀργῆς O^{a.c.} ἀπὸ συνθέτου Lentz 61.24: σύνθετον ἀπὸ
MO; ἀπὸ συνθέτου καταλελειμμένον Lentz 61.24 τοῦ... **10**
ἀαγῆς Lentz 61.24: τῆς γῆς MO; τῆς ἀγῆς Schmidt 25.3; vide
etiam Lobeck *PGSE*² 51.12-5; τοῦ εὐαγῆς ἢ παναγῆς Bekker *AG*
I 337.13-4 **11** κλινόμενα] ἢ τὸ ο παραληγόμενα add. Lentz
61.28-9 **15** ἄδης C: ἔδης MO **16** Μένδης Lentz 62.4 e St. Byz.
444.17-9 et *EM* 818.18-9: μέδης MO **20** τὸ ... 38.1 ὀξύνεται]
κριτῆς ὀξύτονον, καὶ τὸ ψαλτῆς δὲ Lehrs (1857), 142, n. 16

κριτής <.....> καὶ ψαλτῆς ἄττικῶς ὀξύνεται· καὶ τὸ ληιστῆς καὶ ληστής. τὸ δὲ πότης ἄρσενικόν, τὸ δε ποτῆς θηλυκόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ δισύλλαβα μὴ ὄντα τοπικὰ ἢ συναλ-
ληλιμμένα βαρύνονται ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Η Σ ἢ Ξ·
Ξέρξης Χρύσης κάσης. τὸ μέντοι κασῆς (τὸ
πιλωτὸν ἱμάτιον) περισπᾶται. τὸ δὲ Κισσῆς ὀξύν-
νεται ὡς ἐπίθετον.

5

1 καὶ¹...2 ληστής: cf. Choerob. in *Theod.* 187.15-20 vide adnotationem de 38.1 <.....> in apparatu critico ψαλτῆς... ὀξύνεται: cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 946.5-6 τὸ δὲ ψαλτῆς Ἀττικόν ἐστὶν ὀξυνόμενον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Απολλόδωρος; sch. S. *El.* 70 παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ὀξύνεται τό τε καθαρτῆς καὶ ἀμυντῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βοηθοῦ, φαιδρυντῆς, ποικιλτῆς, ψαλτῆς, πραῦντῆς; Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διαφ. σημαίν. α ψ.2.2, c ψ 5.1, d ψ 2.1, e ψ 2.2; Su. ψ 16.4-6 παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ὀξύνονται καθαρτῆς, ἀμυντῆς, ἐπὶ τοῦ βοηθοῦ, φαιδρυντῆς, ποικιλτῆς, ψαλτῆς, πραῦντῆς.

1 <> fortasse debemus addere παραλόγως coll. Choerob. in *Theod.* 187.12-20 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κριτῆς διὰ τοῦτο βαρύνεται ἐν τῇ συνθέσει, οἷον δικαιοκρίτης ὄνειροκρίτης, ἐπεὶ δὴ παράλογός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι ἢ ὀξεῖα τάσις, ὥφειλε γὰρ βαρύνεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι τὰ γὰρ εἰς τῆς λήγοντα ἄρσενικὰ φύσει δισύλλαβα βαρύνονται, οἷον δότης πλύτης θύτης χάρτης Κράτης· διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψάλτης ἀναλογώτερόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον βαρυνόμενον τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὀξυνομένου· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ψαλτῆς λέγουσιν ἐν ὀξεῖα τάσει· πρόσκειται «φύσει δισύλλαβα» διὰ τὸ ληστής ὀξυνόμενον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τρισυλλάβου τοῦ ληϊστής ἐγένετο; 187.23-4 ἐπεὶ δὴ οὖν τὸ κριτῆς παραλόγως ὀξύνεται, τούτου χάριν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τὸ κεχρεωσθημένον ἀναδέχεται; *Et. Gen.* λ 95.8-10 εἰ δέ τις εἴποι, ὅτι παραλόγως ὀξύνεται ὡς τὸ κριτῆς, λέγομεν, ὅτι ὥφειλεν καὶ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει βαρύνεσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ κριτῆς; *EM* 435.51-3 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ κριτῆς παραλόγως ὀξύνεται, τούτου χάριν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόνον ἀναδέχεται. καὶ ψαλτῆς] καὶ ψευδῆς ψαλτῆς **Ο** ὀξύνεται *M^{p.c}O*: παροξύνεται *M^{a.c}*. **2** τό²...ἄρσενικόν *Lentz* 63.1-2: τὸ δὲ (δὲ *M^{s.l.}*: om. *M^{i.l.}O*) δεσπότης ἄρσενικόν *MO* **3** τὸ...θηλυκόν *Lentz* 63.2: δεσποτὶς τὸ *MO* **4** συναλληλιμμένα *Schmidt* 25.16-7: συναλιλειμμένα *MO* **5** *H* om. *O^{i.l.}*. **7** πιλωτὸν *Schmidt* 25.18: πηλώτιον *MO* Κισσῆς] κισσῆς *MO*

Τὰ εἰς ΝΗΣ καὶ ΡΗΣ δισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν σύμφωνον βαρύνεται· εἰ δέ τι περισπασθῇ, τοῦτο κατὰ συναλοιφὴν ἐγένετο, ἢ ἱαμβικόν ἐστι **(26.)** καὶ ἰσοσύλλαβον. ὅσα δὲ ὀξύνε- 5
ται, εἰς ΟΥΣ ἔχει τὴν γενικὴν ἢ εἰς ΤΟΣ. τὰ βαρύ-
τονα· πένης πλάνης Μύνης χλούνης
Φάνης. τὸ μέντοι σθενῆς τεχνῆς λαχνῆς
ζαχρῆς ἀπὸ συναλοιφῆς γίνονται. καὶ τὸ Φα-
νῆς ἱαμβικόν ἰσοσύλλαβον.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Η ἀμε- 10
τάβολον μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου ἑτέρου κύρια
ὄντα ἢ προσηγορικὰ βαρύνεται· Μέσθλης μᾶσ-
θλης Μάγνης Πίγρης Ὀπλης Πέτρης
(λιμήν τις). εἰ δέ τι περισπασθῇ, κατὰ πάθος γέ- 15
γονε. τὸ μέντοι γυμνῆς ἀβλῆς προβλῆς
ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ ἐπιθετικὰ δισύλλαβα εἰς ΟΥΣ τὴν 20
γενικὴν ποιοῦντα καὶ μὴ παθόντα συγκοπὴν
ὀξύνεται· ψευδῆς πρηνῆς ζαῆς ἀλῆς. τὸ
πλήρης βαρύνεται (πληρῆς γάρ), ὡς ξιφή- 20
ρης ὀλιγῆρης. καὶ τὸ Ἄρης κύριον.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια ἔχοντα Υ ἐν τῇ 25
παραληγοῦσῃ περισπᾶται· Μυῆς Θυῆς Κυῆς.
βαρύνεται δὲ τὸ Βρύης Κύης περιττοσύλλαβα.
γύης δὲ οὐ κύριον.

19 τὸ...21 ὀλιγῆρης: cf. Ps-Arc. 135.3-6 Τὰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ
ΗΡΗΣ ἔχει προπερισπώμενα ὀλιγῆρης ὀλιγῆρες,
θυμῆρες θυμῆρες (τὸ δὲ θυμαρές ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμαρῆς
γένεον), ξιφῆρης ξιφῆρες, πλήρης πλήρες.

13 Πίγρης Schmidt 26.9: πήγρης MO; ex M πνίγρης dedit
Galland (1886), 296 **14** δέ τι scripsi: τι δὲ MO κατὰ] κ^τ M
16 ὀξύνεται] ὀξύνονται O **19** ἀλῆς] ἀλῆς MO **21** ὀλιγῆρης
Schmidt 26.15 e Hdn. II. Pros. 3.316: λιγῆρης MO; διχῆρης
etiam Schmidt 26.15 (app. crit.) **22** Τὰ] ἄ (τ om. in spatio
vacuo) O τῇ...23 παραληγοῦσῃ] τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ M
23 Κυῆς] Κύης Nonn. D. XXXII 236 (Κώης Hdt. IV 97)
25 κύριον] κύ^ο M

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ κύρια ἀπὸ ἐντελεστέρου περισπᾶται· Ἑρμῆς Θαλῆς Πυλῆς Ποδῆς.

Τὰ παρὰ τὸ κλέος ἐπίθετα μὲν ὄντα ὁξύνεται· εὐκλεῆς ἀκλεῆς· κύρια δὲ ὄντα ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐντελείᾳ **(27.)** βαρύνεται, ἐν δὲ τῇ συναιρέσει περι- 5
σπᾶται· Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλῆς. καὶ τὰ εἰς ΕΑΣ· Ἀρτεμέας Ἀρτεμῆς.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΗΕΙΣ περισπῶνται τιμῆς τεχνῆς δαφνῆς.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ πατρωνυμικὰ ἢ ὡς πατρωνυμικὰ 10
βαρύνονται· Πηλείδης Ἀτρεΐδης Κρονίδης Εὐριπίδης Θουκυδίδης.

1 Τὰ...9 δαφνῆς: cf. Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.24-32 (28) Πάντα τὰ εἰς ης ἐπὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἔχοντα τὸν τόνον, εἰ παρὰ τὸ κλέος εἴη συντεθέντα, περισπᾶται, οἷον Ἡρακλῆς, Σοφοκλῆς. καὶ ὅσα εἰς ου ἔχει τὴν γενικὴν χωρὶς τοῦ σ· Ἑρμῆς Ἑρμοῦ, Θαλῆς Θαλοῦ, Σωσῆς Σωσοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμέας, Θαλέας, Σωσέας πάλιν συνηρημένα. καὶ ὅσα διὰ τοῦ ντ κλίνεται τιμῆς τιμῆντος, φθογγῆς φθογγῆντος, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ συνηρηται ἐκ τοῦ τιμῆεις, φθογγῆεις. τὰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ὁξύνεται· ψευδῆς, σαφῆς, ἀλη-
θῆς, καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

3 Τὰ...6 Ἡρακλῆς: cf. Sophr. Char. Theodos. 385.25-7 τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ κλέος ἐντελῇ μὲν ὄντα βαρύνεται, Ἡρακλῆς, συναιρεθέντα δὲ περισπᾶται, Δημοκλῆς, Ἀγαθοκλῆς· ἐπίθετα δὲ ὄντα ὁξύνεται

4 κύρια...6 Ἡρακλῆς: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 185.3-7 τὰ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ κλέος σύνθετα κύρια διὰ τοῦτο συναιροῦνται κατὰ τὴν εὐθειαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἐντελείᾳ βαρύνονται, οἷον Ἡρακλῆς Σοφοκλῆς Περικλῆς, καὶ λοιπὸν συναιρούμενα περισπῶνται, οἷον Ἡρακλῆς Σοφοκλῆς Περικλῆς·

10 Τὰ...12 Θουκυδίδης: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 156.5-10 καθόλου γὰρ τὰ εἰς δης πατρωνυμικὰ ἢ τύπου πατρωνυμικοῦ ὄντα εἰς τὴν ου δίφθογγον ἔχουσι τὴν γενικὴν, πατρωνυμικὰ μὲν, οἷον Ἀτρεΐδης Ἀτρεΐδου, Αἰακίδης Αἰακίδου, Πηλείδης Πηλείδου, Πριαμίδης Πριαμίδου, Λαερτιάδης Λαερτιάδου, τύπου δὲ πατρωνυμικοῦ, οἷον Εὐριπίδης Εὐριπίδου, Θουκυδίδης Θουκυδίδου; Ep. Hom. 1,d1.7-9 Πηλείδης: τὰ εἰς δης πατρωνυμικὰ ἢ ὡς πατρωνυμικὰ βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, ὧν καὶ ἡ γενικὴ ἀπρόσληπτος τοῦ σ, Κρονίδης, Πηλείδης, Κλυτίδης, Ἀτρεΐδης. Ἡρωδιανός

4 τῇ...5 ἐντελείᾳ Ο: τῇ ἐντελείᾳ Μ **6** καὶ] ὡς proposuit Schmidt 27.2 (app. crit.) εἰς] ἐκ τοῦ dubitanter Schmidt

Ἦτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΔΗΣ· εὐώδης πετρώδης
δυσώδης.

Ἦτι τὰ πολυσύλλαβα παρώνυμα· εὐπατρί-
δης ἐπταπόδης. τὸ δὲ ἐθελοντῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἐθέλοντος, καὶ ἐκοντῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκόντος γενικῆς 5
μετοχῆς.

Ἦτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΛΗΣ καὶ ΟΝΗΣ· Ὀζόλης
Μηριόνης. τὸ μέντοι ἀκλινῆς ἐπίθετον καὶ εἰς
ΟΥΣ ἔχον τὴν γενικὴν.

Ἦτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΝΗΣ κύρια· Ἀριστοφάνης 10
Θεοφάνης. τὸ δὲ ἐπίθετον θεοφανῆς ὀξύνε-
ται. καὶ τὰ εἰς ΗΣ Περσικὰ πάντα· Ἀρταφέρνης.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΗΣ πολυσύλλαβα ὀξύνεται τευχη-
στῆς ὀρχηστῆς ἀλφηστῆς

Ἦτι τὰ εἰς ΑΡΗΣ, εἰ μὴ ἐπίθετα εἴη· Κυαξά- 15
ρης Παντάρης Σωχάρης.

Ἦτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΡΗΣ· χαλκήρης χρυσή-
ρης θυμήρης φρενήρης τριήρης.

(28.) Ἦτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΡΗΣ· Διώρης Λυκώ- 20
ρης, ὃ Καλλίμαχος ὀξύνει.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΗΣ ἀπλᾶ ἀρσενικὰ βραχεῖα παραλη-

1 Ἦτι...**2** δυσώδης: cf. Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 197.7-9 Δυσώδης:
διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφεται καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὠδης·
οἶον, εὐώδης· πετρώδης· δυσώδης· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. **4** τὸ...**6**
μετοχῆς: cf. sch. S. *El.* 70 τὸ δὲ ἐκοντῆς καὶ ἐθελοντῆς
μετοχικά; *Su.* ψ 16.4 τὸ δὲ ἐκοντῆς καὶ ἐθελοντῆς μετοχικά;
EM 436.4 τὸ δὲ ἐκοντῆς, ἐθελοντῆς, μετοχικά. **21** Τὰ...
42.2 ὀξύνεται: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.ii 202.7-9 ὅθεν καὶ
τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ῥηματικὸν τὸ εὐρετῆς διὰ τοῦ [[ε ἐστίν]], ὅπερ
καὶ κατὰ τὸν τόνον ἡμάρτηται ὀξυνόμενον; *EM* 436.8-12 Τὰ
γὰρ εἰς ΤΗΣ λήγοντα ἀρσενικά, καθαρὸν ἔχοντα τὸ τ,

1 Ἦτι M: τι (ε om. in spatio vacuo) O **2** δυσώδης M^{p.c.}:
εὐσώδης M^{a.c.} **3** Ἦτι] τι (ε om. in spatio vacuo) O **7** Ὀζόλης
O: Ὀζόλης spiritu incerto M **8** ἀκλινῆς MO^{p.c.}: ἀκοινῆς O^{a.c.};
ἀολλῆς Götting; fortasse νεηκονῆς **11** θεοφανῆς BC: τὸ
θεοφανῆς add. M^{s.l.} O **12** Ἀρταφέρνης Lentz 70.17:
ἀρτιφέρνης M: ἀρτιφέρνης O; Ἰνταφέρνης Schmidt 27.18
13 τευχιστῆς...**14** ὀρχηστῆς Schmidt: τευχιστῆς ... ὀρχιστῆς
MO **15** Ἦτι... ΑΡΗΣ] βαρύνεται excidisse statuit Schmidt
27.21 **21** ἀπλᾶ ἀρσενικά (ἀπλᾶ add. M^{s.l.}) M: ἀρσενικά ἀπλᾶ
O βραχεῖα] βραχεῖα M

γόμενα βαρύνεται οἰκέτης ὀφειλέτης ἐργάτης. τὸ εὐρετής δὲ ὀξύνεται, καὶ τὸ ἀθλητής μαθητής ποιητής, ὅτι ἔχουσι τὴν παραλήγουσαν μακράν. τὸ δὲ προπετής ἀκρατής τριετής σύνθετα.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΟΙΤΗΣ ἰσοσύλλαβα βαρύνεται Δαμοίτης Μενοίτης Θυμοίτης.

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΤΗΣ τὸ Α μακρὸν ἔχοντα, μὴ ὄντα ῥηματικά· Τεγεάτης Γενεάτης Σπαρτιάτης Ἑλεάτης. Τὸ δὲ θεατής καὶ

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Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΙΤΗΣ τοῦ Ι μακροῦ ὄντος καὶ ΕΙΤΗΣ· πολίτης τεμενίτης εὐρείτης βαθυρρείτης, καὶ ὅσα παρώνυμα τὸ Υ μακρὸν ἔχοντα· πρεσβύτης Ἀρχύτης Πιδύτης. τὸ μέντοι

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βραχεία παραληγόμενα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, βαρύνεται καὶ ἀπλᾶ ὄντα· οἶον, Ξιβάτης, ἐρέτης, ἐργάτης. Σεσημείωται τὸ εὐρετής.

6 Τὰ ... **7** Θυμοίτης: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 46.1-3 (= 249.1-3) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἰτης βαρύντονα, μὴ ὄντα παρώνυμα, διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγου γράφονται· Δαμοίτης· Ἀγροίτης· Φιλοίτης· Μενοίτης· Ἀτοίτης· Θαμοίτης (scrib. Θυμοίτης) **10** Τὸ ... **11** ὀξύνεται: cf. sch. Hom. II. 13.382b1.3-5 τὰ εἰς τῆς ῥηματικά ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, φύσει μακρᾶ παραληγόμενα, ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, ἀυλητής πειρατής **12** Ἔτι ... **14** βαθυρρείτης: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 45.5-8 (= 247.1-4) Τὰ διὰ ιτης παρώνυμα μὴ ὄντα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς εὐς, μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς η θηλυκῶν διὰ τοῦ ι γράφει τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, ζευγίτης· στυλίτης· τεμενίτης· ἐρκίτης· Θερσίτης· πολίτης; II 45.13-6 (= 247.9-12) δεῖ προσθεῖναι καὶ εἴτι παρὰ τὸ ῥέω ῥῆμα παρήχθη, καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγου γράφεται· οἶον, εὐρείτης, ὁ καλῶς ῥέων· βαθυρρείτης, ὁ εἰς βάθος ῥέων· **14** καὶ ... **43.2** παρώνυμα: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 44.21-3 (= 244.1-3) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υτης ὀξύτονα καὶ βαρύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· πρεσβύτης· ἐλύτης· βασανύτης· μεγύτης· Ἀρχύτης· πεδύτης· ἀλκυονύτης· κωλύτης· μηνύτης (scribendum κωλυτής μηνυτής); 249.4-7 τὸ πρεσβύτης· εὐλύτης· μεγύτης· βασανύτης· Ἀρχύτης· πιδύτης· ἀλκυονύτης, σεσημείωνται ὡς παρώνυμα διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ υ γράφοντα τὴν παραλήγουσαν.

4 προπετής ΜΟ^{p.c.}: προτερπετής Ο^{a.c.}
scripsi: τεγεάτης Μ: γενεάτης Ο
βαθυρείτης Ο

9 Τεγεάτης Γενεάτης
13 βαθυρρείτης]

κωλυτής μηνυτής ῥηματικά καὶ οὐ παρώνυμα.

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΤΗΣ μὴ ῥηματικά· δεσμώτης στρατιώτης.

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΣΤΗΣ μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά· 5
Ὀρέστης Θυέστης Ἀκέστης. τὸ μέντοι κηδεστής ἀργεστής ἐπιθετικά.

(29.) Ἔτι βαρύνονται τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὁλῶ· πανώλης ἐξώλης προώλης.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ ἐπίθετα παρὰ ῥῆμα σύνθετα εἰς 10
ΟΥΣ ποιοῦντα τὴν γενικὴν ὀξύνεται· εὐσεβής ἀσεβής εὐλαβής θεοφιλής αὐτοσφαγής πολυδευκής· Πολυδεύκης δὲ τὸ κύριον βαρύνεται. τὸ μέντοι φιλαλήθης καὶ μισαλήθης 15
καὶ εὐήθης καὶ κακοήθης παρ' ὀνομά εἰσι οὐ παρὰ ῥῆμα.

5 Ἔτι...7 ἐπιθετικά: cf. Eust. II. II 176.5-10 Τὰ εἰς σης τῶ παραληγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀνομάτων ὄντα ἦτοι παρώνυμα, ὀξύνονται μὲν ἐπιθετικώτερα ὄντα, βαρύνονται δὲ οὐχ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, οἷον ἀργός ἀργεστής ἄνεμος, κῆδος κηδεστής. τὸ Ὀφελέστης, εἰ καὶ παρώνυμον παρὰ τὸ ὄφελος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπίθετον, κύριον δέ. διὸ οὐδὲ ὀξύνεται, ἀλλὰ βαρύνεται ὡς κύριον. ὡσαύτως καὶ Ὀρέστης παρὰ τὸ ὄρος; EM 509.57-510.2 Τὸ δὲ Κηδέστης, τὸ κύριον ὄνομα, βαρύνεται, ὡς θύος, Θυέστης· ὄρος, Ὀρέστης· τὸ δὲ κηδεστής, ὀξύνεται ὡς προσηγορικόν.

14 τὸ...16 ῥῆμα: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 187.27-30 Τὸ δὲ ἀληθής διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ συνθέσει βαρύνεται, οἷον φιλαλήθης μισαλήθης, ἐπειδὴ τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἦθης σύνθετα ἀπ' ὀνόματος βαρύνεσθαι θέλουσιν, οἷον ἦθος εὐήθης συνήθης κακοήθης· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀληθής φιλαλήθης μισαλήθης; EM 435.53-6 Τὸ δὲ ἀληθής, ἀνεβίβασε τὸν τόνον ἐν τῇ συνθέσει· ἐπειδὴ τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΘΗΣ σύνθετα ὀνόματα βαρύνεται οἷον, ἦθος, εὐήθης, συνήθης, κακοήθης.

7 ἀργεστής] ἀρχεστής MO **9** ὁλῶ Schmidt 29.1: ὅλλω MO (cf. Ep. Hom. 2,a2.1; Lobeck RVGNVT 113) **10** ΗΣ om. O^{i.t}
12 αὐτοσφαγής] αὐτοσφαγῆς O **13** κύριον O: κύ⁹ M

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ κύρια ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΟΣ οὐδετέρων
 σύνθετα βαρύνεται· Δημοσθένης Διογένης,
 καὶ τὰ <ἐπίθετα> ἔχοντα Η ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ
 ἀπὸ δισυλλάβου· συνήθης κακοήθης. τὰ δὲ
 μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπίθετα ὀξύνεται· εὐγενής ἀγενής 5
 εὐμενής εὐτειχής.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΗΣ παρὰ τὸ ἔτος καὶ ἔργον ὀξύνε-
 ται· διετής τριετής καὶ λεπτοουργής
 ναξιουργής.

1 Τὰ...6 εὐτειχής: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 165.13-5 τὰ εἰς ης παρ' οὐδετέρων συντεθειμένα εἰς ους ἔχουσι τὴν γενικὴν, οἷον σθένος Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους, γένος Διογένης Διογένους; 167.15-7 τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ος οὐδετέρων εἰς ης γινόμενα σύνθετα τότε βαρύνονται ὅταν ᾧσι κύρια, οἷον σθένος Δημοσθένης, γένος Διογένης; 167.20-9 καὶ ὅταν ἀπὸ δισυλλάβου οὐδετέρου ᾧσι σύνθετα ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ τὸ η ἐπιφερομένου ἀφώνου, οἷον κῆτος μεγακήτης, ἦθος κακοήθης, μήκος ἐπιμήκης· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ δισυλλάβου οὐδετέρου εἰσὶ σύνθετα ἔχοντος κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν τὸ η ἐπιφερομένου ἀφώνου. Ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἐκ τούτων τῶν τριῶν ἔχωσι, τουτέστι μήτε κύρια ᾧσι μήτε ἀπὸ τρισυλλάβου οὐδετέρου σύνθετα μήτε ἀπὸ δισυλλάβου οὐδετέρου παραληγομένου τῷ η ἐπιφερομένου ἀφώνου, ὀξύνεσθαι θέλουσιν, οἷον μένος εὐμενής, γένος εὐγενής, εἶδος δυσειδής, κλέος δυσκλής, τεῖχος εὐτειχής (ἔχει μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο ἄφωνον ἐπιφερόμενον, φημί δὴ τὸ χ, ἀλλ' οὐ παραλήγεται τῷ η); 189.16-20 τὰ εἰς ης παρ' οὐδετέρων συντεθειμένα δηλονότι κατὰ τὸ τέλος εἰς ους ἔχουσι τὴν γενικὴν, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ χαρακτηρ καλύσει, οἷον σθένος Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους, γένος Διογένης Διογένους, νεῖκος Πολυνείκης Πολυνείκους, ἦθος κακοήθης κακοήθους· **7** Τὰ...9 ναξιουργής: cf. Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 385.37-386.3 Τὰ παρὰ τὸ ἔτος κοινῶς μὲν ὀξύνεται, διετής τριετής, ἀττικῶς δὲ βαρύνεται, κατὰ πλάνην ἀκολουθοῦντα τῷ χαρακτηρὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ ετης ἀπλῶν, οἷον φυλέτης γενέτης, ἅτινα βαρύνεται, πλὴν τοῦ εὔρετης·

3 <ἐπίθετα> add. Schmidt 29.11 (app. crit.) τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ] τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ M **4** δισυλλάβου] δυσσυλλάβου O^{a,c}, ut videtur **6** εὐτειχής Lentz 81.4; cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 167.24-30; cf. etiam Götting (1835), 324: εὐτυχής MO **8** καὶ λεπτοουργής G. Dindorf TGL IV 1622A: κλεπτουργής MAOBC

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΥΣ ὀξυτόνων μὲν ὀξύ-
νονται· βριθὺς ἐμβριθῆς, βαρὺς ἀβαρῆς, βαρυ-
τόνων δὲ βαρύνονται· πῆχυς τριπλήχης τετρα-
πλήχης.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΣ σύνθετα τὴν τῶν πρωτοτύπων τά-

5

1 Τὰ ... 4 τετραπλήχης: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 47.6-8 (= 257.1-3) Τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς υς εἰς ης γινόμενα φυλάττει τὴν τοῦ πρωτοτύπου γραφὴν κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, ἡδὺς ἀηδῆς· βριθὺς ἐμβριθῆς **5** Τὰ ... 46.6 ὑποκρίνομαι: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 186.27-35 τὰ εἰς ης λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν φυλάττουσιν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τὴν τάσιν τοῦ ἀπλοῦ, οἶον ἐρανιστῆς ἀρχερανιστῆς, δανειστῆς μισοδανειστῆς, εὐρετῆς ἐφευρετῆς, ληστῆς ἀρχιληστῆς, Χρύσης φιλοχρύσης· τούτω οὖν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκλεῆς Ἡρακλεῆς ὥφειλεν εἶναι ὀξυτόνως. Δεῖ προσθεῖναι ἐν τῷ κανόνι «χωρὶς τοῦ κριτῆς καὶ ἀληθῆς», ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει βαρύνονται, οἶον δικαιοκρίτης ὄνειροκρίτης φιλαλήθης μισαλήθης· ἰδοὺ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ἐβαρύνθησαν καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν τὴν τάσιν τοῦ ἀπλοῦ, φημὶ δὴ τὴν ὀξεῖαν τάσιν; 187.10-31 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνωτέρω τὸ κριτῆς καὶ ἀληθῆς ἐσημειώσαμεθα ὥς μὴ φυλάξαντα ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τὴν τάσιν τοῦ ἀπλοῦ, φημὶ δὴ τὴν ὀξεῖαν, ἀλλὰ βαρυνθέντα, ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἀπολογησώμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κριτῆς διὰ τοῦτο βαρύνεται ἐν τῇ συνθέσει, οἶον δικαιοκρίτης ὄνειροκρίτης, ἐπειδὴ παράλογός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι ἢ ὀξεῖα τάσις, ὥφειλε γὰρ βαρύνεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι· τὰ γὰρ εἰς τῆς λήγοντα ἀρσενικὰ φύσει δισύλλαβα βαρύνονται, οἶον δότης πλύτης θύτης χάρτης Κράτης· διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψάλτης ἀναλογώτερόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον βαρυνόμενον τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὀξυνομένου· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ψαλτῆς λέγουσιν ἐν ὀξεῖα τάσει· πρόσκειται «φύσει δισύλλαβα» διὰ τὸ ληστῆς ὀξυνόμενον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τρισυλλάβου τοῦ ληϊστῆς ἐγένετο· πρόσκειται «ἀρσενικά» διὰ τὸ ποτῆς ὀξυνόμενον θηλυκόν, οἶον <Λ 780> ἐδητύος ἢ δὲ ποτῆτος (σημαίνει δὲ τὴν πόσιν), τὸ γὰρ ἀρσενικὸν βαρύνεται, οἶον πότης· ἐπειδὴ οὖν τὸ κριτῆς παραλόγως ὀξύνεται, τούτου χάριν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τὸ κεχρεωωστὴν ἀναδέχεται, λέγω δὴ τὴν βαρεῖαν τάσιν, οἶον

2 ἐμβριθῆς ^{Op.c.}: ἐμβριθὺς ^{Op.c.} **3** βαρύνονται] βαρύνεται ^O τριπλήχης τετραπλήχης Barker 27.26: τριπλήχης τετραπλήχης ^{MO} βαρύνονται] βαρύνεται ^O **5** τάσιν ... 46.1 φυλάττει ^{M^{p.c.}} (φυλάττει ^{M^{a.c.}}, ut videtur): τάσιν φυλάσσει ^O

σιν φυλάττει· ἐρανιστής ἀρχερανιστής, δανεισ-
στής μισοδανειστής, ληστής ἀρχιληστής,
Ἀπελλῆς φιλαπελλῆς. σεσημείωται ἀληθής
φιλαλήθης, κριτής δικαιοκρίτης. τὸ δὲ ὑπο-
κριτῆς οὐ παρὰ τὸ κριτής, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὑποκρί-
νομαι.

5

(30.) Τὰ εἰς ΤΗΣ πολυσύλλαβα θηλυκὰ βαρύ-

δικαιοκρίτης ὄνειροκρίτης· τὸ γὰρ ὑποκριτῆς οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ
τὸ κριτής, ἐπεὶ ὑποκρίτης εἶχεν εἶναι βαρυτόνως, ἀλλὰ παρὰ
τὸ ὑποκρίνομαι ἔστί. Τὸ δὲ ἀληθής διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ συνθέσει
βαρύνεται, οἷον φιλαλήθης μισαλήθης, ἐπειδὴ τὰ διὰ τοῦ
ηθῆς σύνθετα ἀπ' ὀνόματος βαρύνεσθαι θέλουσιν, οἷον ἦθος
εὐήθης συνήθης κακοήθης· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀληθής
φιλαλήθης μισαλήθης· πρόσκειται «σύνθετα ἀπὸ ὀνόματος»
διὰ τὸ ἀληθής; *Et. Gud.* ι 281.43-7 τὰ εἰς τῆς ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλα-
βὴν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τοῦ ἀπλοῦ φυλάττουσι τὸν τόνον. οἷον,
ληστής ἀρχιληστής, μισοδανειστής, ἐρανιστής,
ἀρχιερανιστής. χωρὶς τοῦ κριτῆς καὶ ἀληθῆς, καὶ
δικαιοκρίτης, φιλαλήθης; *EM* 435.26-31 τὰ εἰς ΗΣ ὀνόματα
ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀδιαίρετα ἐν τῇ συνθέσει φυλάττει τὸν
τόνον τοῦ ἀπλοῦ· οἷον, ληστής, ἀρχιληστής· δανειστής,
μισοδανειστής· εὐρετής, ἐφευρετής· χωρὶς τοῦ κριτῆς, καὶ
ἀληθῆς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ἀναβιβάζουσι τὸν τόνον·
οἷον ὄνειροκρίτης, φιλαλήθης; 474.27-9 Ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς ΗΣ
ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τοῦ ἀπλοῦ φυλάσσει
τὸν τόνον, ἐρανιστής, ἀρχερανιστής.

7 Τὰ...47.5

ἐπίθετον· cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 162.16-23 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ης
θηλυκὰ μονογενῇ διὰ τοῦ τος κλίνονται, οἷον ἐσθῆς ἐσθήτος,
ποτῆς ποτῆτος, <Λ 780> ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτῆτος
(σημαίνει δὲ τὴν πόσιν), ποιότης ποιότητος, φιλότης
φιλότητος, κακότης κακότητος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ Μένδης
Μένδητος καὶ Πάρνης Πάρνητος καὶ Πάρνηθος κατὰ
μετάθεσιν τοῦ τ εἰς θ. Πρόσκειται «μονογενῇ» διὰ τὸ
νημερτής νημερτοῦς· τοῦτο γὰρ ὥς ἔχον οὐδέτερον εἰς ες,
ἡγουν τὸ νημερτές, εἰς ους ἔχει τὴν γενικὴν; 326.8-21 Ἰστέον
δὲ ὅτι τὰ εἰς τῆς λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς μόνως θηλυκὰ
βαρύνεσθαι θέλουσιν, οἷον λογίτης ποσότης λευκότης
φιλότης κακότης κοσμιότης δασύτης δριμύτης γλυκύτης,
σεσημειωμένων τεσσάρων τινῶν ὁξυνομένων· εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα,
ταχυτής βραδυτής ἀνδροτής δηϊότης· καὶ τὸ τραχύτης καὶ
κουφότης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁξύνουσι τραχυτής καὶ κουφοτής

2 ἀρχιληστής **O**: ἀρχιληστής **M** **5** παρὰ τὸ¹ **M**^{s.l.}**O**: om. **M**^{i.l.}

νονται· λογιότης λευκότης ποιότης· σεση-
μείωται ταχυτής βραδυτής ἀδροτής· καὶ τὰ
παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὀξύτονα· τραχυτής κουφο-
τής· τὸ μέντοι ποτής καὶ <.....> ἐσθής δισύλ-
λαβα. τὸ δὲ νημερτής ἐπίθετον.

5

Περὶ τῶν εἰς ΙΣ ὀνομάτων.

Βιβλίον δ'.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ συνεσταλμένον ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θη-
λυκὰ καὶ κοινὰ βαρύνεται ὄφιν ὅϊς πάϊς μάν-
τις.

10

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ βαρύτονα καὶ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει βαρύ-

λέγοντες. Πρόσκειται «ὕπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς» διὰ τὸ ποτής
ὀξυνόμενον, οἷον <Λ780> ἐδητύος ἡ δὲ ποτῆτος (ση-
μαίνει δὲ τὴν πόσιν)· πρόσκειται «μόνως θηλυκὰ» διὰ τὸ
ἀκρατής ὀξυνόμενον· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνως θηλυκὸν οὐκ ἔστιν,
ἀλλὰ λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικῶς, οἷον ὁ ἀκρατής καὶ ἡ ἀκρατής·
τὸ Νημερτής ὀξυνόμενον, ὡς παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ <Σ 46> Νη-
μερτής τε καὶ Ἀψευδής καὶ Καλλιάνασσα, οὐκ
ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπίθετόν ἐστιν, οἷον ὁ νημερτής
ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ νημερτής γυνή, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θηλυκοῦ μόνου
γένους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλυκοῦ· καὶ λοιπὸν γενόμε-
νον κύριον τὴν αὐτὴν τάσιν ἐφύλαξεν; *EM* 103.1-3 Τὰ εἰς
ΤΗΣ θηλυκὰ ἅπαντα βαρύνονται, πλὴν τοῦ ταχυτής, βραδυ-
τής, ἀδροτής, δηϊότης.

11 Τὰ... 48.8 λεύκασπις: cf.

Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 92.33-93.3 Ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς ΙΣ θηλυκὰ, εἰ μὲν
βαρύνονται, ἐν τῇ συνθέσει προπαροξύνονται, οἷον μήτις
πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, πόλις ἀκρόπολις· εἰ δὲ ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὲν
φυλάσσει τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον
φυλάσσει, οἷον αἰγίς καταιγίς, οἰκίς περιοικίς· εἰ δὲ μὴ,
ἀναβιβάζει τὸν τόνον; *Et. Gud.* κ 327.3-14 τὰ εἰς ις θηλυκὰ, εἰ
μὲν βαρύτονα ἐν τῇ συνθέσει προπαροξύνονται. οἷον, πόλις
ἀκρόπολις, μήτις πολύμητις· εἰ δὲ ὀξύτονα, εἰ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
γένους ᾧσι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον φυλάττουσιν, οἷον, αἰγίς
καταιγίς, νυχίς, παννυχίς, οἰκίς περιοικίς· ὁρᾷς ᾧ γύναι τὸν
κύριον τῆς περιοικίδος ἡμῶν· εἰ δὲ ἀρσενικοῦ γένους εἰσιν, εἰ
μὲν ἐκτείνωσι τὸ δίχρονον ἐν τῇ συνθέσει παροξύνεται· οἷον

2 ἀδροτής] fortasse ἀνδροτής coll. Choerob. in *Theod.* GG iv.i
326.11 et *EM* 103.3 **4** <> ἐσθής] lacunam statuit Schmidt 30.5

(app. crit.), qui ἐσθής ὅθεν τὸ ἐσθής malit; ἐσθής καὶ ἐσθής
Lentz 83.13; haec etiam possunt conici: ἐσθής ἀφ' οὗ / ἐξ οὗ τὸ
ἐσθής vel ἐσθής καὶ τροπῇ ἐσθής (cf. *Et. Gud.* ε 503.15-6) **7** δ']
δον' **Ο** **9** πάϊς] παῖς **Ο**

νονται· μῆτις πολύμητις, ἴδρις ἄϊδρις, πόλις φιλόπολις, χάρις εὐχαρις.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ ὀξύτονα πῆ μὲν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει φυλάττουσι τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον πῆ δὲ βαρύνονται. καὶ φυλάττουσι μὲν τὰ φυλάττοντα τὸ θηλυκὸν γένος· σκελὶς περισκελὶς, νυχὶς παννυχὶς. τὰ δὲ κοινωνοῦντα ἀρσενικῶ γένει μετατιθέασιν· ἐλπίς εὐελπίς, ἀσπίς λεύκασπις. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ πατρωνυμικὰ ἢ τύπον ἔχοντα πατρωνυμικῶν ὀξύνονται· Πριαμὶς Τανταλὶς Τυνδαρίς. 10

(31.) Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ ὑποκοριστικὰ ἔχοντα ἐν ἴσαις

ἀκτίς, καὶ ὁ χρυσάκτις ἥλιος· κνημὶς εὐκνήμις, κληῖς πολικλήϊς· εἰ δὲ βραχὺ αὐτὸ ἔχουσι προπαροξύνονται· οἶον, πατρὶς εὐπατρὶς λιπόπατρὶς· ἀσπίς ῥίψασπις; *EM* 333.22-30 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ εἰς ΙΣ θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὲν βαρύνεται, ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ἀναβιβάζει τὸν τόνον· οἶον, πόλις, ἀκρόπολις· μῆτις, πολύμητις. Εἰ δὲ ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὲν θηλυκὰ μονογενῇ ὦσι, φυλάσσουσι τὸν τόνον· οἶον, νυχὶς, παννυχὶς· αἰγίς, καταιγίς. Εἰ δὲ ἐναλλάσσει τὸ γένος, εἰ μὲν ἐκτείνουσι τὸ ι, πρὸ μιᾶς ἔχει τὸν τόνον· οἶον, ἀκτίς, χρυσάκτις ἥλιος· κνημὶς, εὐκνήμις· ἐξ οὗ εὐκνήμιδες. Εἰ δὲ συστέλλει τὸ ι, προπαροξύνεται· οἶον, πατρὶς, εὐπατρὶς· ἀσπίς, ῥίψασπις; 518.33-43 Τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΙΣ θηλυκὰ [... καὶ] εἰ μὲν βαρύνεται, ἐν τῇ συνθέσει προπαροξύνεται, οἶον πόλις, ἀκρόπολις· μῆτις, πολύμητις, καὶ ἀγκυλόμητις· εἰ δὲ ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ὦσι, τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττει τόνον· οἶον, αἰγίς, καταιγίς· νυχὶς, παννυχὶς· οἰκίς, περιοικίς· εἰ δὲ ἀρσενικοῦ γένους ὦσιν, εἰ μὲν ἐκτείνουσι τὸ δίχρονον ἐν τῇ συνθέσει, παροξύνονται· οἶον ἀκτίς, χρυσάκτις ἥλιος· κνημὶς, εὐκνήμις· κληῖς, πολυκληῖς· εἰ δὲ βραχὺ αὐτὸ ἔχει, προπαροξύνεται ἐν τῇ συνθέσει· οἶον πατρὶς, εὐπατρὶς καὶ λειπόπατρὶς· ἀσπίς, ῥίψασπις. **3** Τὰ ... 8 λεύκασπις; cf. *Eust. II.* I 43.18-23 τὰ εἰς ις θηλυκὰ ὀξύτονα εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει φυλάσσει τὸ θηλυκὸν μόνον γένος καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον φυλάσσει, οἶον· σκελὶς, περισκελὶς. εἰ δὲ μεταληπτικὰ γίνονται καὶ ἀρσενικοῦ γένους, μεθίστανται εἰς βαρεῖαν τάσιν, οἶον· ἐλπίς, δύσελπίς. τοῦτο γὰρ κοινόν ἐστι τῷ γένει. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὸ καταιγίς μὲν ὀξύνεται ὡς μονογενές, τὸ δὲ μελάναιγίς βαρύνεται.

3 πῆ scripsi: πῆ MO; πῆ Schmidt 30.14

4 πῆ A: πῆ MO

7 ἀρσενικῶ O: ἀρσενικῶ M **9** Τὰ] ἀ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) O τύπον] τόπον O

συλλαβαῖς τὴν παραγωγὴν ὀξύνεται· θεραι-
νίς ἐταιρίς λυρίς. τὸ δὲ Ἴφίς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴφι
γενόμενον βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ ἐσχηματισμένα ἀπὸ βαρυτόνων
μελλόντων ἢ δευτέρου προσώπου τοῦ παθητικοῦ 5
παρακειμένου βαρύνονται· ποιήσω ποιήσεις,
γνώσω γνώσεις, πράξω πράξεις, πέφανσαι
φάνσεις, μεμίανσαι μίανσεις. τὸ δὲ ἄψις
σεσημειώται μακρὸν ἔχον τὸ Ι.

Τὰ εἰς ΒΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται ἢ 10

4 Τὰ...9 Ι: cf. Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 172.5-11 Ἀψίς: Διὰ τοῦ ι· τὰ
εἰς ις ἀπὸ μελλόντων γινόμενα, βαρύνεται καὶ συστέλλει τὸ
ι· ὡς τὸ πράξω, πράξεις· λέξω, λέξεις· ἄψω, ἄψις· ἢ γὰρ ἄψις
συνημμένη ἐστίν· καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι ἐκτείνειν καὶ ὀξύνεται· τὰ γὰρ
εἰς ις ἀπλᾶ ἐκτείνονται τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον·
οἶον, κνημῖς· κρηπίς· ψηφίς· οὕτως καὶ ἄψις· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις
ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀποστρέφονται τὴν εἰ
δίφθογγον, χωρὶς τοῦ κλείς καὶ ἀντηρεῖς; Sophr. *Char.*
Theodos. 405.15-7 Τὰ εἰς ις παρὰ μέλλοντα βαρύτονα διὰ
καθαροῦ τοῦ ως, λέξις λέξεως, ὄψις ὄψεως· τὸ ἄψις ἄψιδος
παραλλάξαν τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν τόνον, παρήλλαξε καὶ τὴν
κλίσιν; *Ep. Hom.* 317,a.2-3 πλεῖστα γὰρ ὀνόματα ἀπὸ
μελλόντων γίνεται, οἶον ἄψω ἄψις, λέξω λέξις, ποιήσω
ποιήσις; *Et. Gen.* α 1537.11-7 ὠφείλεν δὲ βαρύνεσθαι τὸ ἄψις
καὶ συστέλλειν τὸ ι, τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ὀνόματα ἀπὸ μελλόντων
γινόμενα καὶ βαρύνεται καὶ συστέλλει τὸ ι, οἶον μέμψω
μέμψις, ἔξω ἔξις, λέξω λέξις· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἄψω ἄψις
ὠφείλεν εἶναι, ὅθεν Ἡσίοδος ἀναλογώτερον εἶπεν ἄψιν
βαρύνων αὐτό. ἔστιν οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄψις ἐκτείνει
τὸ ι, τούτου χάριν καὶ ὀξύνεται, τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ἀπλᾶ
ἐκτείνονται τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον, οἶον κνημῖς
ψηφίς σφραγίς κρηπίς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἄψις; *vide etiam Et.*
Sym. II 367.28-31; *EM* 183.40-184.2 ὠφείλε δὲ βαρύνεσθαι καὶ
συστέλλειν τὸ ἰῶτα· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΙΣ ὀνόματα ἀπὸ μελλόντων
γινόμενα καὶ βαρύνεται καὶ συστέλλει τὸ ι, μέμψω, μέμψις·
ἔξω, ἔξις· λέξω, λέξις· οὕτως καὶ ἄψω ἄψις ὠφείλεν εἶναι.

2 Ἴφίς...ἴφι] Schmidt 31.3: ἴφίς...ἴφι MO **3** γενόμενον
Schmidt 31.3: γινόμενον MO **5** post μελλόντων] addit καὶ
συστέλλει το ι *EM* 183.41 (haud recte Schmidt 31.5 app. crit.
verba καὶ συστέλλοντα τὸ ι post παρακειμένου scripta esse in
EM annotavit) δευτέρου] τοῦ δευτέρου O προσώπου] προσώπ
M **6** παρακειμένου O: π^α M **8** μεμίανσαι] μεμίανσε (sic) O

<προ>παροξύνεται. ὀξύνεται τὰ παρώνυμα καὶ ἐπιθετικά· Νιοβίς Λυκαμβίς Περραιβίς. σεσημείωται τὸ καλλαβίς. τὰ δὲ κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ βαρύνεται· Ἀθάρραβις κἀνναβις. σημειῶσαι τὸ κολλαβίς. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΓΙΣ δισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἄρχοιντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Γ· αἰγίς μαγίς σφραγίς. τὸ μέντοι Γέργις βαρύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Γ γὰρ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γέλγις γέγγις.

Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΓΙΣ πολυσύλλαβα· στρατηγίς 10 ἀλουργίς. τὸ δὲ ἄμοργις (ἢ ὑποστάθμη) βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΘΙΣ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὴ μετάληψιν ἔχοι εἰς ἄρσενικὸν γένος, ὀξύνεται· πληθίς(?) Ἀτθίς τηθίς (32.) (ἢ <πατρός ἢ μητρός> 15 ἀδελφή). σεσημείωται τὸ αἴθις κόρθις καὶ Κρᾶθις.

Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΘΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται μὴ ὄντα ὀνόματα πόλεων Αἰγυπτίων· ἀκανθίς 20 κολοκυνθίς. τὸ δὲ Ταμίαθις καὶ Μένουθις καὶ Τερένουθις βαρύνεται.

1 <προ>παροξύνεται Schmidt 31.9-10: παροξύνεται MO
2 Περραιβίς om. O 3 καλλαβίς MO: κἀνναβις Lobeck PSGP 288 4 Ἀθάρραβις... 5 κἀνναβις Schmidt 31.12-3 (Ἀθάρραβις e St. Byz. α 79.1-2): ἀθαράβις, καννάβις M: ἀθαράβις κανιάβις O 5 σημειῶσαι O: ση M 6 δισύλλαβα] imo δισύλλαβα θηλυκὰ Schmidt 31.14 (app. crit.) 7 ἄρχοιντο] ἄρχοιτο O 8 βαρύνεται] βα βαρύνεται O 9 γέγγις] fortasse γέργις; Γίγις Plu. Art. 19.2; alii alia 10 ΓΙΣ scripsi: ις MO 11 ἀλουργίς O: αλουργίς spiritu incerto M; post ἀλουργίς Meineke FCG II.i 77 ἄμοργις (linum amorginum) excidisse suspicatur 14 πληθίς M^{p.c.}: πληθὺς M^{a.c.}O; πλινθίς dubitanter conieci 15 τηθίς Lobeck PENVA 134: τιθίς MO <πατρός... μητρός> addidi: πατρός Schmidt 32.1: om. MO 16 αἴθις] Δένθις Schmidt 32.1 (app. crit.) κόρθις Lentz 87.28 (iam Schmidt 32.1 (app. crit.)) e Hsch. κ 3613, Phot. κ 965.2; κρόθις MO 20 Ταμίαθις Lobeck PSGP 366, n. 3 (ex AG 1192) et St. Byz. 599.14 confirmant: ταμίσις MO Μένουθις Lobeck PSGP 366, n. 3, St. Byz. ε 124.1; 445.7: μενούθις MO; haud recte L. Dindorf TGL V 788A accentum in Ps. Arcad. Μενοῦθις esse 21 Τερένουθις St. Byz. ε 124.1: τερενούθις MO; Θέρμουθις Holste in St. Byz. 278.18 (= ε 124.1) et Lobeck PSGP 366, n. 3

Τὰ εἰς ΚΙΣ δισύλλαβα ὀξύνονται· Φωκίς
κερκίς χαλκίς, τὸ δὲ φίκις(?) βαρύνεται· ἔτι
καὶ τὰ τρισύλλαβα· παλλακίς πινακίς
φαρμακίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα σύμφωνον κατ' 5
ἐπιπλοκὴν ἢ διπλασιασμὸν τοῦ Λ ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ
διὰ τοῦ Θ κλίνοιτο ἢ πόλιν σημαῖνοι φυλλίς
κιγκλίς θυλλίς (ὁ θύλακος), τὸ δὲ Τράλλις
πόλις· καὶ τὸ δέλλις (τὸ μικρὸν σφηκίον) διὰ τοῦ
Θ. καὶ τὸ βάλλις δὲ βαρύνεται (εἶδος ἄνθους ὄν, 10
ὃ δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἀναζῆν τὸν νεκρόν).

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ βραχὺ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Π 15
ἄρχοιτο μήτε ὑποκοριστικὰ εἶη, ὀξύνεται βολίς
φολίς σελίς ψαλίς πυλίς (ὑποκοριστικόν).
τὸ δὲ πρύ(33.)λις βαρύνεται (ἢ ἔνοπλος ὄρχησις), 15
ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Π ἀρχομένη.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ δισύλλαβα ἀπὸ συμφώνου 20
ἀρχόμενα, εἰ παραλήγοιτο φύσει μακροᾶ χωρὶς Α
μακροῦ, ὀξύνεται· μηλίς (ἢ μηλέα) δουλίς
Δαυλίς. ἐναντιοῦται τὸ μαῦλις (ἢ μάχαιρα) καὶ 20
τὸ τηλίς· τὸ δὲ τᾶλις (ἢ μελλόγαμος) μακρὸν τὸ
Α ἔχει. Ἔτι βαρύνεται καὶ τὸ Βᾶλις καὶ μᾶλις
καὶ τὸ Ἥλις καὶ ὕλις (ἢ ὑλία) καὶ αὔλις (ἢ
ἔπαυλις), Αὐλίς δὲ ἡ πόλις ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα εἰς Α βραχὺ 25
προπαραλήγοντα ἢ ὀξύνεται ἢ βαρύνεται. καὶ
ὀξύνονται μὲν, ὅσα τυγχάνει ἐπιθετικώτερα, ἢ
ἔχει τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν καταλήγουσαν εἰς Ν

1 δισύλλαβα add. M^{sl.}. ὀξύνονται M: βαρύνονται O 2 φίκις]
φάλκις Schmidt 32.8 (app. crit.); φύκις B^{ac.}; fortasse φύκις,
Κίκις 6 Λ] α (postea expunctum) O^{ac.} 7 σημαῖνοι C: σημαίν
M: σημαίνει O 8 κιγκλίς Schmidt: κυγκλίς M: κυγκίς O
θύλακος M^{p.c.}O^{p.c.}: θήλακος M^{ac.}O^{ac.} 15 πρύλις M^{il.}: προίλις
M^{sl.}: προῖλις O 18 μακροᾶ O: μακροᾶ M 20 μαῦλις TGL V 618
D s. v. μαυλία: μάλβυδις MO 22 Βᾶλις Meineke St. Byz. 157.7
(= β 28.1): βάλις MO; Βάλις etiam libri St. Byz. 157.7 = β 28.1
καὶ μᾶλις Schmidt 33.8: καὶ μάλις M: om. O 23 Ἥλις π: ἥλις
MO καὶ²...ὑλία (ὑλις Schmidt 33.8): καὶ ὕλις (ἢ ὑλία) M: καὶ
τὸ ὕλις ἢ ὑλὺς O ὕλις] ὕλις M^{p.c.}O: ἥλις M^{ac.}, ut videtur
αὔλις] αὔλις O 24 ἡ πόλις om. O 25 βραχὺ M^{sl.}O: om. M^{il.}
26 προπαραλήγοντα] παραλήγοντα O

ἀφώνου ἐπιφερομένου· Τανταλῖς Πανθαλῖς
(ἢ θεράπαινα Ἑλένης) ἀγκαλῖς (τὸ γὰρ Γ ἐκ τοῦ
Ν) †πενταλῖς. τὰ μέντοι προσηγορικὰ ἢ κύρια
προπαροξύνονται· βούβαλις δάμαλις
βαύκαλις. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα Η
βαρύνεται· κάπηλις κύβηλις (ὁ πέλυξ)
ἔπηλις (τὸ πῶμα τῆς λάρνακος) τρόπηλις (ἢ
δέσμη τῶν σκορόδων), πλὴν τοῦ Φασηλῖς.

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΛΛ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύνεται, εἰ
μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ παρώνυμα εἴη γενόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς
ΗΣ· (34.) κορυδαλλῖς ἀναβαλλῖς (ἢ σφαῖρα)
συκαλλῖς μοιχαλλῖς θρυαλλῖς. τὸ μέντοι
κάβαλλις βαρύνεται. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα, εἰ ἔχοι ἓν τι τῶν
φύσει βραχέων ἢ Ι βραχύ, ὀξύνεται· κυψελῖς
βασιλῖς Αἰολῖς. τὸ μέντοι Ἀζιλις τὸ ΖΙ
μακρὸν ἔχει. 15

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΣ παρώνυμα τῷ Ω ἢ διφθόγγῳ
παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται· Πακτωλῖς Αἰτωλῖς
Ἰουλῖς. τὸ Ἄδουλις προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ
ἄρτόπωλις. 20

Τὰ εἰς ΜΙΣ προσηγορικὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
ὀξύνεται· πυραμῖς σησαμῖς καλαμῖς
πλοκαμῖς κεραμῖς. τὸ δὲ Ἄρτεμις
Σεμίραμις Χρυσόθεμις, κύρια. καὶ τὸ
Σαλαμῖς κύριον ὄν ὀξύνεται. 25

Τὰ εἰς ΝΙΣ διβράχεια προσηγορικὰ ὀξύνεται,
κατ' οὐσίας κείμενα Α ἢ Ο παραλήγοντα· ῥανῖς
χλανῖς σανῖς ὄνῖς κονῖς (τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς 30

2 Ἑλένης add. Lobeck *PSGP* 97.3-5 coll. Paus. 10.25.4: om. MO
ἀγκαλῖς Lobeck *PSGP* 97.4-5: ἐγκαλῖς MO 3 †πενταλῖς MO;
πεταλῖς dubitanter conieci; δενδαλῖς Lobeck *PSGP* 97.5
8 ἔπηλις] ἔπηλυς O πῶμα C^{i.m.} (scriptor recens, ut videtur):
πτῶμα MOC^{i.t.} 12 κορυδαλλῖς MO^{p.c.}: κορυδαλῖς O^{a.c.}
13 μοιχαλλῖς] μοιχαλῖς O; μοιχαλλῖς vitiose pro μοιχαλῖς; cf.
lemma *Anth. Pal.* V 120 θρυαλλῖς] θρυαλῖς O 14 κάβαλλις
BC: κάβαλις MO 16 βραχέων] βραχείων O 17 τὸ¹... 21
Ἰουλῖς om. O 19 τῷ M: de O vide supra 21 Ἄδουλις] cf. St.
Byz. α 59.2-3 24 σησαμῖς Schmidt: σισαμῖς M: σιγαμῖς O
27 Σαλαμῖς Lobeck: σεμῖς δὲ MO

κεφαλῆς) κόνις δὲ τὸ χῶμα. σπάνις δὲ καὶ φρόνις οὐκ ἐπὶ οὐσίας. τὸ δὲ ὕνις βαρύνεται τὸ ὕχον, ὥσπερ τὸ Κρίνις.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΙΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα φωνήεντι μακρῷ ἢ ἐκτεινομένῳ βαρύνεται μὴ ὑποκοριστικὰ ὄντα· ὄρνις Θῶνις μῆνις νῆνις. τὸ μέντοι φωνίς ὑποκοριστικόν ἐστι.

(35.) Τὰ εἰς ΝΙΣ θηλυκὰ διφθόγγω παραλήγοντα ὀξύνεται· μαινίς δαυνίς ἐπιγουνίς θεραπαινίς λεαινίς. τὸ μέντοι εὔνις βαρύνεται καὶ βοῦνις καὶ χλοῦνις.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΝΙΣ θηλυκὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύνεται· Ὠκεανίς Τιτανίς στεφανίς. τὸ δὲ νεᾶνις προπερισπᾶται καὶ τὸ Ἄδανις προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ Θήβανις.

Τὰ εἰς ΕΝΙΣ καὶ ΟΝΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται· εὐμενίς εὐγενίς Λυκαονίς Ἀμαζονίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΞΙΣ ἀπὸ μελλόντων ἐσχηματισμένα βαρύνονται· ἔξω ἔξις, λέξω λέξις, ψύξω ψύξις. σεσημείωται ἀψίς ὀξυνόμενον. τὰ μέντοι

19 Τὰ...54.2 ὀξίς: cf. sch. Hom. II. 1.317b.6-8 πλείστα γὰρ ὀνόματα ἀπὸ μελλόντων γέγονεν, οἷον ἄψω ἀψίς, λέξω λέξις, δόξω δόξα, ἄξω ἄξα καὶ ἄμαξα. οὕτως οὖν καὶ κνίσω κνίσα; Et. Sym. II 367.28-31 καὶ αὐτὸ παρὰ τὸ ἄπτω βαρύνεσθαι καὶ συστέλλειν τὸ ι· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ἀπὸ μελλόντων γινόμενα καὶ βαρύνονται καὶ συστέλλουσι τὸ ι· πράξω πράξις, λέξω λέξις. εἰ οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄψω μέλλοντος, ὥφειλε βαρύνεσθαι καὶ συστέλλειν τὸ ι; sch. D. T. Marc. 353.1 Εἴρηται δὲ λέξις ἀπὸ μέλλοντος τοῦ λέξω, ὡς ἔξω ἔξις; cf. etiam Vat. 212.7; Choerob. De Orthogr. 172.5-11; Ep. Hom. 317,a.2-3; Et. Gen. α 1537.11-7; EM 481.30-1; Zonar. ι 1139.12-4

1 κόνις MO^{p.c.}: κᾶνις O^{a.c.} **5** μῆ...6 ὄντα add. M^{s.l.} **6** ὄρνις Θῶνις Schmidt dubitanter: ὀρθῶνις MO νῆνις Schmidt: νῖνις MO; alii alia: ἴνις vel ἦνις **8** θηλυκὰ M^{s.l.} διφθόγγω O: διφθόγγω M **11** βοῦνις O: βούνις M **15** Θήβανις] θηβανις sine accentu O **16** ΟΝΙΣ Schmidt: ὠνις MO **17** Λυκαονίς...18 Ἀμαζονίς L. Dindorf: λυκαωνίς ἀμαξωνίς MO **19** ΞΙΣ] ιξ O **20** ψύξω ψύξις] τύψω τύψις O

παρώνυμα ὀξύνεται· ἄμαξα ἀμαξίς, πύξος πυξίς, ὄξος ὀξίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΠΙΣ διβράχεια ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἢ συμφώνων ἀρχόμενα ὀξύνεται· πρᾶπις κοπίς λεπίς. σεσημείωται τὸ τρώπις. τὸ δὲ ὄπις ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχεται. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΠΙΣ δισύλλαβα θέσει μακροῦ παραληγόμενα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχοῖτο, βαρύνεται μὴ ὄντα ὑποκοριστικά, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος, ὀξύνεται. βαρύνεται δὲ ταῦτα· τράμπις Σάλπις (πόλις) κάλπις θέσπις πόρπις. ὀξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πλη(36.)θυντικῶς λεγόμενα· ἐλπίς ἀσπίς ἐμπίς. τὸ δὲ Ἄλπις βαρύνεται. 10

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΠΙΣ πολυσύλλαβα μὴ ἔχοντα ἔννοιαν συνθέσεως ὀξύνεται· Κεκροπίς 15

7 Τὰ ... 14 βαρύνεται: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 150.29-33 Τὰ εἰς ΠΙΣ θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχοῖτο, βαρύνεται, οἷον τράμπις τράμπιδος, (ἐστὶ δὲ εἶδος ὄπλου βαρβαρικοῦ,) κάλπις κάλπιδος· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ συμφώνου (scrib. εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου vel εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος), ὀξύνεται, οἷον ἀσπίς, ἐλπίς, ἐμπίς; *Et. Gud.* α 216.11-4 τὰ εἰς ΠΙΣ θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχονται, βαρύνονται, οἷον τράμπις τράμπιδος (ἐστὶ δὲ βαρβαρικὸν πλοῖον), θέσπις θέσπιδος, κάλπις κάλπιδος· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος, ὀξύνονται, οἷον ἀσπίς ἐλπίς ἐμπίς· σημαίνει δὲ τὸν κώνωπα; θ 258.39-44 τὰ εἰς ΠΙΣ ῥήματα δισύλλαβα φύσει μακροῦ παραληγόμενα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχονται, βαρύνονται. οἷον, τράμπις, ἐστὶ δὲ βαρβαρικὴ ναῦς, κάλπις κάλπιδος, θέσπις θέσπιδος, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχονται, ὀξύνονται, ἐλπίς ἐλπίδος, ἐμπίς, ὁ κώνωψ, ἐμπίδος, ἀσπίς ἀσπίδος, καὶ εἴ τι ὅμοιον; *EM* 157.23-5 Τὰ εἰς ΠΙΣ θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχονται, βαρύνονται, θέσπις, τράμπις· ἐστὶ δὲ βαρβαρικὸν ὄπλον· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος, ὀξύνεται, ἀσπίς, ἐλπίς, ἐμπίς, εἶδος κώνωπος.

1 ἄμαξα ἀμαξίς] ἄμαξις ἀμαξίς (sic) Ο 5 λεπίς om. Ο

11 Σάλπις πόλις] θλάσπις Schmidt 35.21 (app. crit.); Σάλπις (πόλις) malit Götting 12 μὴ ... 13 λεγόμενα] μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα Götting; cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 150.32-3; fortasse etiam μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα (vel ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχόμενα) καὶ μὴ πληθυντικῶς λεγόμενα

Δρυοπίς Αἰθιοπίς· τὸ φύλοπις δὲ προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΙΣ δισύλλαβα ὑποκοριστικὰ <...> ἐννοίας ἐχόμενα ὀξύνεται· Τευκρίς χειρίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΡΙΣ κύρια μὲν ὄντα βαρύνονται· Μάκρις Πρόκρις Ἄκρις· τὰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ὀξύνεται· Ἀκρις Λοκρίς. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΡΙΣ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Ρ ἓν τι τῶν ψιλῶν ὀξύνεται· παλαιστρίς αὐληστρίς ἐπακτρίς. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΡΙΣ μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς μέσου ἢ δασέος ἢ τοῦ Π βαρύνεται· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ὀξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ σύμφωνον εἴη δεδιπλασιασμένον· ὕβρις Κύπρις· ὀξύνεται δὲ τὸ νεβρίς κεδρίς. τὸ δὲ ἄγγρις δεδιπλασίουται. 15

Τὰ εἰς ΡΙΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Α βαρύνεται· κίθαρις εὔμαρις Σύβαρις κάππαρις, εἰ μὴ εἴη ὡς ὑποκοριστικὰ ἢ πατρωνυμικά, ἢ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Ε ἔχοντα. τότε γὰρ ὀξύνεται· Μεγαρίς βλεφαρίς θεωρίς ἐαρίς. 20

Τὰ εἰς ΕΡΙΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται· Ἀστερίς νυκτερίς. τὸ δὲ Πάστερις καὶ Κελένδερις βαρύνεται.

(37.) Τὰ εἰς ΥΡΙΣ μὴ κατὰ τροπὴν γενόμενα ὀξύνεται· ἄλμυρις πορφυρίς ἀργυρίς Ἰλλυρίς. τὸ δὲ Θάμυρις προπαροξύνεται. τὸ δὲ ἄγυρις κατὰ τροπὴν ἐγένετο. 25

1 Δρυοπίς Αἰθιοπίς M: Αἰθιοπίς O φύλοπις Schmidt 36.5: φύλωπις M: φίλωπις O **3** <>] ἢ πατρωνυμικῆς add. Lentz 98.16; cf. Ps-Arcad. 55.18–19 **5** ΚΡΙΣ] κρι O μὲν om. O **9** αὐληστρίς] Schmidt 36.12 (app. crit.) αὐλητρίς vel αὐλιστρίς malit; cf. tamen Lobeck PGG 451 et Hdn. (1857), 354 (289.9) **12** Π] Π εἰ μὴ παρ' ὄνομα εἴη Schmidt 36.14 (app. crit.) **15** ἄγγρις M: ἄγρις O **17** Σύβαρις M^{a.c.}: σίβαρις M^{p.c.} O **23** Πάστερις Meineke (Παστερίς codd. St. Byz. 510.9): πάτερις MO **24** Κελένδερις G. Dindorf TGL IV 1420C: κέλερις MO **25** Τὰ] ἃ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) O γενόμενα] γινόμενα O **26** ὀξύνεται M^{p.c.} O: ὀξύρεται (sic) M^{a.c.} **27** Ἰλλυρίς] Ἰδυρίς St. Byz. ι 29.2

Τὰ εἰς ΡΙΣ Αἰγύπτια προπαροξύνεται
Βούσιρις Ὅσιρις Ψένυρις.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΙΣ ἀπὸ μέλλοντος γινόμενα ἢ ἀπὸ
δευτέρου προσώπου τοῦ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου
βαρύνονται ποιήσω ποιήσεις, λύσω λύσεις, 5
κέκρισαι κρίσεις. τὰ μέντοι παρώνυμα χαίρουσι
τῇ ὀξείᾳ· Χρύσης Χρυσίς, νῆσος νησίς.
σεσημείωται τὸ ἄσις ὁ ῥύπος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄση
γεγονός.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΙΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὸ Ο μικρὸν <....> 10
ἢ Ω μέγα πρὸ τοῦ ΤΙΣ <μὴ ὄντα> ἐπιθετικά, εἰ μὴ
παράκειται ἀρσενικῶ τῷ εἰς ΤΗΣ, ὀξύνεται·
φορτίς φροντίς νοτίς οὐτίς Δωτίς ὠτίς.
τὸ δὲ πόρτις ἀπὸ τοῦ πόρις. <.....>

Τὰ εἰς ΤΙΣ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψιλὸν ἔχοντα <....> 15

10 Τὰ...14 πόρις: cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.40b {καὶ} Φρόντιδι
{δίηϊ}: ὡς „Ἡλιδι“ (Λ 673 al.). οὕτως Τυραννίων (fr. 41 P.), καὶ
ἐπείσθη ἢ παράδοσις. ὁ μέντοι κανὼν ὀξυτονεῖ τὸ φροντίς·
τὰ γὰρ εἰς τις λήγοντα θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα, μὴ ὄντα
ἐπιθετικά, παραληγόμενα δὲ τῷ ο ἦτοι μόνῳ ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ
φωνήεντι, ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, κοιτίς Προίτις φροντίς, „οὐτίς“
τὸ ζῶον παρ' Αλκμᾶνι (fr. 143 P. = P.M.G. 143). οὕτως οὖν καὶ
φροντίς, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ἐπεὶ κύριον τοῦτο, καὶ βαρυτονηθήσεται.
οὐ μάχεται τὸ „πόρτις“ (cf. E 162)· καὶ γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ τ,
„πόριες περὶ βοῦς ἀγελαίας“ (κ 410). ‘μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά’
πρόσκειται διὰ τὸ πότις, ᾧ παράκειται τὸ πότης; Eust. *Il.* IV
10.15-8 Βαρύνεται δὲ Φρόντις κανόνι τοιούτῳ. τὰ εἰς τις
δισύλλαβα, μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά, παραληγόμενα τῷ ο ἢ μόνῳ
ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ ὀξύνεται· Προίτις, κοιτίς, φροντίς. τὸ Φρόντις ὡς
κύριον βαρύνεται πρὸς διαστολήν. τὸ πόρτις οὐ μάχεται.
εὗρηται γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ τ πόρις.

8 ῥύπος Schmidt 37.11: ῥύπος ΜΟ ἄση Schmidt: ἄσης ΜΟ
10 <>] fortasse debemus addere ἦτοι μόνον ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ
φωνήεντι; παραληγόμενα δὲ τῷ ο ἦτοι μόνῳ ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ
φωνήεντι citantur in sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.40b **11** <μὴ ὄντα>] verba
μὴ ὄντα excidisse notavit Schmidt 37.14 (app. crit.); cf. sch.
Hom. *Il.* 17.40b **13** φορτίς] φόρτις O^{ac}. Δωτίς Schmidt 37.16:
δοτίς ΜΟ **14** <>] ‘μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά’ πρόσκειται διὰ τὸ
πότις, ᾧ παράκειται τὸ πότης habet sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.40b
15 <>] verba τὰ μὲν excidisse censuit Schmidt 37.18 (app. crit.)

βαρύνεται κλέπτεις ἴκτις (ζῶον) λάκτις (ἡ τορύνη). τὰ δὲ ὀξύνεται νυκτίς πηκτίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΙΣ πρὸ τοῦ ΤΙΣ Υἱ ἔχοντα σπάνια ὄντα **(38.)** τὰ μὲν βαρύνεται Σύρτις, τὰ δὲ ὀξύνεται ῥυτίς κυρτίς.

5

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΤΤ σπάνια ὄντα τὰ μὲν βαρύνεται, οἶον· παιτέττις, τὰ δὲ ὀξύνεται τριοττίς νεοττίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΙΣ δισύλλαβα βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ὑποκοριστικώτερα εἴη· πίστις μνηστis. τὸ μέντοι κιστίς ὀξύνεται ὡς ὑποκοριστικόν.

10

Ἐτι τὰ εἰς ΣΤΙΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἰ μὴ ἐπίθετα εἴη, προπαροξύνεται βούβρωστις ἄγρωστις. ὀξύνεται τὸ Κεραστίς Λιγυστίς Λιβυστίς ὡς ἐπιθετικά.

15

Τὰ εἰς ΤΙΣ πολυσύλλαβα Ν πρὸ τοῦ Τ ἔχοντα μὴ παρακείμενα τοῖς εἰς ΤΗΣ ὀξύνεται Προποντίς Ἑλλησποντίς. <...> αὐθεντίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ θηλυκὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΗΣ ἀρσενικῶν

19 Τὰ...58.5 λαχανόπωλις: cf. sch. Hom. II. 9.571d <ἡεροφοῖτις> τὰ εἰς ις παρώνυμα θηλυκὰ, παρακείμενα τοῖς εἰς ης ἀρσενικοῖς βαρυνόμενοις, προπερισπᾶται, εἰ φύσει μακρᾷ παραλήγοιτο, πρωθήβις πολιήτις ἀλεῖτις πλανήτις πρεσβῦτις. οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡεροφοῖτις. ὅσα δὲ παρὰ τὸ πωλεῖν ἔστιν, ἀνεβίβασε τὸν τόνον, ἀρτόπωλις ἀλφιτόπωλις. ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τὸ κοῖτος, „παρακόιτις“ (Δ 60 al.), „ἄκοιτις“ (Γ 138 al.), τὸ μέντοι „δολόμητις“ (γ 250 al.) οὐκ ἔστι θηλυκόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρσενικόν· καὶ ἴσως τὸ μῆτις ἔγκειται ὡς τὸ „πολύμητις“ (Α 318 al.), „δολόμητις“. καὶ ἔστι σύνθετον; Choerob. *in Theod.* 329.14-22 Καὶ τὰ εἰς ις θηλυκὰ γινόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ης ἀρσενικῶν, τουτέστι κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ η εἰς τὸ ι, διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνονται, οἶον ὁ τοξότης τοῦ

1 ζῶον O: ζῶον M **2** τορύνη L. Dindorf TGL V 59B: τρυγών MO νυκτίς O: νοκτίς M: ἐπινυκτίς Schmidt 37.20 (app. crit.) **3** Υ O^{p.c.}: om. O^{a.c.} **4** τὰ μὲν om. O βαρύνεται O: βαρύνονται M **7** παιτέττις] Ἄττις conl. Götting **10** ὑποκοριστικώτερα C: ὑποκοριστικώτ^{τα} M: ὑποκοριστικῶς O **13** βούβρωστις C: βούβωστρις MO **14** Λιγυστίς L. Dindorf: λογιστίς MO **15** Λιβυστίς BC: λυβιστίς MO **18** αὐθεντίς] Ἀβαντίς vel Αἰαντίς Lobeck PGG 443; Schmidt 38.14 (app. crit.): 'Sectio haec lacunosa videtur'

γενόμενα πρὸ μιᾶς ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον· ὁ κυνηγέτης
 ἢ κυνηγέτις, ὁ δεσπότης ἢ δεσπότις, ὁ
 πολίτης ἢ πολίτις, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοίτης καὶ
 πωλῶν ταῦτα γὰρ προπαροξύνονται ἄκοιτις
 παράκοιτις ἀρτόπωλις λαχανόπωλις. τὸ 5
 Σκυθὶς δισυλλαβοῦν ὀξύνεται, ὡς τὸ Περσίς.

Τὰ εἰς ΦΙΣ διβράχέα ὀξύνεται· ῥαφίς
 γλυφίς σταφίς. εἰ δὲ ἡ παραλήγουσα εἴη φύσει
 ἢ θέσει μακρὰ ἐν δισυλλάβοις βαρύνεται· Ἴφισ
 Μέμφις. τὸ δὲ Κηφίς ὡς ἐθνικὸν ὀξύνεται, ὡς 10
 καὶ Δελφίς.

(39.) Τὰ εἰς ΦΙΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύνεται,

τοξότου καὶ ἡ τοξότις τῆς τοξότιδος, ὁ πολίτης τοῦ πολίτου
 καὶ ἡ πολίτις τῆς πολίτιδος, ὁ δραπέτης τοῦ δραπέτου καὶ ἡ
 δραπέτις τῆς δραπέτιδος, ὁ κυνηγέτης τοῦ κυνηγέτου καὶ ἡ
 κυνηγέτις τῆς κυνηγέτιδος, ὁ παρακοίτης τοῦ παρακοίτου
 καὶ ἡ παράκοιτις τῆς παρακοίτιδος, ὁ ἀρτοπώλης τοῦ
 ἀρτοπώλου καὶ ἡ ἀρτόπωλις τῆς ἀρτοπώλιδος, ὁ δεσπότης
 τοῦ δεσπότης καὶ ἡ δεσπότις τῆς δεσπότιδος; 329.28-330.3
 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα τὰ εἰς ις θηλυκὰ τὰ γινόμενα ἀπὸ
 τῶν εἰς ης ἀρσενικῶν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὄντα πρὸ μιᾶς
 ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον, οἷον ὁ κυνηγέτης καὶ ἡ κυνηγέτις, ὁ
 δεσπότης καὶ ἡ δεσπότις, ὁ τοξότης καὶ ἡ τοξότις, ὁ πολίτης
 καὶ ἡ πολίτις, ὁ δραπέτης καὶ ἡ δραπέτις· σεσημείωνται ἐν
 τῷ κανόνι τὰ παρὰ τὸ κοίτη καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὸ πωλῶν ταῦτα γὰρ
 προπαροξύνονται ἐν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς, οἷον ἄκοιτις παράκοιτις
 πορφυρόπωλις ἀρτόπωλις λαχανόπωλις. Πρόσκειται «ὑπὲρ
 δύο συλλαβὰς ὄντα» διὰ τὸ ὅ Σκύθης καὶ ἡ Σκυθίς, ὁ Πέρσης
 καὶ ἡ Περσίς γυνή· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς
 πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς.

1 γενόμενα Schmidt 38.16: γινόμενα MO **3** πολίτις O:
 πολίτις/ πολίτις duobus accentibus M **7** ὀξύνεται] ὀξύνονται
 O **8** σταφίς] σταφίς στροφίς dubitans Schmidt 38.23 (app.
 crit.) **9** βαρύνεται scripsi: παροξύνεται M: προπαροξύνεται
 O; παροξύνεται ἢ προπερισπᾶται Lentz 106.34 Ἴφισ Schmidt
 38.24: ἴφισ MO **10** Μέμφις] μέμψις O ὡς ἐθνικόν] Schmidt
 38.25 (app. crit.): 'debebat ἐπὶ ἐθνικοῦ; aliud enim significat
 Κῆφισ Δέλφισ'

εἰ μὴ κύρια εἴη· ἀσταφίς κροταφίς ἐλαφίς.
τὸ δὲ Ἰερόοφίς ὡς κύριον προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΧΙΣ ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ὀνόματα πόλεων ἢ
νήσων εἴη· Κολχίς Ἀντιοχίς παννυχίς. τὸ
δὲ ῥάχίς σεσημειώται. τὸ μέντοι Ἀτάρβηχίς 5
Ὑδελχίς ἐπὶ πόλεων καὶ νήσων.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΣ θηλυκὰ ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχοντα τὸν τόνον

7 Τὰ...60.2 ἀψίς: cf. Choerob. in Theod. 327.5-20 ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ
εἰς ις λήγοντα ὀξύτονα δηλονότι ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν πάντα
διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνονται, εἴτε ἐκτείνουσι τὸ ι, ὡς τὸ κνημῖς
κνημίδος, κρηπίς κρηπίδος, σφραγίς σφραγίδος, ἀψίς ἀψίδος,
εἴτε συστέλλουσι τὸ ι, ὡς τὸ ἀσπίς ἀσπίδος, ῥανίς ῥανίδος,
βολίς βολίδος, σανίς σανίδος, σεσημειωμένου τοῦ ἀγλῖς
ἀγλῖθος· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ κλίνεται διὰ τοῦ δος ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ θος,
ἔχει δὲ μακρὸν τὸ ι κατὰ τὴν γενικὴν καὶ σημαίνει τὴν
κεφαλὴν τοῦ σκοροδίου. Πρόσκειται «δηλονότι ὑπὲρ μίαν
συλλαβὴν» διὰ τὸ κίς κίος (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν σκώληκα) καὶ λῖς
λίος (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν λέοντα), ἔχουσι δὲ μακρὸν τὸ ι κατὰ
τὴν γενικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ος κλίνονται καὶ οὐ
διὰ τοῦ δος, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν. Τὸ ἀκτίς
ἀκτίνος διὰ τοῦ νος κλινόμενον οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ
δικατάληκτόν ἐστιν, ἀκτίν γὰρ καὶ ἀκτίς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι φύσει
εἰς ς ἀλλ' εἰς ν, καὶ τροπὴ παρηκολούθησε τοῦ ν εἰς τὸ ς, ὡς
ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ μεμαθήκαμεν. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἰς
ις ὀξύτονα εἰς α μόνως ἔχουσι τὴν αἰτιατικὴν, οἷον κρηπίδα
ἀσπίδα ἀψίδα ψηφίδα βολίδα ῥανίδα; *De Orthogr.* 172.8-11 τὰ
γὰρ εἰς ις ἀπλᾶ ἐκτείνονται τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον·
οἷον, κνημῖς· κρηπίς· ψηφίς· οὕτως καὶ ἀψίς· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις
ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀποστρέφονται τὴν εἰ
δίφθογγον, χωρὶς τοῦ κλείς καὶ ἀντηρεῖς; *Et. Gen.* α 1537.16-7
τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ἀπλᾶ ἐκτείνοντα τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν
τόνον, οἷον κνημῖς ψηφίς σφραγίς κρηπίς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ
ἀψίς; *Et. Gud.* κ 317.14-7 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις θηλυκὰ ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ
μίαν συλλαβὴν κοινολεκτούμενα, ἀποστρέφονται τὴν εἰ
δίφθογγον· οἷον, ἀσπίς, ῥανίς, βολίς, κρηπίς, ψηφίς. κνημῖς·
οὕτως οὖν καὶ κεραμῖς; *Et. Sym.* II 366.34-368.4 ἔστιν οὖν
εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τόνον, σφραγίς κνημῖς ψηφίς κρηπίς·
οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀψίς. γράφεται δὲ διὰ τοῦ ι· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις
ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν κοινολεκτούμενα

2 Ἰερόοφίς MO: Ἰερόσφίς Barker; fortasse Ὀνουφίς (493.19) vel
Μώμεμφίς (466.12) vel Πάρεμφίς (503.16) e St. Byz. 7 Τὰ] ἀ (τ
om. in spatio vacuo) O

καὶ εἰς Α ποιῶντα τὴν αἰτιατικὴν ὀξύνονται
ἀσπίς ῥανίς κρηπίς κνημὶς ἀψίς.

Εἰ δὲ εἰς ΙΝ ἔχουσι τὴν αἰτιατικὴν,
περισπῶνται Βενδῖς Μολῖς Τοτῖς
Ἀταργατῖς.

5

**Περὶ τοῦ τόνου τῶν εἰς ΟΣ ὀνομάτων.
Βιβλίον ε'.**

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα τῶ Α μακρῶ
παραληγόμενα ὀλίγα εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀξύνεται μὲν, ὅσα
οὐ κύρια μὴ δὲ ἐπιθετικά· παός καὶ πηός, ναός
καὶ νηός, λαός καὶ ληός. τὸ Δᾶος ὡς κύριον
βαρύνεται, καὶ τὸ πρᾶος δὲ ἐπίθετον. τὸ μέντοι
ταός παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ταῶς
σεσημείωται. τὸ δὲ λᾶος παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἀπὸ
γενικῆς εἰς εὐθείαν μετεποιήθη.

10

15

Τὰ εἰς ΑΙΟΣ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὴ εἴη κύρια,

ἀποστρέφονται τὴν εἰ <δίφθογγον>, κρηπίς ῥανίς σανίς
βολίς θυρίς <ἀψίς>; *EM* 184.4-7 Τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΙΣ ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ
ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἀπλᾶ ἐκτείνοντα τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι
τὸν τόνον· οἶον, κνημὶς, κρηπίς, σφραγίς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀψίς.
3 Εἰ...5 Ἀταργατῖς: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 328.10-4 Ἰστέον δὲ
ὅτι τὰ εἰς ις περισπώμενα θηλυκὰ διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνονται καὶ
εἰς ν μόνως ἔχουσι τὴν αἰτιατικὴν, οἶον Βενδῖς Βενδίδος
Βενδῖν, Ἀταργατῖς Ἀταργατίδος Ἀταργατῖν, Μολῖς Μολίδος
Μολῖν, Τιτῖς Τιτίδος Τιτῖν· εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα ὀνόματα δαιμόνων
τιμωμένων παρὰ τοῖς Θραξίν; 129.39-130.3; *Ep. Hom.* 1, a1.41-3
Τὰ δὲ εἰς ις περισπώμενα θηλυκὰ διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνονται καὶ
εἰς ν μόνως ἔχουσι τὴν αἰτιατικὴν, οἶον Βενδῖς, Ἀταργατῖς,
Μολῖς, Τιτῖς, δαίμονες τιμώμενοι παρὰ Θραξί. **16** Τὰ...
61.3 Παῖος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 48.4-6 (= 262.1-3) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ
αιὸς ἀρσενικὰ κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικὰ ὀξύτονα δισύλλαβα
διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· οἶον, λαιὸς ὁ εὐώνυμος·
σκαῖος ὁ δόλιος· ἔστι δὲ καὶ κύριον ὄνομα; *Et. Gud.* η 234.50-2
τὰ διὰ τοῦ αιὸς ὀξύτονα δισύλλαβα τριγενῆ, διὰ τῆς αἰ
διφθόγγου γράφεται, οἶον, σκαῖος, φαιός, λαιός; σ 502.10-2;

4 Τοτῖς M: τοπ~~η~~οτῖς (πισ postea expunctum) O; Τιτῖς Choerob.
in Theod. 328.12-3 **7** ε'] ε^{ov} O **8** μακρῶ A: μακρὸν MO
9 ὀλίγα εἰσὶ O: ὀλίγα εἰσι M **10** παός M: παρὸς O **11** Δᾶος
Schmidt 39.18: δάος MO; Δάος Göttling (1835), 167 **13** ταῶς
Schmidt 39.20: ταῶς M^{p.c.}; λαῶς M^{a.c.} O **14** λᾶος Schmidt 39.20:
λάος MO **15** εὐθείαν] θεῖαν O^{a.c.}

ὀξύ(40.)νεται· λαιός σκαιός τὸ ἐπίθετον.
Σκαῖος δὲ τὸ κύριον, ὡς Βαῖος Γραῖος
Παῖος.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΥΟΣ δισύλλαβα βαρύνεται· ναῦος
αὔος (ὁ ξηρός). τὸ δὲ ἀγαυός τρισύλλαβον.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΟΙΟΣ δισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ εἴη
κύρια καὶ πυσματικά, καὶ τὸ Ο πλεονάζει ἐν τῇ
ἀρχῇ· σμοιός ἐπίθετον, σκλοιός (ὁ σκολιός)
δοιός γλοιός (ἐπὶ κόπρου) Βοιός κλοιός. τὸ
ποῖος τοῖος οἶος (ὁ μόνος) βαρύνεται, ὡς
πυσματικά. καὶ τὰ κύρια δὲ ὁμοίως· Σμοῖος

10

ΕΜ 417.26-8 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΙΟΣ δισύλλαβα ὀξύτονα τριγενῇ διὰ
τῆς ΑΙ διφθόγγου γράφεται· οῖον, σκαιός, λαιός, φαιός·
4 Τὰ...5 τρισύλλαβον· cf. sch. Hom. II. 12.137b {βόας} αὔας·
βαρυτονοῦσιν οἱ πλείους. Νικίας (fr. 15 B.) δὲ ὀξύνει διὰ τὸ
μεταφραζόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ξηράς ὀξύνεται. εἴρηται δὲ περὶ
τῶν τοιούτων ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πρὸς μεταφραζόμενα τὰς λέξεις
τονοῦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀσκαλωνίτης (p. 52 B.) βαρύνει. χρή μέντοι
γινώσκειν ὅτι μονήρης ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς ος λῆγον
καθαρὸν δισύλλαβον, τῇ αὐ διφθόγγῳ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
διάλεκτον παραληγόμενον, τριγενές ἐστιν· διὸ οὐδὲ
ἀντιπαράθεσιν ἔσχεν. ἴσως δὲ βεβαρυτόνηται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ
ναῦος ἐβαρύνετο καὶ τὸ Τραῦος κύριον καὶ τὸ „ψαῦος“ παρ’
Ἀλκμᾶνι (fr. 147 P.). **6** Τὰ...62.2 ὀξύνεται· cf. Theognost.
Can. II 49.21-9 (= 268) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἶος δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά,
εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά, εἴτε προπερισπώμενα, εἴτε
ὀξύτονα, εἴτε πυσματικά, εἴτε ἀναφορικά, διὰ τῆς οἶ
διφθόγγου γράφονται· οῖον, σμοῖος τὸ ἐπιθετικόν· σκολιός ὁ
σκολιός· δοῖος· μνοῖος ὁ ἱπνός· γλοιός ἡ κόπρος· Βοῖος τὸ
ἔθνος, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὄνομα κύριον φλοιός· κλοιός ὁ καὶ κλωός
λέγεται· τοῖος· ποῖος· τό τε προπερισπώμενον τό τε ὀξύτονον·
τό τε ψιλούμενον καὶ τὸ δασυνόμενον· κοῖος· ποῖος· οἶος· τό
τε ὀξύτονον· δηλοῖ δὲ δῆμον Ἀττικὸν καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν, καὶ
ὄνομα λιμένος καὶ ῥεῖθρον.

2 Βαῖος Schmidt 40.2: μαῖος MO **4** ΑΥΟΣ Schmidt 40.3: ανος
vel ανος M: ανος O βαρύνεται scripsi: ὀξύνεται MO ναῦος...
5 αὔος Schmidt 40.3-4: ναύος αὔος MO; perperam Galland
(1886), 297 codicem M νάνος ἄνος habere notavit
8 σκλοιός...σκολιός] σκoiός ὁ σκότιος haesitanter Schmidt
40.7 (app. crit.) **9** κόπρου M: κόπλου O κλοιός M: κλοιός
κλωός (sic) O **11** Σμοῖος scripsi ex Ar. Ec. 846: μοῖος MO

Βοῖος Κοῖος. Οἶός δὲ (ὁ δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς) ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς Εἰοσ δισύλλαβα ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται
Λεῖος μεῖος Κεῖος θεῖος πλεῖος. τὸ δὲ
νείος <οὐκ> ἀρσενικὸν καὶ μονογενές.

5

Τὰ εἰς Οσ καθαρὸν δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα

1 Οἶός...**2** ὀξύνεται: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημαίν. recensio a ο 4.3 Οἶός· ὁ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς ὀξύνεται; recensio b ο 5.2 Οἶός· ὁ δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὀξύνεται; recensio c ο 6.3; recensio d ο 7.2; recensio e ο 2.3; Eust. II. III 142.10 Τὸ Οἶός – δῆμος δέ ἐστιν Ἀττικῆς.

3 Τὰ...**5** μονογενές: cf. Theognost. Can. II 48.15-20 (= 263.1-6) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰος ἀρσενικὰ δισύλλαβα βαρύνοντα, ἔχοντα οὐδετέρου παρασχηματισμὸν διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται οῖον, μεῖος· θεῖος· Κεῖος· ῥεῖος· χρεῖος, ὁ χρήζων· πλεῖος· λεῖος· τὸ νείος ὀξύτονον καὶ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον, μὴ ὄν ἀρσενικόν, μήδε ἔχον οὐδετέρου παρασχηματισμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνανεουμένης γῆς μονῆρες; Choerob. De Orthogr. 271.1-7 Φλῖος· Ὀνομα πόλεως, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται ἐπειδὴ τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιος δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ οὐ θέλουσι διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεσθαι· Κίος, ἔστιν δὲ ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· βῖος· δίος· Χίος· οὕτως καὶ Φλῖος· πλὴν τοῦ μεῖος· λεῖος· θεῖος· Κεῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ κέω· πλεῖος· χρεῖος ὁ χρήζων· ἀρεῖος ὁ ἀσθενής· πρόσκειται ἀρσενικὰ διὰ τὸ νείος ἄρουρα, σημαίνει δὲ τὴν ἀρεομένην γῆν; Et. Gud κ 346.53-8 πρόσκειται ἀρσενικὰ, διὰ τοῦ νείος ἢ ἄρουρα, τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρσενικὸν ἀλλὰ θηλυκόν· καὶ σεσημειώται διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ θεῖος, Κεῖος ὁ πολίτης τῆς κέω, πλεῖος, μεῖος, λεῖος; EM 539.27-30 Πρόσκειται, “ἀρσενικά,” διὰ τὸ νείος, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν ἀρουμένην γῆν· ἔστι δὲ θηλυκόν. Σεσημειώται ταῦτα, θεῖος, Κεῖος, ὁ τῆς Κέω πόλεως· πλεῖος, μεῖος, λεῖος.

6 Τὰ...**63.7** ὀξύνεται: cf. Theognost. Can. II 48.21-9 (= 264.1-9) Τὰ διὰ ιος δισύλλαβα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἢ συμφώνων ἀρχόμενα, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά, διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ ι γράφεται οῖον, Πῖος· Χίος· δίος· Θρίος· Γρίος· Φθῖος· κῆος· κᾶν τε βαρύνοντο, κᾶν τε ὀξύνοιτο· τούτοις ὅμοιον κατὰ τε γραφὴν καὶ χρόνον, τὸ ἰος ὀξύτονον ἐπὶ τοῦ βέλους, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἢ συμφώνων ἤρξατο· σεσημειώται τὸ Ἴος ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου· δηλοῖ

5 <οὐκ>] add. Lentz 110.7 (iam Schmidt 40.12 in apparatu critico) e Theognost. Can. II 48.18 (= 263.4), cf. Choerob. De Orthogr. 271.1-7, (iam proposuit Schmidt 40.13 (app. crit.))

τῷ Ι μακρῷ ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἢ δύο συμφώνων βαρύνεται· πῖος Χῖος δῖος Θρῖος Φθῖος. τὸ κριὸς σεσημείωται.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ τὸ δίχρονον βραχὺ ἔχοντα βαρύνεται **(41.)** σάος Ἴος Τίος ἴος (ὁ μόνος) βίος (ἡ ζωή). βιός δὲ (τὸ τόξον). τὸ δὲ νυός (ἡ νύμφη) ὀξύνεται.

5

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΟΣ καὶ ΕΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἀπὸ

δὲ καὶ τὸν μόνον· Τίος ὄνομα πόλεως· Χῖος ὄνομα νήσου· Κῖος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ καὶ ἔθνους· βίος ἐπὶ τῆς ζωῆς· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ βέλους ὀξύνεται, ὅτι διὰ βραχέος τοῦ ι γράφεται; *Et. Gud.* κ 346.48-53 τὰ γὰρ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά, ἀποστρέφει τὴν διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γραφήν· οἶον, βίος, Χῖος, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Χίου, δῖος ὁ ἔνδοξος, Θρῖος ὄνομα τόπου, Κῖος κύριον, Τίος κύριον, ἴος ὁ μόνος, ἰὸς τοῦ ὄφους καὶ τὸ βέλος, Πῖος κύριον, κριός· οὕτως οὖν καὶ Κρῖος· Τὰ... 63.3 σεσημείωται: cf. *Ep. Hom.* 7, d1.2-6 τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ ι ἐκτεταμένῳ, εἰ ἄρχεται ἀπὸ συμφώνου, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, τουτέστι προπερισπῶνται, οἶον Πῖος ὄνομα κύριον, Χῖος, δῖος, Θρῖος, Κρῖος, Φθῖος. σεσημείωται τὸ κριὸς ὀξυνόμενον καὶ τὸ ἰός, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἄρχεται; *EM* 539.23-7 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά τὴν ΕΙ δίφθογγον ἀποστρέφεται, βίος, δῖος· Χῖος, ὁ πολίτης τῆς Χίου· Θρῖος, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Κῖος, ὄνομα κύριον· Πῖος, ὄνομα κύριον· Τίος, ὄνομα κύριον. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ Κρῖος. **8** Τὰ... 64.4 μόνου: cf. Choerob. in *Theod.* 240.35-241.1 ἐπεὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ οος δισυλλάβων πάντων βαρυνομένων, οἶον πλόος ῥόος θρόος νόος, τὸ θοός μόνον ὀξύνεται, εἰκότως ὡς παραλλάξαν κατὰ τὸν τόνον παρήλλαξε καὶ κατὰ τὴν κρᾶσιν; 241.3-10 Πάλιν ἄξιόν ἐστι ζητῆσαι, εἰ ἄρα τὰ διὰ τοῦ οος δισύλλαβα πάντα βαρύνονται, οἶον πλόος νόος ῥόος γόος θρόος, διατί τὸ θοός μόνον ὀξύνεται πρόσκειται «δισύλλαβα» διὰ τὸ ὁλοός ὀξυνόμενον. Ἔστιν οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μόνον τὸ θοός ἐκ πάντων τῶν δισυλλάβων τῶν διὰ τοῦ οος ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ θ <ἀρξάμενον—τὸ γὰρ θρόος ἀπὸ τοῦ θ ἀρξάμενον οὐκ ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ θ> ἤρξατο, ἀλλ' ἔχει τὸ ρ μετὰ τοῦ θ—εἰκότως ὡς παραλλάξαν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχουσαν

1 μακρῷ Schmidt: μακρὸν ΜΟ

4 ΟΣ Schmidt: ιος ΜΟ;

Schmidt 40.19 (app. crit.) verba ΟΣ καθαρὸν δισύλλαβα excidisse censuit τὸ om. Ο δίχρονον βραχὺ (δίχρονον add. M^{s.l.}) M^{p.c.}: δίχρονον Ο: ι βραχὺ M^{a.c.}; Schmidt 40.19 (app. crit.) βραχὺ excidisse indicavit, sed codices MA βραχὺ praebeant

συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα καὶ μὴ μόνου τοῦ Θ βαρύνεται· νόος γόος ῥόος πλόος θρόος νέος. τὸ δὲ ἐὸς ὀξύνεται· ἀπὸ φωνήεντος γάρ· καὶ τὸ θεὸς ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θ μόνου.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΟΣ μετὰ προσγεγραμμένου Ι 5
δισύλλαβα [βαρύνεται ἢ] προπερισπᾶται· Κῶος
Λῶος σῶος. τὸ δὲ κλωός ἀπὸ τοῦ κλοιός
ὀξύνεται καὶ ἔτι τὸ ζωός.

Τὰ εἰς ΥΙΟΣ σπάνια ὄντα ὀξύνεται· υἱός.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ τρισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ τῷ Α μόνῳ 10
παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἡ τρίτη ἀπὸ τέλους
φύσει ἢ θέσει μακρὰ εἴη, ἢ κατὰ διάστασιν
σύμφωνον ἔχου· ἀγλαός ἀλαός Δαναός. τὸ δὲ
γόος ἐκ τοῦ γόης γέγονε.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΕΟΣ τρισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ ὀξύνεται, μὴ 15

παρήλλαξε καὶ κατὰ τὸν τόνον; *EM* 446.34-7 τὰ εἰς ΟΣ
καθαρὸν λήγοντα, παραληγόμενα τῷ ε ἢ τῷ ο,
ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ συμφώνου μὴ τοῦ θ, βαρύνεται, πλόος, νόος,
γόος. Τὸ θρόος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ θ. Θεὸς δὲ καὶ θεὸς
ὀξύνεται. **10** Τὰ ... **14** γέγονε: cf. *Et. Gud.* κ 316.4-7 τὰ εἰς ος
λήγοντα καθαρὰ τρισύλλαβα τῷ α μόνῳ
παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται, οἶον, Δαναός, ἀλαός, ἐξ οὗ καὶ
ἀλαοσκοπία, ἀγλαός **15** Τὰ ... 65.5 κτητικά: cf. *Theognost.*
Can. II 50.1-10 (= 270.1-10) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ λεος τρισύλλαβα
ὀξύτονα μονογενῇ ἀπλᾶ διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἶον,
Ἀλεὸς ὄνομα κύριον· εἰλεὸς ἢ νόσος· παλεὸς ὁ σκώπτης
τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄφρονος· γαλεὸς τὸ ζῶον καὶ μάντεων
γένος· Κελεός· κολεός· μαλεός· πελεός· ἐλεός· τό τε κύριον
καὶ τὸ σημαῖνον τὸν ἐλεεινόν, ἥγου τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους·
συναπηνέχθη δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ
τόνον, τὸ μέλεος, προπαροξύτονον, σύνθετον ὃν παρὰ τὸ μὴ
ἐλεεῖν· ἢ παρὰ τὸ μὴ λῶ, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ θέλω· τὸ γὰρ τέλεος·

5 ΩΟΣ Schmidt 41.8: φος ΜΟ **6** βαρύνεται ἢ del. Schmidt
9 ΥΙΟΣ...υἱός ΜΟ; Schmidt 41.11 (app. crit.), qui codicem Α
ΥΙΟΣ ... υἱος habere non animadvertit, ΥΙΟΣ ... υἱὸς γυνὸς
coniecit, sed cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 49.30-2 (= 269.1-3)
12 φύσει...θέσει] θέσει ἢ φύσει Ο^{ac}, sed numerus β supra
θέσει et numerus α supra φύσει inversum ordinem vocum
indicant Ο^{p.c}. **14** γόας ΜΟ^{p.c}: γοᾶος (flexa postea deleta a
scriptore) Ο^{ac}. γέγονε Μ: γέγονεν Ο **15** τρισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ
Μ: ἀπλᾶ τρισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ Ο

ὄντα κτητικά, ἢ διάφορον τόνῳ σημαίνοντα· ἰλεός (ἢ κατάδυσις) φωλεός κολεός μαλεός. Ἐλεός τὸ κύ(42.)ριον, ἔλεος δὲ τὸ προσηγορικόν. τὸ δὲ τέλεος καὶ τέλειος κτητικά.

5

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΟΣ παροξύνεται εἰ <μῆ> κτητικά εἶη, ῥητέος πρακτέος ἀθροιστέος. τὸ δὲ ἐτεός ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΛΕΟΣ παράγωγα ὑπὲρ τρεῖς

κήλεος ὁ καυστικός, κατὰ πάθος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλειος· κήλειος, κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ι. **2** ἰλεός...κατάδυσις: cf. Hsch. ε 865 εἰλεός· ἢ τοῦ θηρίου κατάδυσις καὶ στρόφος; Phot. ι 104 ἰλεός· κατάδυσις θηρίου; ε 220 εἰλεός· ὄφεως κατάδυσις; Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 247.21 ἰλεός, σημαίνει δὲ τὴν κατάδυσιν; *Et. Gud.* ι 276.48 ἰλεός, ἢ κατάδυσις; *Su.* εἰ 110.2 εἰλεός, ἢ κατάδυσις; ι 305 ἰλεός· ἢ κατάδυσις τοῦ ὄφεως; Zonar. ι 1103.5 ἰλεός· ὁ φωλεός· ἢ κατάδυσις τοῦ ὄφεως. **9** Τὰ...66.9 χρύσεος: cf. sch. D. T. *Lond.* 542.8-12 Ὁ διὰ τοῦ αλεος, παροξύνεται καὶ δύο συλλαβαῖς τοῦ πρωτοτύπου πλεονάζει, ῥωμαλέος δειμαλέος· τὸ δαιδάλεος κονισάλεος αἰθάλεος ἔνδειαν ἔχει τοῦ ι κτητικά ὄντα· τὸ νηφάλιος προτέλιος Αἰολικὴν ἔχει τὴν τροπὴν τοῦ ε καὶ τόνου; *Theognost. Can.* II 51.8-14 (= 274.1-7) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αλεος παροξύτονα παράγωγα διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, νηφαλέος· ῥωμαλέος· ὀπταλέος· σμερδαλέος· ἰκμαλέος· κερδαλέος· καρφαλέος· φρικαλέος· ἀρπαλέος· τὸ δαιδάλεος· κονισάλεος· αἰθάλεος· ἀτασθάλεος, κοινωνήσαντα τῇ γραφῇ τὸν τόνον διήλλαξαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιδάλειος· κονισάλειος· αἰθάλειος, γεγονότα κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ι, καὶ τὸ ἀτασθάλεος κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ε; Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 195.21-5 Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ αλεος

1 κτητικά] κτιτικά Ο τόνῳ Schmidt 41.17: τόνον ΜΟ σημαίνοντα Μ: σημαίνονται Ο **3** μαλεός] γαλεός Ἀλεός Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 909.12; Ἀλεός St. Byz. α 199.2 (Meineke St. Byz. 70.2 (app. crit.) lectionem μαλεός in Ps.-Arcadii epitomam corruptam iudicat); Ἀλεός etiam Götting (1835), 167 Ἐλεός... ἔλεος (ἔλεος Götting (1835), 168); ἔλεός (τὸ ἐπίθετον καὶ ἢ μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα καὶ ὁ ποταμός) ἔλεος δὲ τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ προσηγορικόν Schmidt 41.18 (app. crit.), cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 5.25 (= 11.6), II 50.5 (= 270.5): ἔλεός ... ἔλεος ΜΟ **6** ΕΟΣ] ΤΕΟΣ haesitans Schmidt 42.3 (app. crit.) παροξύνεται Μ: παροξύνονται Ο <μῆ>] add. Schmidt 42.3 (app. crit.), nisi plura desunt cf. *Il. Pros.* 18.410

συλλαβάς ἐστι καὶ παροξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ
 ἔνδειαν ἔχη τοῦ Ι ἀπὸ κτητικοῦ ὀνόματος, οἷον·
 νηφαλέος αὐαλέος σμερδαλέος
 θαρσαλέος. πρόσκειται "εἰ μὴ ἔχη ἔνδειαν τοῦ Ι
 ἀπὸ κτητικοῦ ὀνόματος" διὰ τὸ δαιδάλειος 5
 δαιδάλεος, κονισάλειος κονισάλεος. ὅσα δὲ
 ἀπὸ τῶν κτητικῶν ἐγένοντο κατ' ἔνδειαν τοῦ Ι καὶ
 προπαροξύνονται· Ἀγαμεμνόνεος Ἐκτόρεος
 Νεστόρεος τέλεος χάλκεος χρύσεος.

ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβάς πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχουσιν· οἷον,
 ἀργαλέος· σμερδαλέος· δειμαλέος· νηφαλέος· πλήν
 τεσσάρων· δαιδάλεος· κοβάλεος· ἀτασθάλεος· αἰθάλαιος· τὸ
 δὲ αἰθάλεος διαφορεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶθω γὰρ ὑπάρχει ὥσπερ
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νήφω, νηφαλέος; *Et. Parv.* κ 31.2-6 τὰ διὰ τοῦ
 ΛΕΟΣ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβάς πρὸ μιᾶς ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον·
 γηραλέος, κερδαλέος, ἀργαλέος· πλήν τοῦ κονισάλεος,
 δαιδάλεος; *EM* 261.50-262.2 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΛΕΟΣ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς
 συλλαβάς πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχουσιν· οἷον ἀργαλέος,
 νηφαλέος. Σεσημειωμένα δὲ εἰσὶ τέσσαρα ταῦτα· δαιδάλεος,
 ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιδάλειος· ἔστι καὶ κονισάλεος, κονισάλεον δίφρον,
 ὡς παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κονισάλειος, ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ι
 ἀτασθάλεος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀτάσθαλος, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ε
 γέγονεν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀτασθάλειος· αἰθάλεος· τοῦτο δὲ
 διαφορεῖται, καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς ἔχει τὸν τόνον· ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶθω γὰρ
 ὑπάρχει, ὡς νήφω, νηφαλέος; *Zonar.* δ 474.16-24 τὰ διὰ τοῦ
 αλεος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχουσιν, οἷον
 ἀργαλέος, νηφαλέος. σεσημειώται δαιδάλεος ἀπὸ τοῦ
 δαιδάλειος κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ι· κονισάλεος ἀπὸ τοῦ
 κονισάλειος κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ἰῶτα· αἰθάλεος· τοῦτο
 διαφορεῖται, πρὸ μιᾶς γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τόνον καὶ πρὸ δύο· πρὸ
 μιᾶς γὰρ ὑπάρχει ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶθω, ὡς νήφω, νηφαλέος

1 παροξύνεται Schmidt 42.7 (app. crit.): προπαροξύνεται MO
2 τοῦ Ι Schmidt 42.8: inv. ord. MO **3** νηφαλέος αὐαλέος
 Schmidt 42.8: νηφάλεος αὐλεος MO σμερδαλέος O:
 σμερδαλέος M **4** θαρσαλέος π: θαρσάλεος MO **6** δαιδάλεος
 Schmidt 42.10-1: δαιδαλέος M: om. O κονισάλεος Schmidt
 42.11: κονισαλέος MO δὲ] δὲ παροξύτονα MO **7** ἐγένοντο O:
 ἐγένετο M

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς <.....> τῷ Η παραληγόμενα <>. τὸ αἰζήος ἐστὶν ὀξυνόμενον. τὸ γὰρ παληός καὶ ἀρχῆος κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς ΑΙ

1 Τὰ ... 68.4 γάρ: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 51.15-21 (= 275.1-7) Τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καθαρὸν ἀπλᾶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον τὸ (scrib. τῷ) η παραληγόμενα οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ αἰζήος, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκ πάθους, καὶ τὸ πηός ὁ συγγενής· πρόσκειται κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον· ἐπεὶ τὸ παληός· ἀρχής· Ἀχῆος Βοιώτιά ἐστιν κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου εἰς η ὡς καὶ τὸ ὄρηος· Λύκης, Λακωνικά· πρόσκειται ἀπλᾶ διὰ τὸ πολύνηος· ἐχένης σύνθετα· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ναῦς νηός συνετέθη; *Et. Gen.* α 185.11-7 τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καθαρὸν ἀπλᾶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον τῷ η παραληγόμενα οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ αἰζήος καὶ πηός, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ πάθους. πρόσκειται «κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον», ἐπεὶ τὸ παληός ἀρχής Βοιώτιά εἰσι κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου εἰς η, ὡς τὸ ὄρηος καὶ λύκης Λακωνικά. πρόσκειται «ἀπλᾶ» διὰ τὸ Πολύνηος (θ 114) Ἐχένης (η 155)· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ νηός συνετέθησαν; *EM* 32.3-11 τὰ εἰς ΟΣ λήγοντα καθαρὸν ἀπλᾶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον τῷ ἦτα παραληγόμενα οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ αἰζήος, καὶ πηός· καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ πάθους. Πρόσκειται, «κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον», ἐπεὶ τὸ παληός, ἀρχής, [καὶ] Ἀχῆος, Βοιώτιά εἰσι, κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου εἰς ἦτα, ὡς τὸ ὄρηος καὶ λύκης, Λακωνικά. Πρόσκειται «ἀπλᾶ», διὰ τὸ πολυνήος, εὐνήος, ἐχενής· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ νηός συνετέθησαν; *Et. Sym.* I 133.9-134.7 γράφεται δὲ τὸ αἰζήος κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν διὰ τοῦ η, ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καθαρὰ ἀπλᾶ παραληγόμενα οὐκ ἔστιν πηός, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκ πάθους τὸ παληός ἀρχής Ἀχῆος Βοιώτιά εἰσι Λακωνικά. πρόσκειται «ἀπλᾶ» διὰ τὸ Πολύνηος (θ 114) Εὐνήος (Η 468) Ἐχένης (η 155) θερμὸν εἶναι. Τὰ ... 2 ὀξυνόμενον: cf. *EM* 32.3-5 τὰ εἰς ΟΣ λήγοντα καθαρὸν ἀπλᾶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον τῷ ἦτα παραληγόμενα οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ αἰζήος

1 <>] Schmidt 42.15 (app. crit.) verba καθαρὰ ἀπλᾶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον excidisse statuit **2** ὀξυνόμενον MO^{i.m.}: ὀξύτονον O^{i.t.} **3** τὸ ... ἀρχῆος] Schmidt 42.16-7: 'imo τὸ γὰρ Ἀχῆος καὶ παληός καὶ ἀρχῆος' παληός Schmidt 42.16-7: πάλης MO ἀρχῆος Schmidt 42.17: ἀρχῆος MO

διφθόγγου ἐγένετο [καὶ προπαροξύνεται]. τὸ δὲ ὄρηος καὶ αὐτὸ προπαροξύνεται κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς Εἰ διφθόγγου γεγονός. τὸ δὲ Ἐχένηος καὶ πολύνηος προπαροξύνεται σύνθετα γάρ.

(43.) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΔΙΟΣ προπαροξύνονται, εἰ μὴ 5
 τρισύλλαβα ὄντα τριβράχεια εὐρεθῶσι, καὶ
 παροξύνονται πρὸς διαστολὴν κυρίων καὶ
 ἐπιθέτων, ὥσπερ ἔχει τὸ Ροδῖος καὶ Σχεδῖος.
 τὰ δὲ προπαροξύτονα ταῦτα· ἴδιος ἀἴδιος
 μαψίδιος παυρίδιος ἀρμόδιος 10

5 Τὰ...69.2 ὀξυνόμενον: Theognost. *Can.* II 54.20-30 (= 297.1-11)

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ διος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ προπαροξύτονα, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά, μὴ ὄντα μετουσιαστικά, ἢ ἀπὸ ῥημάτων παρηγμένα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἶον, παυρίδιος· τυμβίδιος· ῥαῖδιος ῥηῖδιος· φωρίδιος· μαψίδιος· σχέδιος· Ἀρκάδιος· νυμφίδιος· ὠμίδιος καὶ ἐπωμίδιος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέξεις συνετέθη ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ τὴν γραφὴν ἐφύλαξεν· μηνυνθάδιος· Ἐξάδιος· ἴδιος· Κνίδιος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Κνίδου, ὡς καὶ Ρόδιος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρόδου· τὸ ἐρωδιὸς τὴν γραφὴν φυλάξαν τὸν τόνον ἡμεῖψεν, ὀξύνεται γὰρ καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἔχει διὰ τῆς ωι διφθόγγου· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ῥώδιος τρισυλλάβως παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς; *EM* 380.35-40 τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ΔΙΟΣ πάντα βαρύνονται, παυρίδιος, μαψίδιος. Ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐξηκολούθησε τοῖς ἐπὶ ὀρνέων· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὰ τῷ ι παραληγόμενα ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς, ἐπὶ ὀρνέων, ὀξύνονται, αἰγυπιός, χαραδριός, βομβυλιός· οὕτω καὶ ἐρωδιός. Λέγεται καὶ ῥωδιός παρὰ Ἰππώνακτι·

1 καὶ προπαροξύνεται *del.* Schmidt 42.18; προπερισπᾶται καὶ ὀξύνεται *haesitanter* Schmidt 42.18 (*app. crit.*) τὸ...2 προπαροξύνεται] Schmidt 42.18-9 (*app. crit.*) ὄρηος καὶ Λύκης προπαροξύνεται *malit*; cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 51.20 (= 275.6) **2** ὄρηος π: ὠρηος ΜΟ **3** Εἰ Schmidt 42.19: αἰ ΜΟ γεγονός *M^{p.c.}*: γεγωνώς *M^{a.c.}*· Ἐχένηος Schmidt 42.20: ἐχίγηος ΜΟ **4** προπαροξύνεται Schmidt 42.20 (*app. crit.*): 'καὶ εὐνηος προπαροξύνεται. τὸ δὲ πηός δισύλλαβον *Herodianeum erit*' **5** προπαροξύνονται Ο: προπαροξύνεται Μ **7** παροξύνονται Schmidt 43.2: προπαροξύνονται ΜΟ **8** Ροδῖος Schmidt 43.3: ῥόδιος κύριον ΜΟ Σχεδῖος Schmidt 43.4: σχέδιος ΜΟ **10** μαψίδιος L. Dindorf *TGL* V 767C, Theognost. *Can.* II 54.23 (= 297.4), II 58.20 (= 312.5): μεμψίδιος ΜΟ

νυμφίδιος. σεσημείωται τὸ ἐρωδιός
ὀξυνόμενον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΝΙΟΣ προπαροξύνεται
Κιθαιρώνιος Μαραθώνιος Απολλώνιος.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΙΟΣ καθόλου ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς 5
προπαροξύνεται Ἐλευσίνιος Σαλαμίνιος.
τὸ δὲ Κλονίος παροξύνεται ὡς κύριον καὶ
τρισύλλαβον ὄν. καὶ τὸ μονιός ὀξύνεται
τρισύλλαβον, εἰ δὲ τὸ Υ πλεονάσῃ, 10
προπαροξύνεται μούνιος γάρ.

1 σεσημείωται... **2** ὀξυνόμενον: cf. *Comp. Cath. Herod. (P. ANT. 2.67, 5.17)* διο ση[μ]ειούμεθα τὸ ἐρωδιός ὀξυνόμενον; Orion ε 57.12 Ἐρωδιός. σεσημείωται κατὰ τὸν τόνον **3** Τὰ... **4**

Απολλώνιος: cf. *Comp. Cath. Herod. (P. ANT. 2.67, 5.20-1)* τὰ διὰ τοῦ ωνι[ς] ὁμοίως προπαροξύγεται, Ἐλικώνιος, Κιθα[ι]ρώνιος, Μαρα[θ]ώνιος, Τροφώνιος, Ἀμμώνιος, Απολλώνιος; *Theognost. Can. II 55.1-5 (= 298.1-5)* Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ωνιος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπαροξύτονα κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικά, μὴ σημαίνοντα μέρος σωματικόν, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται, καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου Ἐλικώνιος· Κιθαιρώνιος· Απολλώνιος· Μαραθώνιος·

5 Τὰ... **10** γάρ: cf. *Comp. Cath. Herod. (P. ANT. 2.67, 5.22-7)* καὶ καθόλου τὰ [διὰ τοῦ ι]ος, ἔχοντα π[ρὸ] τοῦ ι τὸ ν, ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς, [ἔχει τῇ]ν ἀπὸ τέλους τρίτην ὀξεῖαν, Τιτάνι[ο]ς, Γερήνιος, [ΕΛ]λήνιος, Τροιζήνιος, Λαιστρυγόνιος, Σαρπηδόνιος, [Τρ]αχίνιος, Σαλαμίνιος. προσέθη[κ]εν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς[ς] συλλαβ[ὰς] διὰ τὸ Κλονίος κύριον παροξυνόμενον; *Theognost. Can. II 55.15-22 (= 299.1-8)* Καθάλου (scrib. καθόλου) τὰ διὰ τοῦ νιος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, μὴ σημαίνοντα μέρος σωματικόν, μήτε μετουσίαν δηλοῦντα, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται Τιτάνιος· Γερήνιος· Ἑλλήνιος· Τροιζήνιος· παρθένιος· πυθμένιος· Λυκαόνιος· Σαλαμίνιος· Ἐλευσίνιος· τὸ κλονίος καὶ τὸ μονιός τὴν γραφὴν τὴν αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα τὸν τόνον ἡμειψεν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παροξύνεται τὸ δὲ μονιός ὀξύνεται· δεχόμενον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ υ ἐν τῷ “μούνιος ὕπνος.”

1 ἐρωδιός Schmidt 43.6 (cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 924.5-14): εὐωδιός MO **5** Τὰ AC: ἀ (τ om. in spatio vacuo B) MO

6 Σαλαμίνιος M^{p.c.}: μαλαμίνιος M^{a.c.}O **7** ὡς... καὶ transp. ante τρισύλλαβον 69.9 MO, huc retraxit Göttling (1835), 174

8 μονιός] μονικῆός O

Ὅσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ξ ἢ Ρ γίνεται διὰ τοῦ Ι βραχέος προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ διαστολή κυρίου γένοιτο ἐν τρισυλλάβοις καὶ [ἐν] τριβράχεσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ Φρυγίος καὶ Φλογίος. προπαροξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα· Θρηϊκίος Κιλίκιος Φαιάκιος 5 μακάριος σωτήριος. τὸ δὲ Ἰλλυριός οὐκ ἀντίκειται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ ἐθνικὰ ἢ τοπικὰ προπαροξύνε(44.)ται· θαλάσσιος ἐντόπιος ἐνδάπιος. τὸ δὲ Ἰλλυριός ὀξύνεται καὶ 10 θαλαμῖος (ὁ κωπηλάτης).

Τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΟΣ διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ

1 Ὅσα...7 ἀντίκειται: cf. *Comp. Cath. Herod. (P. ANT. 2.67, 5.28-35)* καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ [τ]ῶν εἰς Ξ ληγόντων εἰς κ διὰ τοῦ ἰος παρῆκται, συνεσταλμένον τοῦ ι, προπαρ[οξύν]εται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ κυρίου διαστολή τις γένοιτο [ἐν τρισυ]λλάβοις τριβράχεσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ Φρυγίος [κ]αὶ Φλογίος. τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἔχοντα τὴν ὀξεῖαν τ[αῦ]τα, Θρηϊκίος, Κιλίκιος, Φαιάκ[ιος], [...]....ιος, ἀέ[ριος], ὀλε[τή]ριος, σωτήριος, αρ..... [±14 τὸ Ἰλλυριός ο]ὐκ ἀπὸ [τ]οῦ Ἰλλυρ παρῆκται, [διὸ οὐκ ἀντίκειται; *Theognost. Can. II 55.29-32 (= 300.1-4)* Τὰ διὰ τοῦ κίος ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ξ ληγόντων γινόμενα, μὴ ὄντα μετουσιαστικά, ἢ μέρος σωματικὸν δηλοῦντα, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἶον, Φαίαξ Φαίακος Φαιάκιος· Κίλιξ Κίλικος Κιλίκιος· Θρηῖξ Θρηῖκος Θρηϊκίος; II 56.4-8 (= 301.1-5) Τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ρ ληγόντων διὰ τοῦ ριος γινόμενα, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· τῆς τρίτης ἀπὸ τέλους ἀπὸ τῆς παραληγούσης τῆς γενικῆς θεωρουμένης· οἶον, ... σωτὴρ σωτήρος σωτήριος· ὀλετὴρ ὀλετήρος ὀλετήριος· μάκαρ μάκαρος μακάριος; *Choerob. Ep. Ps. 6.2-6* τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς Ξ ἢ εἰς Ρ ληγόντων συνεσταλμένον ὄντος τοῦ Ι προπαροξύτονα, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ κυρίου διαστολή τις γένηται ἐν τρισυλλάβοις τριβράχεσιν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ Φρυγίος καὶ φλόγιος· τὰ δὲ προπαροξύτονα εἰσὶ ταῦτα· Θρηϊκίος, Κιλίκιος, σωτήριος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ μακάριος. **8** Τὰ...11 κωπηλάτης: cf. *Comp. Cath. Herod. (P. ANT. 2.67, 5.35-6)* πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰος ἐθνικὰ ἢ τοπικὰ προπαροξύνεται] . ἰος, ἐνδάπιος

3 ἐν *delevi* τριβράχεσιν *Lentz 118.4-5*: τριβραχέσιν (τριβράχεσιν *M^{a,c}*) **MO** **4** Φρυγίος...Φλογίος **MO**; φλεγίος in φλογίος *Lehrs (1833), 280 n.* **5** Φαιάκιος *MO^{p,c}*: φαιάλιος *O^{a,c}*, ut videtur **10** Ἰλλυριός *Göttling*: χλυριός **MO**; ἐλωριός *haesitans Schmidt 44.1-2 (Ath. ἐλώριος habet)*

προπαροξύνεται συνεσταλμένου τοῦ Ι, εἰ μὴ
τριβραχέα ἐπὶ κυρίων εἴη· πολέμιος ποτάμιος
μίσθιος ῥύθμιος δέσμιος. Φρυγίος δὲ τὸ
κύριον παροξύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΣΙΟΣ καὶ ΤΙΟΣ προπαροξύνονται, 5
εἰ μὴ κύρια εἴη καὶ τριβράχεια· ἀσπάσιος
πρυμνήσιος Ἀτλάντιος θαλάττιος. τὸ δὲ
πλησίος καὶ ἀντίος <...>. Σκοτίος
Κλυτίος τριβράχεια καὶ τὸ Φρασίος.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ καθαρὸν πρὸ τοῦ Ι Η ἢ Ω 10
ἔχοντα προπαροξύνονται· νήϊος δῆϊος γήϊος
λῳϊος πατρῳϊος. τὸ Ἀσκληπιός ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΙΟΣ ὑπερτρισύλλαβα 15
προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ὀρνέου κατηγοροίη·
ἐνάλιος Δασύλλιος (ὁ Διόνυσος) θεμέλιος.
Τὸ μέντοι λαλιός πελιός πολιός σκολιός
φαλιός (ὁ λευκομέτωπος) ὡς τρισύλλαβα
ὀξύνεται. τὸ δὲ αἰγωλιός [ἐρωδιός] ἐδωλιός
βαμβυλιός ὡς ἐπὶ ὀρνέων κατηγορούμενα
ὀξύνεται. 20

16 Τὸ ...18 ὀξύνεται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 57.31-2 (= 308) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ λιος τρισύλλαβα ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἶον,
πολιός· φαλιός· σκολιός· λαλιός· βαλιός· πελιός.

3 Φρυγίος MO; Φυτίος Schmidt 44.6 **4** κύριον O: κύριος M
5 καὶ ΤΙΟΣ M^{s.l.}O: om. M^{i.l.} **6** καὶ τριβράχεια M^{s.l.}
7 Ἀτλάντιος Schmidt 44.9: ταλάντιος MO; Ταυλάντιος Lentz
119.34 θαλάττιος M: θαλάσσιος O^{i.t.}, sed τ supra σσ O^{s.l.}
8 <>] Schmidt 44.10 (app. crit.): 'post ἀντίος desunt nonnulla'
10 καθαρὸν] καὶ ὡς (deleta) καθαρὸν M **11** νήϊος] νήϊος
ἰήϊος Schmidt 44.13 (app. crit.) γήϊος] ἰήϊος vel Τήϊος Lobeck
PSGP 472, n. 61; ἰήϊος Lobeck PGSE¹ 449.7; Τήϊος (post νήϊος)
Theognost. *Can.* II 57.13 (= 306.7) **14** κατηγοροίη] κατηγοροῖ τι
ἐκεῖνοις O **15** ἐνάλιος om. O Δασύλλιος scripsi: δασάλιος
MO **16** πελιός πολιός scripsi: πελιός ὁ πολιός MO
17 λευκομέτωπος] ω non liquet in O **18** αἰγωλιός Schmidt
44.19 (app. crit.): ἐγολιός MO; αἰγωλιός ὁ Schmidt 44.19 (app.
crit.) ἐρωδιός del. Schmidt 44.19: ἐρωδιός habent MO

ἽΟσα εἰσὶ μονογενῇ ἀπὸ ἐνεστώτων γενόμενα εἰς **(45.)** ἸΟΣ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δύο σύμφωνα κατὰ διάστασιν προπαροξύνεται· αἰτῶ αἴτιος, <...> ἀρμόζω ἀρμόδιος, ἀρκῶ ἀρκίος, ἀρτῶ ἀρτίος. τὸ δὲ ἀντῶ ἀντίος σεσημειώται.

5

ἽΕτι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ μέλλοντος γινόμενα· ὀρθώσομαι ὀρθώσιος, ἀσπάσομαι ἀσπάσιος, φυλάξομαι φυλάξιος. τὸ μέντοι πλήσω πλησίος καὶ τὸ δέξομαι δεξιός καὶ ἔψομαι ἀνεψιός.

10

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἸΟΣ τρισύλλαβα εἰ ἔχοιεν Υ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συλλαβῇ προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ τις διαστολὴ εἴη, ἢ κύριον ὑπάρχοι τρίβραχυ· κύριος

1 ἽΟσα...5 σεσημειώται· cf. *Et. Gud.* α 197.7-10 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰος ὀνόματα προπαροξύτονα παρ' ἐνεστώτα ἢ μέλλοντα παρηγμένα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, οἷον ἄζω ἄγιος, ἄσω <ἄσιος καὶ> ὄσιος, ἀρμόζω ἀρμόδιος, ἴζω ἴζιος καὶ ἀρκῶ ἀρκίος· καὶ ψιλοῦται; *EM* 144.2-5 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἸΟΣ προπαροξυνόμενα, παρὰ ἐνεστώτος ἢ μέλλοντος παρηγμένα, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· ἄζω, ἄγιος· ἀρμόζω, ἀρμόδιος· ἴζω, ἴδιος· καὶ ἀρκῶ, ἀρκίος.

6 ἽΕτι...10 ἀνεψιός· cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 58.1-5 (= 310.1-5) Τὰ παρὰ μέλλοντα διὰ τοῦ ἰος γινόμενα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἷον, ἄζω τὸ σέβομαι ἄσω ἄσιος, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ α εἰς ο ὄσιος· ἀσπάσω ἀσπάσιος· ἀλέξω ἀλέξιος· κτήσω κτήσιος· μνήσω μνήσιος· τὸ δεξιός καὶ ἀνεψιός κατὰ τόνον μόνον διήλλαξεν.

11 Τὰ...73.6 παροξύτονον· cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 58.6-13 (= 311.1-8) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰος τρισύλλαβα προπαροξύτονα, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συλλαβῇ τὸ υ, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἷον· κύριος· Σύριος· Τύριος· Κύπριος· νύχιος· Στύγιος· Μύσιος· Πύθιος· βύθιος· δύϊος· κύκλιος· μύριος, ἢ τῶν δέκα χιλιάδων ἀπαρίθμησις· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἀορίστου παροξύνεται, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ νυμφίος καὶ νύμφιος· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ οἰκοῦ ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος, προπαροξύνεται, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νυμφίου παροξύνεται·

3 προπαροξύνεται] προπαροξύνονται **O** **4** ἀρτῶ **O**^{a.c.}: ἀρτῶ *duobus accentibus* **M**: ἄρτω **O**^{p.c.} **5** ἀντῶ ἀντίος] ἀρτῶ ἀρτίος **MO**; Schmidt 45.2 (app. crit.): 'regula nequiter corrupta' **10** ἀνεψιός Schmidt 45.8 e *Theognost. Can.* II 58.4 (= 310.4): ἐψιός **MO** **11** ἔχοιεν] ἔχειεν **O** **13** εἴη **MO**^{p.c.}: ἔχει **O**^{a.c.} ὑπάρχοι **C**: ὑπάρχει **M**: ὑπάρχη **O**

Κύπριος Τύριος Μύσιος Πύλιος
Φρύγιος. τὸ δὲ Τυχίος Φρυγίος Πλυτίος
Κλυτίος Σκυφίος παροξύνονται ὡς κύρια.
μύριος ὁ ὠρισμένος ἀριθμός, μυρίος ὁ
ἀόριστος, καὶ νύμφιος οἶκος προπαροξύτονον, 5
νυμφίος δὲ ὁ γαμετὴς παροξύτονον.

Ὅσα ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων παρῆκται διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ,
προπαροξύνεται· πρῶϊ πρῶϊος, ὀψέ ὀψιος,
νόσφιν νοσφίδιος, ἴφι ἴφιος, ἀεὶ ἀϊδιος, ῥέα
ῥηίδιος. σεσημείωται ἄντην ἀντίος, σχεδὸν 10
Σχεδίδιος, ὡς κύριον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ τρισύλλαβα κύρια ἔχοντα τὴν

7 Ὅσα...11 κύριον: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 58.16-21 (= 312.1-6) Τὰ
παρ' ἐπίρρημα διὰ τοῦ ιος προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ι
γράφονται· οἶον, ἴφι ἴφιος· πρῶϊ πρῶϊος· σχεδὸν σχέδιος·
ἐκτάδην ἐκτάδιος· ἀμφαδὸν ἀμφάδιος· ἐταδὸν ἐτάδιος·
σταδὸν στάδιος· ὀπίσθιος· νοσφίδιος· ἀεὶ ἀϊδιος, κατὰ
συστολήν τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου εἰς τὸ ι· ῥηίδιος· μαψίδιος· τὸ
ἀντίος μόνον κατὰ τόνον παρήλλαξε παροξυνόμενον; *Et.*
Gen. α 924.5-8 τὰ γὰρ παρ' † ἐπίρρημα γινόμενα διὰ τοῦ ιος
προπαροξύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, οἶον ἴφι ἴφιος, πρῶϊ
πρῶϊος, οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἄντην ἀντίος κατὰ τόνον μόνον
ἡμάρτηται καὶ οὐ κατὰ γραφήν; *EM* 113.26-9 Τὰ παρὰ
ἐπιρρημάτων γινόμενα διὰ τοῦ ΙΟΣ προπαροξύνεται, καὶ διὰ
τοῦ ι γράφεται· οἶον, ἴφι ἴφιος, πρῶϊ πρῶϊος, οὕτω καὶ ἄντην
ἀντίος, ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας. **12** Τὰ...74.2 παροξύνεται: cf.

Theognost. *Can.* II 58.22-6 (= 313) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιος τρισύλλαβα
παροξύτονα ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται· οἶον,
Βάκχιος· Μούλιος, οὐ τὸ σωματικὸν μέρος, ἐκεῖνο γὰρ διὰ
τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου· Αἴνιος· Φήμιος, καὶ Εὐφήμιος· Λαΐος·
ἄγριος· Αἴλιος· μάντιος· τὸ ἐρχίος· ἀντίος τοῖς λοιποῖς
ἐναντία μόνον κατὰ τόνον.

1 Μύσιος e Theognost. *Can.* II 58.8-9 (= 311.3-4) (coni. Schmidt
45.12 in apparatu critico): μύδιος ΜΟ; possis etiam Λύδιος
4 ὠρισμένος Μ: ὀρισμένος Ο **5** νύμφιος... προπαροξύτονον]
fortasse νύμφιος ὁ νυμφικὸς οἶκος coll. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον.
διάφ. σημ. recensio e, v 4.1, *EM* 608.42 et Zonar. v 1408.8
6 παροξύτονον ΜΟ^{p.c.}: παροξύνεται Ο^{a.c.} **7** ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων
ΜΟ^{p.c.}: ἀπὸ ῥημάτων Ο^{a.c.} ἐπιρρημάτων] ῥημάτων Ο^{a.c.}
8 ὀψιος] ὀψίος Ο **9** ἴφι Ο: ἴφι Μ ἀεὶ] ἀεὶ Ο ἀϊδιος] ἀεΐδιος Ο
10 ῥηίδιος] ῥαΐδιος Ο ἄντην Schmidt 45.20: ἀντὶν ΜΟ

τρίτην μακρὰν προπαροξύνεται· Μούλιος
Βάκχιος Σέργιος. τὸ δὲ Ἑρχίος παροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΟΣ ὑπερτρισύλλαβα ἐπὶ ἀλόγων ζῶων
ὀξύ(46.)νεται αἰγυπιός χαραδριός
ἐρωδιός. τὸ δὲ σκορπίος κωβίος 5
παροξύνεται ὡς τρισύλλαβα.

Ἐξαιρέτως τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβὰς τῷ Ο μόνῳ παραλήγοντα
προπαροξύνονται. τὰ πολλὰ δὲ σύνθετα
παροξύτονα τε καὶ προπαροξύτονα. καὶ 10
παροξύτονα μὲν θυοσκόος λαοσσόος

3 Τὰ...6 τρισύλλαβα: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 128.7-10 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ
ΙΟΣ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ ζῶων λαμβανόμενα ὀξύνονται, οἷον,
αἰγυπιός, βομβυλιός, χαραδριός, ἀδρυφίος, παρὰ Πέρσας ὁ
ἀετός, ἐρωδιός· σεσημειῶται τὸ κωβίος, καὶ σκορπίος. Τὰ...
5 ἐρωδιός: cf. Orion (exc. cod. Paris. 2630) 186.19-21 Τὰ εἰς ος
καθαρὰ τὸ ι παραληγόμενα, ὑπὲρ γ' συλλαβὰς, ὀξύνεσθαι
θέλουσιν· οἷον αἰγυπιός, βομβυλιός, χαραδριός. οὕτως οὖν
καὶ ἐρωδιός; *Et. Gud.* ε 533.14-6 τὰ εἰς ος καθαρὰ τῷ ι
παραληγόμενα ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς <ἐπὶ ὀρνέων>
ὀξύνεσθαι θέλουσιν, οἷον αἰγυπ[τ]ιός βομβυλιός χαραδριός.
οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἐρωδιός; *EM* 380.37-40 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὰ
τῷ ι παραληγόμενα ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς, ἐπὶ ὀρνέων,
ὀξύνονται, αἰγυπιός, χαραδριός, βομβυλιός· οὕτω καὶ
ἐρωδιός. Λέγεται καὶ ῥωδιός παρὰ Ἰππώνακτι; *Eust. II.* III
670.25-7 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἔρωτίδιος, καὶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ τ
ἐρωτῖδιος, καὶ συναιρέσει ἐρωδιός, καὶ κατὰ ἀκολουθήσιν τὴν
ἐπὶ ὀρνέων τοῦ αἰγυπιός, καὶ ἐρωδιός κατὰ τόνον ὀξύν.
7 Ἐξαιρέτως...75.2 διαληψόμεθα: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod.
Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 6' ἐξῆς ῥητέον περὶ τῶν εἰς οος
καθαρὸν ληγόντων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς [...] ταῦτα δὴ
σύνθετα ὄντα πολλὰ ἐστὶν παροξύτονα, τὰ δὲ καὶ
προπαροξυνόμενα ὡς ἔχει τὸ θυοσκόος, κεμαδοσσόος, (ein
Wort unlesbar), κερατοξόος, βοηθόος, λουτροχόος, οἰνοχόος,
τὸ δὲ (ein Wort unlesbar) προπαροξύνεται, καὶ πρόχοος
(προθοος Cod.), ἐπήκοος, μελανόχροος, δυσήκοος, ὀξυήκοος,
μελανόχροος (!), λειριόχροος καὶ ἄλλα [...]

1 τρίτην] γ' Ο **3** ὑπερτρισύλλαβα] ὑπέρτρισύλλαβα (sic) Μ
ἀλόγων] ἄλλων Ο ζῶων Ο: ζῶων Μ **4** χαραδριός]
χαρανδριός Ο; χαραυδριός vel χαρανδριός Μ **7** ante
Ἐξαιρέτως (ἔξαιρέτως legitur in Μ) habet ἔτι περὶ τῶν εἰς ος
ΜΟ **8** τῷ] τῷ Μ

βροτοσσόος, προπαροξύτονα δὲ πρόχοος
δυσήκοος. νῦν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν διαληψόμεθα.

Τὰ ὥσπερ ἐντελῇ τῶν εἰς ΠΛΟΥΣ ληγόντων
ἀπλᾶ ὄντα παροξύνονται διπλόος τριπλόος
ἀπλόος. τὸ δὲ πρωτόπλοος καὶ ἀλίπλοος 5
προπαροξύνεται, ὅτι μὴ ἀπλᾶ. τὸ δὲ ἀθρόος
παροξύτονον τὸ ἅμα σημαίνει· τὸ δὲ
προπαροξύτονον τὸ ἄφωνον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΟΣ κύρια προπαροξύνεται
Σίστοος Πείροος Ἀθοος ὁ καὶ Ἀθόως. τὸ 10
δὲ ὄγδοος εἰ καὶ ἐπίθετον προπαροξύνεται,
ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς ΟΣ τακτικὰ βαρύνεται,

3 Τὰ ...10 Ἀθόως: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10)
f. 6^r ταῦτα μὲν ἔφαμεν παροξύνεσθαι. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἀπλόος,
διπλόος, τριπλόος καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ
σύνθετα, ἐν τῇ εἰς οὖς καταλήξει ἐροῦμεν. τὰ μέντοι κύρια,
εἰ καὶ σπάνια εὐρέθη, προπαροξύνεται ὥσπερ ἔχει τό·
Σίγγοός ἐστι δὲ πόλις, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος περιηγήσει Εὐρώπης
6 τὸ ...7 σημαίνει: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10)
f. 6^r τὸ δὲ ἀθρόος παροξύνειν χρῆ καὶ δασύνειν τὸ α, ὅταν
ἐμφασις εἴη τάληθοῦς, καίπερ ἐναντιουμένων τῶν
συμφώνων τῷ δασεῖ **9** Τὰ ...11 προπαροξύνεται: cf. *EM*
613.30-1 Ὀγδοος: Παρὰ τὸ ὀκτώ, ὀκτοος καὶ ὄγδοος. Τὰ διὰ
τοῦ ΟΟΣ ὀνόματα προπαροξύνεται οἶον, σίγγοος, πείροος.
10 τὸ ...76.3 ὀξύνεται: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr.
10) f. 6^v ἐπειδήπερ τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ὀνόματα, λέγω δὲ τὰ εἰς
ος λήγοντα καὶ τάξιν δηλοῦντα βαρύνεσθαι ἡθέλεν
ὑπεσταλμένης τῆς διὰ τὸ στος παραγωγῆς· πρῶτος,
δεύτερος, τρίτος, τέταρτος, πέμπτος, ἕκτος, ἑβδομος, ἑνατος,
δέκατος· ὁμοτόνως καὶ τὸ ὄγδοος ἐξεφέρετο. ἐφυλάξατο δὲ ὁ
κανὼν τὴν διὰ τοῦ στος παραγωγήν διὰ τοσαῦτα· εἰκοστός,
τριακοστός, τεσσαρεακοστός καὶ ὅσα οὕτως παρῆκται ἐπ'
ἀριθμοῦ τὸ ...11 προπαροξύνεται: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod.
Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 6^v τὸ δὲ ὄγδοος προπαροξύνεται
ἐπιθετικόν

1 πρόχοος Schmidt 46.7: τρόχοος MO **3** ἐντελῇ] ἐντελῇ O
5 δὲ om. O^{a.c.} πρωτόπλοος ... ἀλίπλοος] πρωτόπλοον ...
ἀλίπλοον O **6** ἀθρόος scripsi e *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob.
Hist. gr. 10) f. 6^r (vide apparatus locorum similium): ἀθρόος
MP^c:O: ἄθροος M^{a.c.} **8** προπαροξύτονον Schmidt 46.13:
ὀξύτονον MO **10** Σίστοος dubitanter retinui Πείροος] πίροος
MO Ἀθόως (cf. St. Byz. α 85.7, TGL I 853): Ἀθῶος MO

ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν εἰς ΣΤΟΣ, ἑβδομος ὄγδοος ἔννατος δέκατος. τὸ δὲ εἰκοστός τριακοστός καὶ τὰλλα ὀξύνεται. καὶ τὸ ὀλοός ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλῶ.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα Υ 5
 συνεσταλμένῳ προπαροξύνεται· σίκυος
 Πέρυος Φώτυος. τὸ δὲ Τιτυός ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ
 Υ οὐκ ἔχει συνεσταλμένον.

(47.) Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς

5 Τὰ...7 Φώτυος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 51.22-4 (= 277.1-3) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υος καθαρῷ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς κύρια προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, Σίκυος· Πέρυος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Κάνδυος· Ἀλάσυος· Φόγγυος
7 Φώτυος: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 6^v Φώτυος ἄρχων Χαόνων ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἐν β' **9** Τὰ...78.5 προσγεγραμμένον: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 3^r, l. 16 τὰ εἰς ὡς λήγοντα καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενα τῷ ω καὶ ι ἐπιθετικὰ ὑπάρχοντα προπερισπᾶται [...] λαπῶος, κερδῶος, Ἀργῶος, λαγῶος, ταλῶος, Γελῶος, παστῶος, μητρῶος, πατρῶος, Ἀχελῶος; *Ep. Hom.* 268, b 4-7 Προπερισπᾶται δὲ διὰ τὸν χαρακτηῖρα τὸν λέγοντα· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὡος κτητικὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα τὸ ι κατὰ τὴν παραλήγουσαν, προπερισπῶνται, οἶον Ἀχελῶος, ἥρῶος, ἀθῶος, παππῶος, χωρὶς τοῦ κολῳός (A 575), σημαίνει δὲ τὸν θόρυβον; Theognost. *Can.* II 49.19-20 (= 267.1-2) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὡος κτητικὰ διὰ τῆς ωι διφθόγγου γράφεται· οἶον, Κῶος· Μινῶος· ἥρῶος· ἀνδρῶος· ἀστρῶος· πατρῶος; Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 118.19-22 τὰ εἰς ΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς (τῷ Ω) παραληγόμενα περισπῶνται, οἶον ἀθῶος μητρῶος ἥρῶος πατρῶος, χωρὶς τοῦ κῶος λῶος (κολῳός), ὃ σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβον· ἔχει δὲ τὸ Ι ἀπὸ παραδόσεως; *Et. Gen.* α 149.11-5 προπερισπᾶται δὲ τὸ ἀθῶος διὰ τὸν χαρακτηῖρα τοῦτον, τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ὡος ἔχοντα τὸ ι ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπερισπῶνται χωρὶς τοῦ κολῳός, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβ[ον], οἶον πατρῶος Ἀχελῶος αἰδῶος ἡῶος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀθῶος. πρόσκειται «ἔχοντα τὸ ι» διὰ τὸ λαγῳός καὶ πατρῳός; α 150.4-8 Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὡς διὰ τοῦ ὡος παράγωγα σὺν τῷ ι γράφονται καὶ προπερισπῶνται, οἶον

2 ἔννατος M: ἔννατος O^{p.c.}: ἔνντος O^{a.c.}, ut videtur **3** τὰλλα M: τ' ἄλλα O **5** Τὰ...8 συνεσταλμένον] Schmidt 46.21 (app. crit.): 'sunt etiam plura turbata' **7** Φώτυος MO; Φόγγυος Theognost. *Can.* II 51.24 (= 277.3)

παραληγόμενα τῷ Ω μετὰ Ι προσγεγραμμένου

Μίνως Μινῶος, ἥρως ἥρῶος, πάτρως πατρῶος, μήτρως μητρῶος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ Ἀθως Ἀθῶος ὠφειλεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἀθῶος τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀζημίου προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ ι ἀποβάλλει; α 174.3-7 τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὡς διὰ τοῦ ὡος παράγωγα σὺν τῷ ι γράφονται καὶ προπερισπῶνται, οἷον Μίνως Μινῶος, ἥρως ἥρῶος, πάτρως πατρῶος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἥως ἥῶος καὶ αἰδῶς αἰδῶος καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν Βοιωτικὴν [[τοῦ ω]] τῆς ωι διφθόγγου εἰς τὴν οἰ δίφθογγον ἡοῖος καὶ αἰδοῖος; α 1509.5-9 ἢ διὰ τὸν χαρακτηῖρα † τὸν διὰ τοῦ ωιος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν <τόνον> ἔχοντα σὺν τῷ ι γράφεται, οἷον μητρῶος πατρῶος ἑῶος ἀθῶος, οὕτως οὖν καὶ Ἀχελῶος· πρόσκειται «πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα» διὰ τὸ λαγῶος· πρόσκειται «ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς» διὰ τὸ σῶος· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ γράφονται σὺν τῷ ι; *Et. Gud.* α 34.2-5 τὰ εἰς ὡς ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῇ ω παραληγόμενα προπερισπῶνται, χωρὶς τοῦ κολῶος, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβον· Κῶος, Μινῶος, πατρῶος, μητρῶος. τούτοις συνεξηκολούθησε καὶ τὸ ἥρῶος· ἔχει δὲ τὸ ι ἐκ παραδόσεως; *EM* 26.31-5 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΙΟΣ ἔχοντα τὸ ι ὑπὲρ β' συλλαβὰς προπερισπῶνται· χωρὶς τοῦ κολῶος, [δ] σημαίνει τὸν θόρυβον· οἷον, Ἀχελῶος, αἰδῶος, ἥῶος. οὕτως καὶ ἀθῶος. Πρόσκειται «ἔχοντα τὸ ι,» διὰ τὸ λαγῶος καὶ πατρῶος; 26.41-6 Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΩΣ διὰ τοῦ ΩΟΣ παράγωγα σὺν τῷ ι γράφεται καὶ προπερισπᾶται· οἷον, Μίνως Μινῶος· πάτρως πατρῶος· μήτρως μητρῶος· ἥρως ἥρῶος. Οὕτως καὶ Ἀθως Ἀθῶος ὠφειλεν εἶναι· ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἀθῶος, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀζημίου, καὶ τὸ ι ἀποβάλλει, καὶ προπαροξύνεται; 29.28-31 Ἐχει δὲ τὸ αἰδῶος τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον· ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΩΣ διὰ τοῦ ΩΟΣ παράγωγα σὺν τῷ ι γράφονται καὶ περισπῶνται· Μίνως, Μινῶος· ἥρως, ἥρῶος· πάτρως, πατρῶος· ἥως, ἥῶος· καὶ αἰδῶς, αἰδῶος; *Et. Sym.* I 126.8-13 ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰδῶς γίνεται αἰδῶος καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν Βοιωτικὴν τοῦ ω εἰς τὴν οἰ δίφθογγον αἰδοῖος καὶ ἡοῖος. ἔχει δὲ τὸ ι· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ὡς διὰ τοῦ ὡος παράγωγα καὶ σὺν τῷ ι γράφονται καὶ προπερισπῶνται· Μίνως Μινῶος, ἥρως ἥρῶος, πάτρως πατρῶος, ἥως ἥῶος καὶ αἰδῶς αἰδῶος· <καὶ> κατὰ τροπὴν Βοιωτικὴν τῆς ωι <διφθόγγου> εἰς τὴν οἰ δίφθογγον ἡοῖος καὶ αἰδοῖος.

1 παραληγόμενα... προσγεγραμμένου Ο: παραληγόμενα τῷ ῶ μετὰ ι προσγεγραμμένου Μ

προπερισπᾶται· πατρῶος ἡρῶος Ἀχελῶος αἰδῶος· τὸ δὲ κολῶός ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κολοῖός. τὸ μέντοι λαγῶός καὶ πατρῶός ὀξύνονται, διότι οὐκ ἔχουσι τὸ Ι προσγεγραμμένον.

5

Πᾶν εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῇ ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενον, εἰ ἀπὸ ὀξυτονουμένου θηλυκοῦ γένοιτο, προπερισπᾶται· ἀρχή ἀρχαῖος, ἀλκή ἀλκαῖος, κορυφή κορυφαῖος. τὸ μέντοι ἐπιπόλαιος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιπολῆς παρῆκται, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπιπολάζω· <...> πλήν οἱ πλείους αὐτὸ περισπῶσι.

10

Τὰ εἰς ΜΑΙΟΣ προπερισπᾶται, εἰ μὴ διαστολή γένοιτο κυρίου ἢ εἴη σύνθετον· πυγμαῖος Ῥωμαῖος Πτολεμαῖος Ἑρμαῖος. τὸ δὲ Ἑρμαῖος κύριον προπαροξύνεται, καὶ τὸ φιλορῶμαιος σύνθετον ὄν. τὸ δὲ Τίμαιος σεσημείωται.

15

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΙΟΣ ὑπερτρισύλλαβα προπερισπᾶται, εἰ μὴ διαστολή τις εἴη, ἢ σύνθετον ὑπάρχον· Ἀθηναῖος Εἰρηναῖος ἄρουραῖος. τὸ Ἑρυσίχαιος προπαροξύνεται. τὸ δὲ Ἀθήναιος κύριον εἰς διαστολήν.

20

6 Πᾶν...13 περισπῶσι: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 3^v, l. 24 Πᾶν εἰς ος λῆγον καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγόμενον τῇ αἰ διφθόγγῳ, εἰ ἀπὸ ὀξυνομένου θηλυκοῦ γίγνοιτο, προπερισπᾶσθαι θέλει [...] ἀρχαῖος, προκατάρχει γὰρ τὸ ἀρχή ... κορυφαῖος, κορυφή, ἀστεροπαῖος, ἀμοιβαῖος, ἀμεριμναῖος (?). Ἴβυκος, πομπή, πομπαῖος· Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, τροπή, τροπαῖος· **23** τὸ¹... προπαροξύνεται: cf. St. Byz. ε 137.3-6 τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἑρυσίχαιος, περὶ οὗ πολὺς λόγος τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. ὁ τεχνικὸς [καὶ Ἡρόδοτος] (Hdn. 2,874,9) γὰρ φησιν ὅτι σεσημείωται τὸ Ἑρυσίχαιος προπαροξυνόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς.

3 τὸ...5 προσγεγραμμένον om. O **7** διφθόγγῳ] διφθόγγῳ M **15** κυρίου ἢ Lentz 133.10: ἢ κύριον MO **17** Πτολεμαῖος] πτολομαῖος O **21** προπερισπᾶται Lentz 131.11: περισπᾶται MO

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΔΑΙΟΣ προπερισπᾶται
 Ἰουδαῖος χυδαῖος Χαλδαῖος.

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΙΟΣ ἐθνικά· Ἀθηναῖος
 Θηβαῖος Ῥωμαῖος. σεσημείωται τὸ Ἀχαιός
 ὀξύνομενον καὶ τὸ Ἑρυσίχαιος 5
 προπαροξύνομενον.

(48.) Ἔτι τὰ τρισύλλαβα ἀπὸ Α ψιλουμένου
 ἀρχόμενα· ἀλκαῖος ἀκμαῖος ἀραῖος ὁ τῆς
 ἀρᾶς, ἀραιός δὲ ὁ μὴ πυκνός.

Ἔτι τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΛΑΙΟΣ· ὕλαιος βουλαῖος 10
 θηλαῖος. τὸ δὲ δειλαῖος καὶ φύλαιος
 προπαροξύνεται. ἔτι σημειοῦνται τὰ ἐν ἀρχῇ
 πρόθεσιν ἔχοντα· ἐπιπόλαιος, ἡ ἀπὸ
 ἐπιρρήματος, ὥσπερ τὸ παλαιός ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλαι,

1 Ἔτι... **2** Χαλδαῖος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 51.34 - 52.2 (= 280.1-3)
 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ δαῖος, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά διὰ τῆς αἰ
 διφθόγγου γράφονται οἶον, Ἰουδαῖος· Χαλδαῖος· [...] χυδαῖος
4 σεσημείωται... **6** προπαροξύνομενον: cf. St. Byz. ε 137.3-6,
 vide supra ad 78.23 τὸ προπαροξύνεται; *Et. Gud.* α 249.1-4 τὸ
 δὲ Ἀχαιός <παρελήφθη> ἀπὸ βασιλέως [ἀπὸ] Ἀχαιοῦ. διὰ τί
 ὀξύνεται; τὰ διὰ τοῦ αῖος, εἰ ἔχει πρὸ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου τὸ χ,
 προπερισπῶνται, οἶον ἀρχαῖος τροχαῖος· σεσημείωται τὸ
 Ἀχαιός καὶ τὸ Ἑρυσίχαιος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα ἔθνους.
10 Ἔτι... **80.2** ἐπίθετον: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 52.22-7 (= 284) Τὰ
 διὰ τοῦ αῖος προπερισπῶμενα διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου
 γράφονται, ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς α, ἡ εἰς η, ἡ εἰς ος παραγόμενα· οἶον,
 πύλη πυλαῖος· ὕλη ὕλαιος· Πέλλη Πελλαῖος· ὥρα ὡραῖος·
 θύρα θυραῖος· δρόμος δρομαῖος· τὸ φύλαιος· δειλαῖος
 προπαροξύτονα, καὶ τὸ ἐλαιός ὀξύτονον, κατὰ τόνον μόνον
 διήλλαξεν

8 ἀραῖος... **9** πυκνός hic transposui: ἀραῖος ὁ τῆς ἀρᾶς· ἀραιός
 ὁ μὴ πυκνός in margine prope ἐπιπόλαιος leguntur in M:
 ἀραῖος ὁ τῆς ἀρᾶς· ἀραιός δὲ ὁ μὴ πυκνός (post ἐπίθετον 80.2
 praebebet) **O** **10** ὕλαιος] υλαῖος sine spiritu M **11** θηλαῖος]
 ληθαῖος vel Βηλαῖος proposuit Schmidt 48.3 (app. crit.)
 φύλαιος] Φίλαιος Göttling (1835), 297.7-8, 421; Schmidt 48.4
 (app. crit.): 'Herodianum h. l. etiam Πύλαιος et Βιλλαῖος
 commemorasse patet e *pros. II.* B 842 et sch. A. R. II 791' **12** ἐν
 ἀρχῇ **O**: ἐν ἀρχῇ **M** **13** ἐπιπόλαιος] ἐπὶ πόλεως (expunctum)
 ἐπιπόλαιος **O**

καὶ τὰ κατὰ διαστολήν γινόμενα· Παλαῖος τὸ κύριον, παλαιός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον.

Τὰ ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων προπερισπῶνται χύδην χυδαῖος, ἄντην ἀνταῖος. τὸ μέντοι μάτην μάταιος, καὶ τὸ βέβαιος παρὰ τὸ βέβηκα. τὰ δὲ 5 παρώνυμα παρ' οὐδετέρων γινόμενα ὁξύνεται· γῆρας γηραιός, κράτος κραταιός, ῥέα ἄραιός.

Τὰ εἰς Εἰοσ καθαρὸν τρισύλλαβα ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Η προπαροξύνεται· θήρειος μήλειος 10 χήνειος κήλειος (ὁ καυστικός). τὸ μέντοι Ἥλειος ἠθεῖος προπερισπᾶται οὐκ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα. τὸ δὲ Κητειός Πηνειός ὁξύνεται ὡς κύρια· καὶ τὸ Μήδειος κύριον προπαροξύνεται. 15

(49.) Τὰ εἰς Εἰοσ ἐπιθετικὰ τρισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν πρώτην φύσει ἢ θέσει μακράν, πλήν τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ Η, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται, καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων ἔννοϊαν τοπικὴν, προπαροξύνονται· γλαύκειος δούλειος χρύσειος δούρειος 20 χοίρειος. τὸ μέντοι Ὀλμειός Ὀρνειός

3 Τὰ ...5 βέβηκα: cf. Theognost. Can. II 53.17-20 (= 289) Τὰ παρ' ἐπιρρημα διὰ τοῦ αἰος διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται οἶον, πάλαι παλαιός· δηναῖος χυδαῖος· ῥαγδαῖος· Ἀδαῖος· σταδαῖος ἀνταῖος· Ἀγκαῖος παρὰ τὸ ἀγκάς· μάταιος. **5** τὸ¹... βέβηκα: cf. sch. Hom. II. 5.69a1.4 τὸ βέβαιος (παρὰ γὰρ τὸ βέβηκα); 11.301a1.9 παρὰ τὸ βέβηκα ὁ βέβαιος τὰ...8 ἄραιός: cf. Theognost. Can. II 52.15-21 (= 283) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰος ὁξύτονα τρισύλλαβα ἀπὸ οὐδετέρων δισύλλαβα παρηγμένα διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται οἶον, γῆρας γηραιός· γέρας γεραιός· κράτος κραταιός· ἄχος ἀχαιός· τὸ ἀρεός ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥέω ῥήματος, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ φθείρω, γέγονε ῥεός, καὶ ἐν πλεονασμῷ τοῦ α ἀραιός, μετελθούσης τῆς δασείας τοῦ ρ εἰς τὸ α, καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥέζω καὶ ἔρδω οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ καθόλου.

1 κατὰ διαστολήν] καταστολήν **O** **2** κύριον] κύριος **O**
8 ἄραιός] ἀραιός **MO** **9** Εἰοσ] ος **O** **10** τρίτη] τρίτη **M**
 θήρειος **MO^{p.c.}**: θήλειος **O^{a.c.}** **13** Κητειός Πηνειός **TGL IV, 2036**
C: κτητειός πληνειός **MO** **16** Εἰοσ] ος **O** **17** πρώτην **M**:
 τρίτην **O** **18** ἐχόντων **M^{p.c.}** **19** προπαροξύνονται **M^{s.l.}**: om.
M^{i.l.}

Σπερχειός Σπονδειός Δαρδανειός ως
κύρια ὀξύνεται. τὸ δὲ παιδεῖος (ὁ παιδικός)
προπερισπᾶται.

Τὰ εἰς Εἰος τρισύλλαβα κύρια καὶ τὰ πλείω
ὀνόματα ποταμῶν ὀξύνεται. Σπερχειός 5
Ἀλφειός Πηνειός Κητειός Ἐπειός. τὸ δὲ
Ἀρνεῖος καὶ Δαρειός προπερισπῶνται.
†προπαροξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα· ἰττέρειος
ἀσκάτειος.† †τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειός ὀξύνεται.†

Τὰ εἰς Εἰος τριγενῇ μὴ ἐθνικὰ 10
προπαροξύνεται, εἰ ἀπὸ βραχείας ἄρχοιτο·
βρότειος τέλειος φλόγειος λύκειος
βόειος. τὸ δὲ Ἐπειός κύριον. τὸ δὲ φατειός
κατὰ πλεονασμὸν ἔσχε τὴν δίφθογγον.

4 Τὰ...9 ὀξύνεται†: cf. Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 210.11-4 Τὰ γὰρ
διὰ τοῦ εἰος κύρια ὀξύτονα τρισύλλαβα διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου
γράφεται· οἶον, Πηνειός· Ἀρνεῖος· Ἀλφειός· Σπερχειός·
Ὀλμειός· Δεινεῖος· οὕτως καὶ Ἐπειός διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου; *Et.*
Sym. I 344.20-2 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰος τρισύλλαβα ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ
ὀξυνόμενα δίφθογγον ἔχει, <οἶον> Πηνειός Σπερχειός
Ὀλμειός <Ἀλφειός> Δενθειός; 360.26-361.2 τὰ εἰς ος
τρισύλλαβα ἐπὶ ποταμῶν ὀξύτονα, εἰ μὲν καθαρὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ
διφθόγγου γράφονται, οἶον Ἀλφειός Πηνειός Σπερχειός
Ὀλμειός; *Et. Gud. Addit.* ε 497.18-9 Ἐπειός· τὰ διὰ τοῦ εἰος
<κύρια> ὀξύτονα <τρισύλλαβα> διὰ τῆς εἰ γράφεται, οἶον
Πηνειός Ὀλμειός. **13** τὸ²...14 δίφθογγον: cf. *Ep. Hom.*
52,f.7-8 Γράφεται δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου· ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἀδελφός ἀδελφειός κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου καὶ
ἀπὸ τοῦ φατός φατειός

1 Σπερχειός M: de O n.l. Σπονδειός om. O Δαρδανειός
Göttling (1835), 181: δαρειός MO; Δεινεῖος Choerob. *De*
Orthogr. 210.13; Δενθειός *Et. Sym.* I, 344.22 **4** Εἰος] ος O
κύρια] κύ⁹ M **7** προπερισπῶνται...8 †προπαροξύνεται]
Schmidt 49.11 (app. crit.): 'inter προπερισπῶνται et
προπαροξύνεται opinor thematis exulantis exordium periisse;
nisi τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειός ὀξύνεται post lin. 24 retractatis reliqua
delere malis. Tum leg. προπερισπᾶται ... ἑταιρεῖος Ἐκατεῖος'
8 †προπαροξύνεται...9 ὀξύνεται† del. Schmidt 49.11-3
9 Δαρδανειός] ἀρδανειός O^{ac}. **10** Εἰος] ος O **13** Ἐπειός]
ἐπιός O **14** δίφθογγον] δίφθογγον τὸ δὲ (τὸ δὲ deleta
leguntur) M

Τὰ εἰς ΕΙΟΣ ὑπερτρισύλλαβα μὴ
 πλεοναζούσης τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου προπαροξύνεται·
 Αἰάντειος Ὀμήρειος γαλήνιος
 Ἰππάρχειος. τὸ δὲ ἀδελφειὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἀδελφὸς πλεονάζει τῷ ΕΙ. τὰ μέντοι 5
 προπερισπώμενα ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀμήρου λέξεων
 εὐρεθέντα ταῦτά εἰσι· πρυτανεῖος ἑταιρεῖος
 μεγαλεῖος γυναικεῖος ἀκατεῖος.

(50.) Τὰ εἰς ΟΙΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα
 προπερισπῶνται, εἰ ἐπιθετικὰ εἴη ἢ κύρια 10
 ὁμοφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις· ἀλλοῖος αἰδοῖος
 ὁμοῖος γελοῖος παντοῖος. τὸ δὲ φλοιός
 δισύλλαβον καὶ τὸ κολοῖος προσηγορικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ καθαρὸν ἔχοντα δίφθογγον τὴν διὰ
 τοῦ Υ ὀξύνεται, ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα, οὐκ ἐθνικά· 15

4 τὸ ... **5** ΕΙ: cf. *Ep. Hom.* 52,f.7-8 **9** Τὰ ... **13** προσηγορικόν:
 cf. sch. D. T. *Vat.* 131.14-6 τὸ μὲν ὁμοῖος κατὰ ἀναλογίαν
 ἐκφέρεται, διότι τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἰος ἅπαντα προπερισπῶμεν,
 ἑτεροῖος γελοῖος ἀλλοῖος; *Theognost. Can.* II 53.32 - 54.4 (= 292)
 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἰος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπερισπῶμενα,
 εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά, διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου
 γράφονται· οἶον, ἀλλοῖος· αἰδοῖος· ἑτεροῖος· γελοῖος· ἡοῖος ὁ
 τῆς ἡούς· ὁποῖος· ὁμοῖος· τοῦτο οἱ νεώτεροι Ἀττικοὶ δὲ
 προπαροξύνουσιν; *Et. Parv.* ο 11 Ὅποῖος· τὸ ΠΟΙ δίφθογγον·
 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΙΟΣ θέματα, συλλαβῆς πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον
 ἔχοντα, διὰ τοῦ διφθόγγου γράφονται· παντοῖος, ἀλλοῖος,
 ὁποῖος, ἐπαγοροῖος; *Et. Gud.* γ 303.6-8 Γελοῖος <B 215>· ἐκ τοῦ
 γελοῖος· τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἰος ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
 ἅπαντα προπερισπᾶται, οἶον παντοῖος ἀλλοῖος· <π 181>
 «ἀλλοῖός μοι ξεῖνε φάνης νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν»· ἑτεροῖος; *EM*
 224.40-3 Τὰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ΟΙΟΣ ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
 ἅπαντα προπερισπᾶται· οἶον, παντοῖος, ἀλλοῖος, ἑτεροῖος οἱ
 δὲ μεταγενέστεροι τῶν Ἀττικῶν τὸ γελοῖος καὶ ὁμοῖος
 προπαροξύνουσιν· οὐκ εὖ.

1 ΕΙΟΣ] ος Ο **5** τῷ scripsi: τὸ ΜΟ **6** Pro ἀπὸ ... **7** εὐρεθέντα
Et. Gud. 382.52 μὴ σημαίνοντα μέρος σώματος habet **7** ταῦτά
 εἰσι C: ταῦτα εἰσι M: ταῦτα εἰσὶ Ο **8** μεγαλεῖος Schmidt 49.23:
 μεταλεῖος ΜΟ ἀκατεῖος] ἀκρατεῖος Ο; Ἐκατεῖος Lobeck *PGG*
 322, n. 22 **13** κολοῖος Schmidt 50.4: κλοιός ΜΟ **15** ἐπιθετικά]
 κύρια ἢ ἐπιθετικά Schmidt 50.7 (app. crit.); κύρια ἢ ἐπιθετικά,
 ὅτι etiam Schmidt 50.7 (app. crit.)

ἀκούος καὶ ἐπακούος, ἀγαυός καὶ τὸ κύριον
καὶ τὸ ἐπίθετον. πρόσκειται "εἰ μὴ ἐθνικὰ εἶη,
ἀλλὰ κύρια" ὅτι ταῦτα βαρύνεται
†Ἀκάλαυ[ν]ος †Πείρανος Ἄρευος.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς ΒΟΣ, ΓΟΣ, καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς 5
μέχρι τῶν εἰς ΛΟΣ.

Βιβλίον Σ'.

Τὰ εἰς ΒΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ
βαρύνεται ὀλβος λίβος Λέσβος φλοῖσβος
θάμβος (τὸ μονογενές) τάρβος. σεσημείωται τὸ 10
ὀλβος παροξυνόμενον, ὅτε προσηγορικόν.
Ὀλβός δὲ τὸ κύριον, ὥσπερ λοβός (μέρος τοῦ
ἥπατος).

Τὰ εἰς ΒΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἐπιθετικὰ ὀξύνεται
στραβός ραιβός (ὁ μὴ ὀρθός) καὶ βωβός. 15

(51.) Τὰ εἰς ΒΟΣ κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ ὑπὲρ
δύο συλλαβὰς προπαροξύνεται ἄραβος
κόναβος ἱάμβος κάραβος σάραβος
ἀττέλαβος, ὅπερ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ παραλόγως
ὀξύνουσι. 20

Τὰ εἰς ΒΟΣ ἐπιθετικὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, εἰ
μὴ τῷ Η παραλήγοι ἢ σύνθετα εἶη ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς
ΒΟΣ ληγόντων, ὀξύνεται Ἑρεμβός κολοβός
βουφορβός ἱπποφορβός. τὸ δὲ ἔφηβος

10 σεσημείωται... **12** κύριον: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ.
σημ. (*addit.*) **224.18** ὀλβος: ὁ πλοῦτος, Ὀλβός: τὸ κύριον

1 κύριον O: κύ^o M **2** τὸ ἐπίθετον BC: ἐπίθετον MO
4 Ἀκάλαυ[ν]ος Schmidt 50.10: ἀκάλανος MO Πείρανος A:
πείραννος MO; Τίμανος haesitans Schmidt 50.10 (app. crit.)
6 ΛΟΣ scripsi: μος MO **9** ὀλβος M^{p.c.} O^{p.c.}: ὀλμος M^{a.c.}: ὀλκος
O^{a.c.} **10** τὸ²... **12** κύριον] Schmidt 50.16 (app. crit.): 'τὸ Βόλβος
παροξυνόμενον ὅτε κύριον' βολβός δὲ τὸ προσηγορικόν coll.
Ath. 22 C' **11** ὀλβος M^{p.c.} O: ὀλβός M^{a.c.}; Βολβός Götting
(1835), 215 παροξυνόμενον M^{p.c.} O: ὀξυνόμενον M^{a.c.}, ut
videtur; ὀξυνόμενον L. Dindorf TGL V 1867A, qui hoc textum
habuit: σεσημείωται τὸ ὀλβός κύριον παροξυνόμενον, ὥσπερ
λοβός **12** κύριον O: κύ^o M **15** βωβός Schmidt in apparatu
critico: κωβός MO; possis etiam λωβός **16** ἢ προσηγορικὰ
M^{s.l.}: om. M^{i.l.} **18** κόναβος Lobeck: κόραβος MO
22 παραλήγοι C: παραλήγει MO

ἄνηβος παραλήγουσι τῷ Η. τὸ δὲ φιλόκυβος σύνθετον.

Τὰ εἰς ΓΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς σύμφωνον λήγουσαν προσηγορικὰ ὄντα ἢ κύρια βαρύνεται· πύργος σπόγγος φθόγγος Γόργος τὸ κύριον, γοργός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον. τὸ δὲ σαργός (ὁ ἰχθῦς) ὀξύνεται. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΓΟΣ ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς σύμφωνον λήγουσαν ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα, εἰ μὴ ἔννοιά τις ὑπάρχοι συνθέσεως, ὀξύνεται· γοργός ἀργός. τὸ μέντοι γάγγος βαρύνεται, καὶ τὸ μάργος σύνθετον ἀπὸ τοῦ ΜΑ στερητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔργον· ὁ γὰρ μάργος οὐδὲν ἐργάζεται ἀγαθόν. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΟΓΟΣ διβράχεια βαρύνεται· λόγος μόγος ψόγος. 15

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΓΟΣ διβράχεια ἐπιθετικὰ καὶ μὴ (52.) ἔθνικα ὀξύνεται· φαγός κραγός (ὁ

3 Τὰ... 7 ὀξύνεται: cf. *Et. Gud.* γ 315.5-8 Τὰ εἰς γος δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν [τρίτην] πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς σύμφωνον καταλήγουσαν προσηγορικὰ ὄντα <ἢ κύρια> βαρύνεται, οἷον πύργος σπόγγος. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἄλγος. **6** Γόργος... 7 ἐπίθετον: cf. *Jo. Alex.* π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e, γ 9 Γόργος· κύριον, γοργός δὲ ὁ ταχύς. **11** καὶ... **13** ἀγαθόν: cf.

Et. Gud. μ 379.49-51 Μάργος, ὁ μαινόμενος, οὗ μὴ ἐστὶν ἀρωγή· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐστερεῖσθαι τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγαθόν, παρὰ τὸ μὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐτύχθη. **14** Τὰ... **15** ψόγος: cf. *Et. Parv.* λ 7 Λόγος· διὰ τί βαρύνεται; τὰ εἰς ΓΟΣ δισύλλαβα διβράχεια, ἀπὸ ῥημάτων γινόμενα, βαρύνονται· ψόγος [[γόμος]] μόγος ὁ σημαίνει τὴν κακοπάθειαν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ μογεῖν τὸ κακοπαθεῖν; *Et. Gud.* λ 372.34-7 Λόγος βαρύνεται. τὰ γὰρ εἰς ος δισύλλαβα δίβραχα, ἀπὸ ῥήματος γινόμενα, βαρύνεται, οἷον, ψόγος, μόγος **17** κραγός... **85.1** κραυγαστικός: cf. *sch. Ar. Eq.* 487a κρ α γ ό ν: Ἀρίσταρχος ὀξυτόνως, ἀντὶ τοῦ κραυγαστικῶς. καὶ Ἡρωδιανός ἐν Ἀττικῇ προσωδία

1 τῷ] τῷ Μ φιλόκυβος Schmidt 51.9: φιλόκοιβος ΜΟ **3** τὴν ΜΟ^{p.c.}: τὴν τρίτην Ο^{a.c.} **5** σπόγγος Μ^{p.c.}Ο: σπόνγγος Μ^{a.c.}, ut videtur **11** γάγγος Μ: σάγγος Ο; Ἄργος Götting (1835), 216 **13** ἔργον] ἔργου Ο **16** διβράχεια Μ^{p.c.}Ο: διβραχέα Μ^{a.c.} **17** ὀξύνεται Lobeck *RVGNVT* 280.17, Meineke *FCG* II.i 544: βαρύνεται ΜΟ ὁ... **85.1** τὸ² Schmidt 52.1-2: τὸ δὲ κράγος ὁ

κραυγαστικός). τὸ δὲ Κράγος βαρύνεται, καὶ τὸ Μάγος ἐθνικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΓΟΣ δισύλλαβα φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ κύρια εἴη· λοιγός φηγός. τὸ δὲ Λάγος κύριον.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΓΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα βραχεία παραληγόμενα προπαροξύνεται· πάταγος ἔλεγος (ὁ θρηῆνος).

Τὰ εἰς ΓΟΣ τρισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ φύσει ἢ θέσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα μὴ διπλασιαζομένου τοῦ Γ ὀξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ κύρια εἴη καὶ ἔννοϊαν συνθέσεως ἔχοι· ἀρηγός πελαργός ἀμολγός βροτολοιγός. τὸ δὲ Ἄμοργος προπαροξύτονον ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου οὐκ ἀρσενικόν. καὶ τὸ Ὅμαργος σύνθετον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργός· ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κυνός.

10

15

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ διβράχεια ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ βαρύνονται· εἰ δέ τι ὀξύτονηθῇ, τοῦτο θηλυκὸν προσηγορικὸν εὐρέθη τῷ Ο παραληγόν· κλάδος

9 Τὰ...16 κυνός: cf. *Et. Gud.* α 210.5-9 Ἀρωγός <Jo. Damasc. Canon. iamb. 1, 91> παρὰ τὸ ἀρήγω, τὸ βοηθῶ, ἀρηγός καὶ ἀρωγός, ὡς ἀμαρτηλός ἀμαρτωλός. ὀξύνεται τὰ εἰς γος ἀρσενικὰ εἴτε φύσει εἴτε θέσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα, μὴ διὰ τοῦ γ δισσοῦ, ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ κύρια ὑπάρχει, οἷον πελαργός ἀρωγός βροτολοιγός. **17** Τὰ...86.2 θηλυκὰ: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 21.26-8 Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ δισύλλαβα, διβράχεια, θηλυκὰ, προσηγορικὰ ὄντα, ὀξύνονται, οἷον σποδός, ὁδός.

κραυγαστικός. τὸ δὲ ΜΟ; κραγός. τὸ δὲ κράγος ὁ κραυγασμὸς βαρύνεται Lobeck; κραγός ὁ κραυγαστικός. τὸ δὲ κράγος ἢ κραυγή (Schmidt 52.1 (app. crit.) add. etiam καὶ Κράγος τὸ ὄρος) βαρύνεται Meineke *FCG* II.i 544; cf. sch. *Ar. Eq.* 487a, b **5** Λάγος ΜΟ: Λᾶγος Schmidt 52.5 **6** βραχεία Ο: βραχεία Μ **8** θρηῆνος] θνηῆνος Ο **10** μακρᾷ Ο: μακρᾷ Μ **11** Γ] σ vel γ Μ: σ Ο; Schmidt 52.9 (app. crit.): 'cautio spectat ab Σύναγος quode vide St. Byz. 591.21' **13** Ἄμοργος Meineke *FCG* II.1 140-1 (vide etiam *TGL* I.ii 145 C-D): ἄμολγος ΜΟ; Μ non habet ὄμαλγος, quod Galland (1886), 297 enotavit **15** Ὅμαργος] Ὅμαργος *TGL* V 1934C **16** ὄνομα] κυ (expunctum) ὄνομα Ο **17** θηλυκὰ] Schmidt 52.15 (app. crit.): 'excidisse videtur κύρια vel ἐθνικὰ propter Κνίδος' **19** τῷ Ο: τῷ Μ

ἄδος κάδος. τὸ μέντοι ὁδός καὶ σποδός
ὀξύνηται ὡς θηλυκά.

(53.) Ἐτι τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ δισύλλαβα <....> ὀξύνηται
ὁδός σποδός οὐδός· τὸ δὲ φροῦδος ἀπὸ τοῦ
πρόοδος σύνθετον, καὶ τὸ Μῆδος ἐθνικόν. 5
σεσημείωται τὸ σκοῖδος (παρὰ Μακεδόσιν ὁ
οἰκονόμος) καὶ τὸ χλῆδος προπερισπώμενα.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ ἀρσενικὰ φύσει μακρᾷ
παραληγόμενα βαρύνεται· Μῆδος νῖδος
ζεῦδος. τὸ μέντοι καυδός θηλυκόν, ὥσπερ καὶ 10
τὸ μαυδός.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Δ
σύμφωνον βαρύνεται· ὄγδος ῥάβδος ἄσδος
(στήλη λιθίνη).

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Δ 15

3 Ἐτι...7 προπερισπώμενα: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 21.26-8

15 Τὰ...87.5 ἄφωνος: cf. sch. A. R. 284.5-7 τὸ δὲ Σίνδοι
Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ C τῆς Καθόλου (I 142, 20 L.) βαρυτονεῖν
φησι δεῖν· τινὲς δὲ ὀξυτονοῦσιν, οὐκ εὖ; St. Byz. β 26 Βάλδος·
πόλις Φοινίκης. ὁ πολίτης Βαλδαῖος. τὰ εἰς δος δισύλλαβα
ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ δ ἄφωνον βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη·
Ἰνδός ὅμοιον τῷ ποταμῷ, τὸ λορδός μυνδός ὁ ἄφωνος

1 ἄδος] Schmidt 52.17 (app. crit.): 'utrum Ciliciae oppidum
intellegat St. Byz. 588.21 memoratum, an ἄδος, ὁ satietatem
(EM 18.29-30) non liquet; possis etiam Πάδος vel πάδος'; μάδος
Lobeck *RVGNVT* 307.26; γάδος Götting (1835), 217 μέντοι]
μέντο (sic) O **3** <>] Schmidt 53.1 (app. crit.): 'interciderunt fere
haec ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους ἔχοντα O ἢ H εἰ μὴ σύνθετα ὑπάρχοντες ἢ
ἐθνικά'; possis etiam ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους ἔχοντα O (ἤτοι μόνον
ἢ καὶ σὺν ἑτέρῳ φωνήεντι) ἢ H εἰ μὴ σύνθετα ὑπάρχοντες ἢ
ἐθνικά **6** σκοῖδος em. *TGL* IV 1705A et Meineke *FCG* IV 151:
κοῖδος MO^{p.c.}; κῆδος O^{a.c.} **7** χλῆδος Schmidt 53.4-5: χλῖδος

MO; Schmidt 53.4 (app. crit.): 'neutra ab h.l. aliena sunt'
10 καυδός] G. Dindorf *TGL* IV 1377A: 'Καυδὴ νῆσος [...] Ab
aliis vocatur Γαῦδος, quod v. Καυδός θηλυκόν apud Arcad. p.
48.3 (Barker), inter oxytona: ex quo colligi potest Γαυδός esse
scribendum, non Γαῦδος' **11** μαυδός M: μ.νδος O (littera
secunda abscissa in O) **13** ὄγδος MO; λίγδος dubitanter

Schmidt 53.10 ῥάβδος Schmidt 53.10: ῥᾱβδος M: ῥᾱβδος O
14 λιθίνη O: ληθίνη M

σύμφωνον κατὰ διάστασιν βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη· λίνδος Σίνδος Πίνδος νάρδος μάρδος (αὐλοῦ εἶδος). σεσημείωται τὸ Ἴνδος (ποταμὸς καὶ τὸ ἐθνικόν). τὸ δὲ κονδός ἐπίθετον καὶ τὸ μυνδός (ὁ ἄφωνος). 5

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα βραχεῖα παραληγόμενα προπαροξύνεται· ὁμαδος κέλαδος Τένεδος κόρυδος, ὅπερ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ὀξύνουσι.

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἔχοντα κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν **(54.)** σύμφωνον κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ βαρύνεται· μόλυβδος σμάραγδος. τὸ δὲ ὀρυμαγδός ὀξύνεται. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΔΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα φύσει μακρὰ παραληγόμενα κύρια προπαροξύνεται· Ἄβυδος †ἔνοιδος †εἶηδος. τὸ μέντοι ἀοιδός ἐπίθετον. τὸ δὲ κίναιδος προπαροξύνεται τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συνθέσεως. 15

Τὰ εἰς ΖΟΣ πάντα βαρύνεται· ὄζος ῥοῖζος

ὀξύνεται, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ «μυνδότεροι νεπόδων» παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ. **14** Τὰ...18 συνθέσεως: cf. *Ep. Hom.* α 274 [...] τὰ εἰς δος καθαρὰ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα ὀξύνεται· ὀπηδός ἀοιδός· μὴ ὄντα δὲ ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται· Ἄβυδος, κίναιδος, Ὀροῖδος <ποταμός> οὗ μέμνηται Θουκυδίδης. **19** Τὰ...88.3 πρωῒζός: cf. *Ep. Hom.* χ 34 [...] τὰ δὲ εἰς ζος λήγοντα τριγενῇ πάντα ὀξύνεται· πεζός, χθιζός, πρωῒζός· τὰ δὲ μονογενῇ βαρύνεται· ὄζος, ῥοῖζος. σεσημείωται τὸ μαζός ὅτι μονογενὲς ὄν ὀξύνεται

2 ἐπιθετικὰ Meineke St. Byz. 157, n. 4 (app. crit.): ἐθνικὰ ΜΟ **3** νάρδος] νάρβος Ο **4** κονδός] λορδός malit Meineke propter St. Byz. 157.5 (vide ad n. 4 (app. crit.)) **5** ἄφωνος M^{p.c}O: de M^{a.c} n.l. **8** κόρυδος] κόρυβος Ο **13** ὀρυμαγδός Lobeck: ὀρυγμαδός ΜΟ; post ὀρυμαγδός add. καὶ τὸ Ἑορδός Meineke St. Byz. 272, n. 3 **14** Τὰ] ἀ Ο φύσει] φύσ Ο μακρᾶ] μακρᾶ Μ **15** Ἄβυδος Lobeck: ἀοιδός ΜΟ **16** †ἔνοιδος †εἶηδος Μ (non ἄνοιδος Μ, quod Galland (1886), 297 annotavit): ἄνοιδος εἶηδος Ο; Ὀροῖδος (coll. ΑΟ Cramer I 56) Ἰσσηδος Lobeck *PSGP* 355.5-8; pro Ὀροῖδος Lobeckii Ἐνουδος (e Paus. 7.4.1) Schmidt 54.4 **19** ΖΟΣ] δ (expunctum) ζος Ο ὄζος Lobeck *PSGP* 361, n. 3, e Cramerī ΑΟ I 443: ἰζος ΜΟ

ταῦζος τρῶζος. τὰ δὲ τριγενῇ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων ὀξύνεται· πεζός χθιζός πρωῒζός.

Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα φύσει μακρᾷ

1 τὰ¹...3 πρωῒζός: cf. *Et. Gud.* χ 565.23-5 τὰ εἰς ζος, ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων παραγόμενα ἢ τριγενῇ ὄντα, ὀξύνεται, οἶον, χθιζός, πρωῒζός; *EM* 809.20-1 Τὸ χθιζός διατί ὀξύνεται; Τὰ εἰς ΖΟΣ ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων παραγόμενα, ἢ τριγενῇ ὄντα, ὀξύνεται, πρωῒζός. **4** Τὰ...89.3 γένει: cf. *Hdn.* π.μ.λ. GG

iii.ii 947.20-3 Στρουθός. τὰ εἰς θος λήγοντα καθαρὰ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα φύσει μακρᾷ βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, κῶθος, οὕτως ὁ κωβίος [κωμικός], μῦθος, Ζῆθος, Σῆθος ποταμός Σκυθίας ὡς Φιλοστέφανος, Ξοῦθος τὸ κύριον; sch. *Hom. II.* 2.311 στρουθοῖο: ὡς ἀπὸ ὀξυτόνου εὐθείας ἢ ἀνάγνωσις. Χαίριδι (fr. 7 B) δὲ ἤρεσκε βαρύνειν, καὶ ἴσως ἐπεὶ τὰ εἰς θος λήγοντα δισύλλαβα (scrib. δισύλλαβα) μονογενῇ, φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα, ἐβαρύνετο, Ξοῦθος, «Ζῆθος» (cf. λ 262. τ 523) καὶ «μῦθος» (E 493 a.). | ἔχει δὲ ἡ τετραμμένη ἀνάγνωσις ἀφορμὴν τὸ ἐγκεῖσθαι τὸ θέειν· ἐτυμολογοῦσι γὰρ τὸ ζῶον παρὰ τὸ μετὰ οἴστρου θέειν. τὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ἐωρῶμεν ὀξυνόμενα, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀγαθός καὶ βοηθός; sch. *Ar. Av.* 877.12-7 στρουθὲ μῆτερ: Ἡρωδιανός ἐν τῷ [II. Λ, 186] βάσκ' ἴθι Ἴρι ταχεῖα τὸν Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἔνισπε ἐπιμερισμῷ φησι τὸν Χάρητα λέγειν βαρύνειν Ἀττικούς τὸ στρουθός, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκκαίδεκάτῳ τῆς καθόλου λέγων καὶ Τρύφωνα μεμνήσθαι ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσωδίας; *Et. Gud.* μ 399.17-9 τὰ εἰς ος λήγοντα καθαρὰ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα, παραληγόμενα φύσει μακρὰ βαρύνεται, οἶον, μῦθος, κῶθος, ζῦθος· πρόσκειται μονογενῇ, διὰ τὸ στρουθός; σ 513.33-9 Στρουθός, ὀξύνεται βαρύνεσθαι ὀφείλε· τὰ γὰρ εἰς θος δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ, φύσει μακρᾷ παραλήγεται· οἶον Ξοῦθος ὄνομα κύριον, μῦθος, κῶθος, ζῆθος· τοῦτο δὲ ὀξύνεται ἐκ τῆς ἐτυμολογίας, παρὰ τὸ μετὰ οἴστρου θέειν· τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ θέω γινόμενα ἅπαντα, ὀξύνονται· οἶον, ἀγαθός, βοηθός· τούτοις δὲ συνεξηκολούθησε καὶ τὸ στρουθός; *EM* 730.30-6 Στρουθός: Παρὰ τὸ μετὰ οἴστρου θέειν ἢ παρὰ τὸ στερεῶς θέειν· ἐξ

1 ταῦζος Schmidt 54.7-8: ταύζος MO τρῶζος] Τρίζος e St. Byz. 634.11, ubi Τριζοί editur, Lobeck *PSGP* 361, n. 3; Schmidt 54.8 (app. crit.): 'propius distant Γάζος St. Byz. γ 15 et Ἀρτάζος X. An. 2.4.16; πρῶζος nobis addita cautione eripitur; cf. Götting (1835), 306' **2** ὀξύνεται] ὀξύνονται O

παραλήγοντα μὴ κοινὰ κατὰ γένος βαρύνεται
μῦθος κῶθος Ζῆθος Ξοῦθος (τὸ κύριον). τὸ
δὲ στρουθὸς κοινὸν τῷ γένει.

Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ ἔχοντα τὴν
πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς σύμφωνον 5
καταλήγουσαν βαρύνεται πτόρθος γόνθος (ὁ
κόγχος) γρόνθος (τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλήσεως)
σμίνθος (ὁ μῦς). τὸ δὲ ξανθὸς καὶ τυτθὸς
τριγενῇ.

Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ διβράχεια βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ τόπον 10
δηλοῖεν· νόθος πόθος ψόθος <ρόθος> (ὁ
ψόφος) μόθος. τὸ μέντοι βυθὸς τοπικόν.

(55.) Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ δισύλλαβα τριγενῇ
παραληγόμενα φύσει μακρᾷ ἢ θέσει, μὴ 15
προηγούμενου τοῦ Σ, ὀξύνεται· ἀφθὸς τυτθὸς
ξανθὸς αἰθὸς (ὁ διάπυρος). τὸ δὲ λοῖσθος
ἔχει τὸ Σ. σεσημείωται τὸ Πάρθος καὶ τὸ
νόθος.

αὐτοῦ καὶ στρουθίον. Ὡφειλε βαρύνεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΘΟΣ
δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα
βαρύνεται, Ξοῦθος, κύριον· μῦθος, κῶθος, Ζῆθος. Ἀλλὰ τὰ
παρὰ τὸ θέω συντιθέμενα ἅπαντα ὀξύνεται· βοηθός,
ἀγαθός. Οὕτως καὶ στρουθός; Eust. II. I 347.18-22 ὅθεν καὶ
στρουθὸς λέγεται παρὰ τὸ μετὰ οἴστρου θέειν. διὸ καὶ
ὀξύνεται ἢ λέξις κατὰ κανόνα τοιοῦτον. Τὰ εἰς θος
δισύλλαβα φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα, ἔχοντα τὸ θέειν
ἐγκείμενον, ὀξύνονται, οἷον βοηθός, ἀγαθός· οὕτω καὶ
στρουθός. τὰ δὲ μὴ τοιαῦτα βαρύνονται, Ξοῦθος κύριον,
Ζῆθος, μῦθος. **10** Τὰ...12 τοπικόν: cf. Theognost. Can. II
54.12-4 (= 295.1-3) τὰ διὰ τοῦ οθος δισύλλαβα διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ
γράφονται· νόθος· πόθος· ρόθος· ψόθος ὁ ψόφος· μόθος·
Κόθος ὄνομα κύριον·

3 στρουθός] In sch. Ar. Av. 877 pro ις' em. ζ' Schmidt 54.12
(app. crit.) τῷ M: τὸ O **6** καταλήγουσαν M^{p.c.}: λήγουσαν
M^{a.c.}: καταληγουσαν sine accentu C **10** βαρύνεται scripsi:
ὀξύνεται MO **11** ψόθος M^{p.c.}: O: ψόφος M^{a.c.} <ρόθος>] add.
Lentz 145.12, conl. iam Lobeck; cf. Theognost. Can. II 54.13 (= 295.2);
ante ρόθος add. ἢ ἀκαθαροσία tamquam glossam ad
ψόθος Lobeck PGSE¹ 441.9 (Theognost. Can. II 54.13 (= 295.2))
17 σεσημείωται...18 νόθος] Schmidt 55.4 (app. crit.): 'intellege
ὡς κοινὰ τῷ γένει' **18** νόθος scripsi: ὀθος M^{p.c.}: AOB: ὀρ- M^{a.c.}

Τὰ εἰς ΑΘΟΣ μονογενῇ τρισύλλαβα ἀπὸ
βραχείας ἀρχόμενα προπαροξύνεται· ψάμαθος
κύαθος κάλαθος καὶ λάπαθος. τὸ μέντοι
ἀγαθός τριγενές. τὸ δὲ ὄρμαθός καὶ
γυργαθός ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραλήγοντα
Ι ἢ Υ ἢ καὶ φύσει μακρᾷ προπαροξύνεται· εἰ δέ τι
καὶ ὀξύνεται, ἐπιθετικόν ἐστι· Λάπιθος
λέκιθος ἔριθος Μίκυθος ἄκυθος (ἢ μὴ
τίκτουσα). τὸ δὲ βοηθός καὶ κακηθός (ὁ
κάκιστος) ὀξύνεται. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΘΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἔχοντα κατὰ τὴν
παραλήγουσαν δύο σύμφωνα μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ
προπαροξύνονται· Ἐρύμανθος λαβύρινθος
Μέλανθος ὄλυνθος (τὸ μὴ πέπειρον). τὸ δὲ
ὀλισθός (ὁ ὀλισθηρός) ὀξύνεται ἐπίθετον ὄν. 15

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα φύσει μακρᾷ
παραληγόμενα βαρύνεται· Φῶκος Σῶκος
ταῦκος. **(56.)** τὸ δὲ σηκός ὀξύνεται. τὰ δὲ

1 Τὰ...5 ἀρχόμενα: cf. sch. Hom. II. 2.676 Κράπαθον {τε}: ὡς
λάπαθον, οὕτως Κράπαθον· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος χαρακτήρ
ὀφείλει βαρύνεσθαι ἐπὶ θηλυκῶν, λέγω δὲ ὁ εἰς θος λήγων
ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, τῷ α παραληγόμενος, ἄμαθος (cf. E
587), «ψάμαθος» (λ 385); *Ep. Hom.* α 271 τὰ διὰ τοῦ αθος ὑπὲρ
δύο συλλαβὰς μὴ ὄντα τριγενῇ βαρύνεται, οἶον ψίαθος
λάπαθος κάλαθος ἄμαθος· τὸ ἀγαθὸν τριγενές ὄν ὀξύνεται
σεσημείωται τὸ ὄρμαθός. **6** Τὰ...11 ὀξύνεται: cf.

Theognost. Can. II 58.30-3 (= 315) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιθος ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἶον, λέπιθος· λέκιθος·
ἔριθος [...] Λάπιθος.

3 κύαθος] κύαμος O λάπαθος Lobeck PSGP 362 e Cramer AO
I 55, 14 (= *Ep. Hom.* α 271); Hdn. II. Pros. B 676 (= sch. Hom. II.
2.676): λέκυθος MO **4** ὄρμαθός Schmidt 55.9: ὄρμαθός MO
7 μακρᾷ] μακρὰ O εἰ...8 ὀξύνεται om. O **8** καὶ π: om. M; de
O vide supra Λάπιθος] perperam Λάπηθος cum Λάπιθος
conectit TGL V 111D **9** λέκιθος Schmidt 55.13: λέκυθος MO:
haud recte λεκῦθος TGL V 178C Μίκυθος Schmidt 55.14:
μύκυθος MO **14** προπαροξύνονται] προπαροξύνεται O
17 ΚΟΣ] ος O **19** ταῦκος] ταῦρος O; Γλαῦκος haesitanter
Schmidt 55.22; alii alia, e.g. Γαῦκος, Δραῦκος, Βαῦκος, Ψαῦκος,
δαῦκος, καῦκος

ἐπιθετικά ὀξύνεται· γλαυκός λευκός
γραικός.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια, εἰ ἔχοι τὴν πρὸ
τέλους εἰς σύμφωνον καταλήγουσαν βαρύνεται·
Μάκκος Ὀγκος (τὸ κύριον) Λύγκος 5
Φόρκος.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ δισύλλαβα προσηγορικὰ μὴ
παρασχηματιζόμενα εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος, εἰ ἔχοι
τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς σύμφωνον
καταλήγουσαν, πλὴν τοῦ Λ, βαρύνεται· Λάκκος 10
κόκκος ἄρκος κέρκος ὄρκος. σεσημειώται
τὸ θριγκός. τὸ δὲ χαλκός ἔχει Λ. καὶ τὸ
φολκός ἐστι τριγενὲς ἔχον καὶ τὸ Λ.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ δισύλλαβα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς
συμφώνου τοῦ Σ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα 15
βαρύνεται· δίσκος Φύσκος μύσκος. τὸ δὲ
ἄσκος ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ διβράχεια μονογενῆ, εἴτε
ἀρσενικά, εἴτε θηλυκά, βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ διαστολὴ
τις σημαινομένου γένοιτο, οἷον· κύκος(?) 20
Πλάκος πόκος τύκος. σεσημειώται τὸ
φακός ὀξύτονον. Φάκος δὲ τὸ κύριον ὄνομα
ὄρους.

7 Τὰ...13 Λ: cf. *Et. Gud.* ο 435.12-6 τὰ εἰς κος λήγοντα
δισύλλαβα προσηγορικὰ μὴ παρασχηματιζόμενα εἰς
θηλυκὸν γένος, εἰ ἔχει τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς
σύμφωνον καταλήγουσαν, μὴ τὸ λ βαρύνεται· οἷον, λάκκος,
σάκκος, ὄρκος καὶ εἴ τι ὅμοιον. **21** σεσημειώται...23
ὄρους: cf. *Jo. Alex.* π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e φ 4
Φάκος· ὄνομα ὄρους, φακός δὲ τὸ ὄσπριον.

1 ἐπιθετικά] *duae litterae deletae* ἐπιθετικά Μ **3** ἔχοι Schmidt
56.3: ἔχει ΜΟ **5** Μάκκος] *Maccus Lobeck PGSE*¹ 113 Ὀγκος
Schmidt 56.5 e *St. Byz.* 482.22: ὄλκος ΜΟ **8** ἔχοι] ἔχει Ο
12 θριγκός] θηριγκός ΜΟ^{p.c.} (γ s.l. in Ο): θηρικὸς Ο^{a.c.} Λ] τὸ λ
Ο **13** φολκός ἐστι] φολκός ἐστι ΜΟ ἐστι Β: ἐστι ΜΟ
16 δίσκος...19 βαρύνεται om. Ο μύσκος] Schmidt 56.14 (*app.*
crit.) malit Ζύσκος e *Hdn.* π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 947.10 **20** κύκος ΜΟ;
fortasse βύκος, Μύκος/ μῦκος, λύκος, τύκος **21** τύκος ΜΟ:
τόκος Barker 50.20 et Schmidt 56.17 **22** φακός ΜΟ^{p.c.}:
φατοκός Ο^{a.c.} ὀξύτονον ΜΟ^{p.c.}: ὀξύτονον λευκός (λευκός
postea expunctum) Ο^{a.c.}

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ δισύλλαβα τριγενῇ ὀξύνεται
λευκός γλαυκός πλὴν τῶν παραληγόντων τῷ
Ω.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς Α
παραληγόμενα, οὗ προηγείται σύμφωνον ἢ 5
σύμφωνα, κύρια ὄντα βα(57.)ρύνεται· Λάβδακος
Πίνακος Ἀμάρακος Ἰθακος. σεσημείωται
τὸ Ἀστακός καὶ Μαλακός καὶ Καλλιακός.

4 Τὰ ... 93.8 σύνθετον: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 1^r Ἰθακος ... Φύλακος; sch. Hom. II. 24.566d1 {οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν} φυλακούς· Ἀρίσταρχος κατ' ὀξεῖαν τάσιν προεφέρετο ὡς φρουρούς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ {ὁ} λόγος συναγωνιζόμενος τῇ ὀξείᾳ τάσει οὗτος ὡς τὰ εἰς κος λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, παραληγόμενα τῷ α, ἐπιθετικά ὄντα ὀξύνεται, «μαλακός» (τ 234), παρδακός, φαρμακός, ἀνακός, ἔνθεν 'ἀνακοῖν Διοσκόροιν'; Eust. II. IV 955.7-13 φυλακτῆρές τε γάρ, ὡς πρὸ ὀλίγων, καὶ φύλακες κοινῶς, καὶ ποιητικῶς φύλακοι, οὗς Ἀρίσταρχος λέγεται οὐ βαρυτόνως φυλάκους προφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὀξυτόνως, καὶ κανόνα παράγειν, ὡς τὰ εἰς κος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, παραληγόμενα τῷ α, ἐπιθετικά ὄντα, ὀξύνονται· μαλακός, παρδακός, φαρμακός, ἀνακός· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ «ἀνακοῖν Διοσκούροιν». καὶ οὕτω μὲν κατὰ Ἀρίσταρχον. ἄλλως δὲ τὸ βαρυτονεῖσθαι τὴν λέξιν πιθανὸν ἐκ τοῦ φύλαξ φύλακος, ἐξ οὗ ὁ φύλακος, ἀναδραμούσης εἰς εὐθειαν τῆς γενικῆς; EM 802.3-6 Φυλακοὺς λάθοι· Ἰλιάδος ω'. Ἀρίσταρχος ὀξύνει· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΚΟΣ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, παραλήγοντα τῷ α, ἐπιθετικά ὄντα, ὀξύνονται, παρδακός, φαρμακός.

1 ΚΟΣ M^{p.c.}O: ος M^{a.c.} 2 τῷ M 5 οὐ] οὐ O 6 Λάβδακος Schmidt 57.1: λάμβδακος MO 7 Ἀμάρακος MO; Schmidt 57.1 (app. crit.): 'Μάρμακος an Ἀσσάρακος scripserit non liquet, suspectum etiam καὶ' 8 Ἀστακός Lobeck PSGP 308.30: ἀσακός MO; Ὀστακός etiam conl. Lobeck PSGP 308.30; Ἀνακός Götting (1835), 221 Μαλακός Lobeck PSGP 308.35-309.1: ἀλακός MO; Ἀννακός etiam conl. Lobeck PSGP 308.35; φυλακός Götting (1835), 221; possis etiam ἀνακός coll. sch. Hom. II. 24.566d1, 24.566d2, Eust. II. IV 955.7-13 Καλλιακός] Καυλιακός Lobeck PSGP 309, n. 3; Πιακός St. Byz. 522.1

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα
τῷ Α προσηγορικὰ ἢ ἐπιθετικὰ ὀξύνεται·
λιθακός μαλθακός ψιπτακός ἀστακός
φυλακός (ὁ φύλαξ, Φύλακος δὲ τὸ κύριον)
φαρμακός (ὁ ἐπὶ καθαρχίῃ τῆς πόλεως
τελευτῶν, φάρμακος δὲ ὁ γόης). σεσημείωται τὸ
θύλακος ὕσσακος αἷσακος
προπαροξυνόμενα, καὶ τὸ μαίμακος σύνθετον.

Τὰ [διὰ τοῦ] εἰς ΑΚΟΣ κτητικὰ ὀξύνεται·
Δηλιακός Φρυγιακός Ἰλιακός.

Τὰ εἰς ΕΚΟΣ ἔν ἐστιν· Ἀλώπεκος ἀπὸ τῆς
γενικῆς.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΚΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
προπαροξύνονται σπάνια ὄντα· Καππάδοκος
Σπόρδοκος. τὸ δὲ ξεινοδόκος βαρύνεται, [καὶ
τὸ αἰγοβοσκός ὀξύνεται].

1 Τὰ...**8** σύνθετον: cf. sch. Hom. II. 24.566d2 Τὰ εἰς κος
καθαρόν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, τῷ α παραληγόμενα
προσηγορικὰ ἢ ἐπίθετα ὀξύνεται, ἀνακός φαρμακός
φυλακός· τὰ γὰρ κύρια βαρύνεται, «Φύλακος» (cf. Z 35),
ὕλλακος.

5 φαρμακός...**6** γόης: cf. Ammon. Diff. 494
φαρμακεὺς ὁ φάρμακος· φαρμακός δὲ ὀξυτόνως ὁ ἐπὶ
καθάρσει τῆς πόλεως ῥιπτόμενος; Su. φ 104.1-2 Φαρμακός: ὁ
ἐπὶ καθαρχίῃ πόλεως ἀναιρούμενος· ὃν λέγουσι κάθαρχμα.
7 αἷσακος...**8** σύνθετον: cf. Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist.
gr. 10) f. 1^v αἷσακος, μαίμακος

13 Τὰ...**16** ὀξύνεται: cf.
Theognost. Can. II 59.17-22 (= 321) Τὰ εἰς κος λήγοντα
καθαρόν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τὸ ο παραληγόμενα σπάνιά
ἐστι, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν περιλήψει· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ Καππάδοκος·
λέγεται γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τριχῶς· ὁ Καππάδοκος, ὁ Καππάδοξ, ὁ
Καππαδόκης· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σπάρδοκος, Θράκιον δὲ τὸ ὄνομα·
δοῖδοκος· διόδοκος· ξεινοδόκος· Δημόδοκος ὄνομα κύριον.

3 λιθακός] λιθιακός dubitanter Lobeck PSGP 310.11 ψιπτακός
Schmidt 57.6: ψητακός MO **6** φάρμακος Lobeck PSGP 309:
φαρμακεὺς MO; fortasse φάρμακος δὲ ὁ καὶ φαρμακεὺς ὁ
γόης **8** μαίμακος] ἐπίθετον ἀπὸ γενικῆς Lobeck PSGP 315
9 διὰ τοῦ del. Schmidt 57.11 εἰς om. O **11** ἐστιν] ἐστί O
15 Σπόρδοκος MO; Σπάρδοκος vel Σπαράδοκος Schmidt 57.16
(app. crit.) καὶ...**16** ὀξύνεται del. Schmidt 57.17 et in apparatu
critico notavit: 'verba καὶ τὸ αἰγοβοσκός ὀξύνεται loco non suo
leguntur. Cf. 58.22 (Schmidt)'

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς μακροᾶ
 παραλήγοντα σπάνια ὄντα βαρύνεται·
 ἔστρογος Μάληκος πίθηκος. τὸ δὲ
 Ἰωλκός καὶ Ἀρτησικός ὀξύνεται.

(58.) Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ παραληγόμενα ΑΙ ἢ ΟΙ μὴ 5
 ἐπιθετικά προπαροξύνεται Πάταικος
 Φάλαϊκος Μίθαικος σόλοικος
 Μόνοικος (τὸ κατὰ συναλοιφήν). τὸ Εὐβοϊκός
 ὀξύνεται ἐπιθετικὸν ὄν.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα εἰ παραλήγοιτο Ι 10

5 Τὰ...9 ὄν: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 60.24-7 (= 326) τὰ διὰ τοῦ
 αἰκος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, σπάνια· τὰ δὲ ὄντα, διὰ τῆς αἰ
 διφθόγγου γράφονται οἷον, Φάλαϊκος· Πάταικος· Μίθαικος
 ὄνομα κύριον· μόνον τὸ ἀλώπεκος σεσημειώται διὰ τοῦ ε
 ψιλοῦ. **10** Τὰ...95.6 Παλικός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 59.30 -

60.9 (= 323) Τὰ εἰς κος λήγοντα καθαρὸν βαρύτονα, εἴτε
 κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά, μὴ κτητικῆς ἐννοίας ἐχόμενα, διὰ
 τοῦ ι γράφονται· καὶ ὅσα μὲν μακρὸν ἔχει τὸ ι σημειούμεθα·
 ὡς ἔχει τὸ Αἰνικός ὄνομα ποιητοῦ· Κάϊκος· Γρήνικος ὀνόματα
 ποταμῶν· Ἑλλάνικος· Φίλικος ὄνομα κύριον· τὸ γὰρ κτητικὸν
 ὀξύνεται, καὶ βραχὺ ἔχει τὸ ι· τὸ Καμικός ὄνομα ποταμοῦ ἐν
 Σικελίᾳ ὀξυνόμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι γραφόμενον, ἀμφίβολον
 ἔχει τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ι· τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸ Παλικός ὀξύτονον,
 καὶ αὐτὸ πόλις Σικελικὴ ἐφ' ἣ οἱ ἀπυθμένες κρατῆρες· τὰ δὲ
 ἔχοντα βραχὺ τὸ υ, ἔστι ταῦτα· ἀνθέρικος· ἀνθιήνικος·
 Σώρικος ὄνομα λιμένος· Ἑρικός ὄνομα κύριον· Τεμικός
 ὄνομα πόλεως Κρητικῆς· Λυκάνικος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ·
 ἀσφάδικος· τὸ Θωρικὸς οἱ πλείους ὀξύνουσι; II 59.7-11 (= 318)

1 μακροᾶ] μακροᾶ M

2 βαρύνεται O: βαρύνονται M

3 ἔστρογος Μάληκος] Theognost. *Can.* Ἄτρικος II 59.25 (= 322.3) et μαληκός II 59.10 (= 318.4) et μάλικος II 59.26 (322.4); Lobeck *PSGP* 323.3-4 Ἄτρογος vel Ἐστρογος et μάληκος / μαληκός *suspiciosa atque ignota censuit*; Nauck (1847), 147, n. 4 ἔστρογος] ἔγρογος O **4** Ἀρτησικός *scripsi* e Hdt. 4.92.2: ἀρτισκός MO; Ἀρδησικός Lobeck *PSGP* 323.7-13; ἀργησικός Theognost. *Can.* II 60.22 (= 325.4) **5** ΑΙ MO^{p.c.}: τῷ η αἰ O^{a.c.}

6 προπαροξύνεται (προπ add. i.m.) A^{i.m.}: ὀξύνεται MO Πάταικος em. Schmidt 58.2 e Theognosto 326.2-3: πάγαικος MO **7** Φάλαϊκος em. Schmidt 58.2 e Theognosto 326.2: φίλαικος MO **8** Εὐβοϊκός] εὐβυοικός MO **10** εἰς om. MO ΚΟΣ] ικος M^{p.c.}O: εἰκος M^{a.c.} ὑπερδισύλλαβα] ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς O^{i.t.}, sed ἡ ὑπερδισύλλαβα O^{i.m.}

μακρῶ βαρύνεται Αἰνικός (κύριον) Κάικος
Γρήνικος Φίλικος. εἰ δὲ τῇ Εἰ διφθόγγῳ,
ὀξύνεται δαρεικός βοεικός Δεκελεικός
Κεραμεικός. σεσημείωται τὸ Καμικός
ὀξύτονον καὶ ἔχον τὸ Ι μακρόν, ὥσπερ τὸ 5
Παλικός.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΚΟΣ κτητικὰ ἐπιθετικὰ καὶ θηλυκὸν
ἔχοντα ὀξύνεται Γαλατικός Ἰταλικός
Πυθαγορικός. τὸ δὲ ἄδικος οὐ κτητικόν. τὸ δὲ
ἡλίκος καὶ πηλίκος παροξύνονται οὐ γὰρ 10
κτητικά.

Τὰ εἰς ΥΚΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ
προσηγορικά μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκὰ
κτητικῆς ἐννοίας ἐχόμενα βαρύνεται Ἰβυκος
Ἄμυκος κώρυκος Ἰνυκος. τὸ δὲ Λιβυκός 15
καὶ θηλυκός καὶ ἄλυκός ὀξύνεται θηλυκὰ
ἔχοντα.

Τὰ εἰς κοσ ὀξύτονα κτητικὰ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται οἷον,
Ὅμηρος· δουλικός· βασιλικός· δεσποτικός· πλήν τοῦ
βοεικός· δαρεικός· Δεκελεικός· Κεραμεικός, διὰ τῆς εἰ
διφθόγγου γραφομένων, καὶ τοῦ μαληκός διὰ τοῦ η, ἀπὸ τοῦ
μαλακός γεγεννημένου τροπῇ τοῦ α εἰς η. **12** Τὰ... 17

ἔχοντα: cf. Theognost. Can. II 60.10-8 (= 324) τὰ εἰς κοσ
λήγοντα καθαρὸν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε
προσηγορικά, εἴτε ἐπίθετα, μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκὰ,
οὐκ οἶδεν ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους τὴν οἰ διφθογγον· οἷον, Ἰβυκος·
Ἄμυκος· Κώρυκος· Σίμυκος· Δίνυκος ὄνομα πόλεως· Σίτυκος·
Ἀρπάλυκος ὄνομα κύριον· Εὐτυκος· Ἐλίσυκος ὄνομα ἔθνους·
Κήρυκος ὄνομα κύριον· πλήν τοῦ σόλοικος· τὸ θηλυκός·
Λιβυκός· ἄλυκός, τὴν γραφὴν φυλάξαντα τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν
σημασίαν ἐνῆλλαξαν, κτητικῆς ὕλης τυγχάνοντα.

1 Αἰνικός scripsi: ἄνικος ΜΟ: Εὐνικός Meineke FCG I 249,
prob. Lobbeck PS GP 323.35 κύριον Ο: κύ^q Μ **2** διφθόγγῳ] δφω
Ο **3** Δεκελεικός ΜΟ^{p.c.}: δελεικός Ο^{a.c.} **6** Παλικός Ο^{p.c.}:
παλλικὸς Ο^{a.c.} **7** ΙΚΟΣ] κοσ Ο κτητικὰ Μ^{s.l.} **9** ἄδικος ΜΟ^{p.c.}:
ἄδιος Ο^{a.c.} οὐ κτητικόν] Schmidt 58.13 (app. crit.): 'οὐ κτητικόν
vitiosum pro οὐκ ἔχει ἴδιον θηλυκόν' **10** παροξύνονται]
παροξύνεται Ο **12** ΥΚΟΣ Μ^{p.c.}Ο: κοσ Μ^{a.c.} **15** Ἄμυκος
Schmidt 58.17: ἄμμυκος ΜΟ κώρυκος Μ: om. Ο; cf.
Theognost. Can. II 60.13 (= 324.4); Νάρυκος Lobbeck PS GP 331.14
17 ἔχοντα] ἔχον^t Ο

Τὰ εἰς ΣΚΟΣ I ἢ Υ παραληγόμενα
παροξύνεται· σατυρίσκος νεανίσκος
παιδίσκος. τὸ μέντοι Δαμασκός καὶ
Ἀρτησκός ὀξύνεται, οὐκ ἔχοντα I.

(59.) Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ διβράχεια βαρύνεται. εἰ δέ τι 5
ὀξύνεται, διαστολὴν πέπονθεν, ἢ ἔνεκα
τριγενείας· πάλος σάλος λάλος φάλος
θόλος. τὸ δὲ ὀλός (ὁ ὀλέθριος) ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ μονογενῇ [ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς] μὴ 10
ἀπὸ τοῦ Χ ἀρχόμενα ἔχοντα δίχρονον
ἐκτεταμένον, εἰ μὴ τις εἴη διαστολή, βαρύνεται

1 Τὰ...4 I: cf. Theognost. Can. II 60.19-23 (= 325) Τὰ εἰς κος
λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ κ τὸ σ, τὸ υ
παραλήγεται, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὸ υ, καὶ παροξύνεται·
σατυρίσκος· παιδίσκος· οὐρανίσκος· ἀστερίσκος· τὸ ἀργησκός
σεσημειώται διὰ τοῦ η γραφόμενον καὶ ὀξυνόμενον.
9 Τὰ...97.8 Σφῆλος: cf. Theognost. Can. II 60.33 - 61.9 (= 328) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ ιλος δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε
προσηγορικὰ βαρύτερα, διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ ι γράφεται· οἶον,
Ἴλος τὸ κύριον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς καταδύσεως τοῦ θηρίου
ὀξύνεται· πῖλος· κτῖλος· Βρῖλος ὄνομα κύριον· Μῖλος ὄνομα
νήσου· φίλος· τοῦτο συστέλλει τὸ ι· κτῖλος ὁ προηγούμενος
τῶν προβάτων κριός· οἷς ὅμοιον τὸ ψιλός· χιλός· εἰ καὶ περὶ
τὸν τόνον διήλλαξεν· τὸ δειλός ἀπὸ τοῦ δέος διὰ τῆς εἰ
διφθόγγου γράφεται· σεσημειώται τὸ Τῆλος ὄνομα κύριον
λιμένος καὶ πόλεως· Μῆλος· Βῆλος ὁ Ζεύς· δῆλος ὁ φανερός·
Σφῆλος ὄνομα κύριον· ἦλος τὸ δασυνόμενον· Ἴλος τὸ
κύριον, ὃ καὶ ψιλοῦται. Τὰ...97.5 ὀξύνεται: cf. Theognost.
Can. II 61.14-23 (= 330) Καθόλου τὰ διὰ τοῦ υλος δισύλλαβά τε
καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, ὀξύτονα τε καὶ παροξύτονα, πλὴν
τοῦ κοῖλος· τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ὅτι
εὔρηται καὶ ἐν διαλύσει κόϊλον· τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διὰ τοῦ υ
ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, μυλός (scrib. μύλος)· τύλος· στύλος·
γρύλος· σύλος· θρύλος· χύλος· δάκτυλος· σπόνδυλος·
Βάκχυλος· Πάπυλος· Αἰσχύλος· αἰμύλος· Ῥώμυλος·
στώμυλος· κήρυλος, ὁ τῶν ἀλκυνόνων ἄρρηγ· Βετύλος ὁ λίθος
ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν· κρώβυλος· δείμυλος· θηβύλος·
Σίπυλος· τίτυλος· νικάσυλος· Ὀνήσυλος.

1 ΣΚΟΣ] κος O **4** Ἀρτησκός MO; Ἀρδησκός Lobeck PS GP
323.7-13 **6** ἔνεκα] ἔνεκε O **9** ὑπὲρ... συλλαβάς del. Schmidt
59.5; δισύλλαβα Schmidt 59.5 (app. crit.)

Ἰλος (τὸ κύριον, ἰλλός δὲ ὁ διεστραμμένος)
 πῖλος μύλος στῦλος γρῦλος. τὸ δὲ χυλός
 καὶ χιλός (ἢ τροφή) ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Χ
 ἀρχόμενα. τὸ δὲ ψιλός τριγενές. καὶ τὸ Νεῖλος
 βαρύνεται. καὶ τὸ δειλός ὀξύνεται. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια τῷ Η
 παραληγόμενα προπερισπᾶται, οἷον· Μῆλος
 Βῆλος Δῆλος Σφῆλος.

Ἔτι τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ δισύλλαβα προσηγορικὰ ἢ
 ἐπιθετικὰ τῷ Η παραληγόμενα, εἰ ἔχοι ἄφωνον 10
 πρὸ τοῦ Η, ὀξύνεται· πηλός βηλός (ὁ οὐδός), τὸ
 μέντοι ῆλος καὶ ζῆλος βαρύνεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει
 ἄφωνον.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΥΛΟΣ δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ μὴ κύρια
 ὀξύνεται· αὐλός δαυλός καυλός. τὸ δὲ 15

1 Ἰλος... διεστραμμένος: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ.
 recensio e ι 12 Ἰλος· κύριον, ἰλός δὲ ὁ διεστραμμένος.
6 Τὰ... 13 ἄφωνον: cf. sch. Hom. II. 15.338a {ύιός δὲ} Σφήλιοι:
 ὡς «φίλιοι» (E 357 al.). ἔστι δὲ καὶ κανὼν ὡς τὰ εἰς λος
 δισύλλαβα, τῷ η παραληγόμενα, κύρια ὄντα βαρύνεσθαι
 θέλει, Τῆλος Μῆλος Βῆλος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ Σφῆλος. τὰ μέντοι
 προσηγορικὰ ὀξυτονεῖται, πηλός χηλός, καὶ βαρύνεται, ὡς
 δηλός τὸ ἐπιθετικὸν καὶ ῆλος καὶ ζῆλος, περὶ ὧν εἰρήσεται
 ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς Περί <τῆς> καθολικῆς προσωδίας (1, 155, 18);
 Eust. II. III 738.19-22 Τὰ εἰς λος δισύλλαβα κύρια τῷ η
 παραληγόμενα βαρύνονται· Τῆλος, Μῆλος, Βῆλος, Σφῆλος,
 ἐπιθετικὰ δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὀξύνονται, οἷον πηλός, χηλός, κηλός,
 βηλός οἴκου, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ βαρύνονται· δηλός, ζῆλος, ἐν οἷς καὶ
 ῆλος. **9** Ἔτι... 13 ἄφωνον: cf. Theognost. Can. II 61.10-3 (= 329)
 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηλος δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἄφωνον
 διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· χηλός· βηλός· πηλός· φηλός· τούτοις
 ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ δηλός ἀπὸ τοῦ δέελος γεγονὸς κατὰ
 συναίρεσιν τῶν δύο εε εἰς η.

1 Ἰλος... ἰλλός] Ἰλος Schmidt 59.7 ... ἰλλός Egenolff (1902), 80:
 ἰλος ... ἰλός MO κύριον O: κύ^o M ἰλός δὲ ὁ διεστραμμένος
 M^{s.l}. **2** πῖλος BC: πῖλος accentu incerto M: om. O μύλος A:
 μῦθος M: om. O; Μῖλος ὄνομα νήσου Theognost. Can. II 61.2 (= 328.4)
 στῦλος] στύλος MO γρῦλος] γρύλος MO **8** Σφῆλος
 Lobeck PGSE¹ 123-4, n. 46: φῆλος MO **11** ὁ οὐδός em. Schmidt
 59.16 et in apparatu critico add. 'nisi ὁ ὁδός praestat': οὐλός
 MO **12** ῆλος Schmidt 59.16: ῆλος spiritu incerto M: ῆλος O

Βραῦλος Παῦλος Σαῦλος κύρια. <....> καὶ τὸ
ναῦλος μὴ ὄν κύριον. τὸ δὲ φαῦλος ἐπίθετον.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ ἐπιθετικὰ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ ΛΟΣ
δί(60.)φθογγον τὴν διὰ τοῦ Υ βαρύνεται φαῦλος
δοῦλος οὔλος. τὸ δὲ τραυλός ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ
δειλός (?).

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΛΛ κύρια ἀρσενικὰ βαρύνονται
Υλλος Τέλλος Μύλλος (ποιητὴς κωμικός)
Γάλλος Ψύλλος (τὸ κύριον). τὸ δὲ κυλλός
ὀξύνεται ὡς ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ τὸ Μαλλός θηλυκὸν
ὄνομα πόλεως.

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΛΛ προσηγορικὰ εἰ μὴ
παραλήγοιεν Ι ὀξύνεται μαλλός φαλλός
φελλός. τὸ σίλλος καὶ βίλλος (τὸ ἀνδρεῖον
αἰδοῖον, τὸ κοινῶς βιλλὶν παρὰ Ἐφεσίοις)
βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΛΛ τριγενῇ εἰ μὴ παραλήγοιεν Α
ὀξύνεται ψελλός ἰλλός κιλλός. τὸ μέντοι Γάλλος

17 Τὰ ...99.2 ἔθνους: cf. sch. Hom. II. 16.234c.3-9 Τὰ γὰρ εἰς λος
έτέρω λ παραληγόμενα, οὗ τὸ α μὴ προηγεῖται, ὀξύνεται
κιλλός, εἶδος χρώματος ἐν Στεφανοπώλισιν Εὐβούλου [...]
κυλλός, Ἐλλός ἢ Σελλός (ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοί), σκελλός, φελλός
τὸ προσηγορικόν. τὸ δὲ Γάλλος καὶ «ἄλλος» (A 186 al.) τὸ α
ἔχει πρὸ τοῦ λ· ἔτι δὲ τὸ «ἄλλος» καὶ ὡς ἐπιμεριζόμενον
βαρύνεται; EM 680.44-7 Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ λήγοντα δισύλλαβα
τριγενῇ ἐπίθετα, έτέρω λ παραληγόμενα, μὴ ἔχοντα τὸ ω,
ὀξύνεται, κυλλός, ἰλλός, ψελλός. Σεσημείωται τὸ ἄλλος, ὡς
ἐπιμεριζόμενον·

1 Σαῦλος M: σαύλος O; Γαῦλος St. Byz. 200.3; γαυλός Radt
(1982), 243; Αῦλος dubitanter Schmidt 59.20 (app. crit.) <>
προπερισπᾶται add. Schmidt 59.20 (app. crit.) **4** τὴν om. O
5 δοῦλος] δαῦλος Radt (1982), 244 καὶ M^{s.l.} τὸ² M^{p.c.}O: τὸ δὲ
M^{a.c.} (δὲ deletum post additionem verbi καὶ; vide supra)
6 δειλός] δειλός ὀξύνεται M: δειλός ὁμοίως ὀξύνεται O;
δειλός suspectum Schmidt 60.2 (app. crit.) **9** Ψύλλος...
κύριον] Schmidt 60.5 (app. crit.): 'fortasse Ψύλλος καὶ Κύλλος
τὸ κύριον, coll. Hdn. π.μ.λ. 914.1-4' κύριον] κύ^o M
15 κοινῶς] κοινῶς M Ἐφεσίοις] ἐβεσίοις (sic) O **17** Τὰ ...99.1
βαρύνεται (ἔχοντα τὸ α O: ἔχοντα α M) MO **18** ἰλλός scripsi
coll. EM 680.44-6: σιλλός MO

καὶ ἄλλος ἔχοντα τὸ Α βαρύνεται. σεσημείωται τὸ
Ψύλλος τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔθνους.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου
βαρύνεται. εἰ δέ τι εἴη ὀξύτονον, ἐπιθετικὸν
ὑπάρχει ὄτλος βύβλος βίβλος ὄχλος 5
κόχλος πέπλος κύκλος. τὸ δὲ τυφλὸς
ὀξύνεται ἐπιθετικὸν ὄν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ στρεβλός
καὶ ἐσθλός. σεσημείωται τὸ μοχλός
ὀξυνόμενον.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΛΛΟΣ τρισύλλαβα μὴ ἐθνικὰ 10
προπαροξύνεται· κρύσταλλος κίαλλος
ὄκταλλος (ὁ ὀφθαλμός παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς)· τὸ δὲ
Τριβαλλός ἐθνικὸν καὶ τὸ προβαλλός (ἡ
ἀσπίς) ὀξυνόμενον.

Τὰ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς ἐκφερόμενα 15
παραληγόμενα **(61.)** τῷ Α βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Κ ἄρχοιτο· ἀρύβαλλος (τὸ μαρσίππιον)
περίαλλος (τὸ ἰσχίον) αἰγίθαλλος.
κραπαταλλός δὲ (εἶδος νομίσματος) καὶ
κορυδαλλός ὀξύνεται. 20

Τὰ εἰς ΛΛΟΣ πολυσύλλαβα, ὁποῖω φωνήεντι

21 Τὰ... 100.4 θηλυκόν: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 62.10-4 (= 336) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ ἱλλος δισύλλαβά τε καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς διὰ τοῦ ι
γράφονται· οἶον, σίλλος· Βίλλος· Στίλλος τὸ ἔθνος· Κύριλλος·

1 σεσημείωται... 2 ἔθνους] Schmidt 60.10-1 (app. crit.): 'forte
leg. ψύλλος. τὸ δ' ἐπὶ ἔθνους ἀναλόγως βαρύνεται. Hoc enim
voluit Ψύλλος ἐπὶ ἔθνους nihil habere offensionis, sed ψύλλος
τὸ ζωῦφιον pulicem mordellam regulam excedere' **5** ὄτλος L.
Dindorf *TGL* V 2102 C: ὄπλος MO **6** πέπλος MO: om.
Schmidt 60.14 et Lentz 158.9 **7** στρεβλός] β (expunctum)
στρεβλός O **8** σεσημείωται O: σημείωσαι M **11** κρύσταλλος]
κρύσταλος O κίαλλος] Δίαλλος *TGL* IV 1540A; Δίαλλος vel
ἱαλλος Lobeck *PSGP* 94.10-1 coll. *EM* 463.10, *Su.* ι 20; possis
etiam βίαλλος coll. *Et. Sym.* I 390.22-3 **15** ἐκφερόμενα]
ἐκφευρόμενα O **17** ἀρύβαλλος Schmidt 61.1-2: ἐρίβαλλος
MO μαρσίππιον MO; μαρσύπιον Schmidt 61.2
18 αἰγίθαλλος... **19** κραπαταλλός Schmidt 61.2-3: αἰγίδαλλος
κραπαταλλός MO **20** κορυδαλλός M: κορυδαλός O
ὀξύνεται] ὀξύλεται (sic) M **21** ΛΛΟΣ] λος O πολυσύλλαβα]
πολυσύλλαβα μονογενῇ haesitans Schmidt 61.5 (app. crit.)
ὁποῖω] ὁποῖω M

παραλήγει πλὴν τοῦ Α, προπαροξύνεται
Μύσκελλος Μάρκελλος Κύριλλος
Σόφιλλος δόριλλος. τὸ δὲ ὀπτίλλος
παροξύνεται καὶ τὸ νεογιλλός ἔχει θηλυκόν.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΛΟΣ, εἰ ἔχει τὴν τρίτην ἀπὸ 5
τέλους μακράν, προπαροξύνεται Κώδαλος
Τάνταλος Ἀρπαλος Ἰξαλος δαίδαλος.
σεσημειώται τὸ ὀμφαλός καὶ τὸ Θεσσαλός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΛΟΣ ἔχοντα τὴν τρίτην 10
συνεσταλμένην, θηλυκῶν ἐστερημένα, εἰ μὴ
περιεκτικῇ σημασίᾳ ἐκφέρεται, προπαροξύνεται
ἐγκέφαλος πίαλος Φίγαλος δάμαλος. τὸ
δὲ Ἰταλός ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ αἰγιαλός
περιεκτικόν.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΛΟΣ τριγενῇ ἔχοντα τὴν τρίτην 15
βραχεῖαν ὀξύνεται ἀπαλός χθαμαλός
τροχαλός Ἰταλός. σεσημειώται τὸ Μέγαλος
προπαροξύτονον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΛΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα μετὰ τοῦ Α 20
ἐκτεταμένου βαρύνεται Φάρσαλος Τάβαλος.

(62.) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΛΟΣ μονογενῇ

Μέγιλλος· Αἴλλος· Πέριλλος· Σόφιλλος· Ἀνάσιλλος·
Τήριλλος· Ἐπιλλος· Δώριλλος· Πράσιλλος. **9** Τὰ...17

Ἰταλός: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 8^r
δάμαλος, χθαμαλός, τροχαλός **19** Τὰ...20 Τάβαλος: cf.

Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 8^v περὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ
αλος ἐκτεταμένου τοῦ α ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς [...] Φάρσαλος
21 Τὰ...101.12 προπαροξύνεται: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod.
Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 8^v (in margine) περὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ ελος
μονογενῶν κυρίων μὴ ἐκ δισυλλάβων εἰς τρισύλλαβα
μεταστάντων [...] ἄμπελος, [...] πύελος, Κύψελος, ἀσφόδελος,
δειελός, [...] μυελός, ὀβελός [...]. (in margine) περὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ
ελος ἐπιθετικῶν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἐχόντων. ἡ ὑπερβαίνοι
τρεῖς συλλαβὰς αἰδέλος, εὐτράπελος [...] εἵκελος, πέμπελος;

3 δόριλλος] δώριλλος **ΜΟ** ὀπτίλλος] ὀπτίλος **Ο** **7** Ἰξαλος
δαίδαλος] δαίδαλον **Ο** **11** περιεκτικῇ σημασίᾳ] περιεκτικῇ
σημασίᾳ **Μ** περιεκτικῇ] ἐθνικῇ male Lobeck *PSGP* 103.26
12 πίαλος] σίαλος dubitanter Lobeck *PSGP* 104.12 Φίγαλος]
Φίαλος Lobeck *PSGP* 104.25 **17** Ἰταλός] σιπαλός aut ἄταλός
Schmidt 61.16-9 (app. crit.) Μέγαλος...18 προπαροξύτονον
ΜΟ: μέγαλος παροξύτονον Götting (1835), 301 (*EM* 553.30-40)

προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ πάθος τι γένοιτο· ἄμπελος Σθένελος πύελος κύψελος ἀσφόδελος (ἢ βοτάνη, ἀσφοδελός ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων). τὸ δειελός (τὸ δειλινόν) ὀξύνεται, καὶ τὸ ὀβελός καὶ μυελός.

5

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΛΟΣ ἐπιθετικὰ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν τρίτην μακρὰν προπαροξύνεται· αἰδέλος εἴκελος εὐτράπελος πέμπελος (ὁ παλαιός). εἰ δὲ τρισύλλαβα εἶη ἐπιθετικὰ μὴ ὄντα σύνθετα ὀξύνεται· Σικελός στροβελός †κεφαλός. τὸ δὲ ζάφελος σύνθετον ὄν προπαροξύνεται.

10

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΛΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα <.....> μὴ

f. 5r αἰδέλος, [...] εἴκελος, [...] ζάφελος; Theognost. Can. II 61.27-31 (= 332) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ελος, εἴτε τρισύλλαβα, εἴτε ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβάς, βαρύνοντά τε καὶ ὀξύτονα, διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφονται· εἴκελος· ἄγγελος· Σθένελος· ἄμπελος· πύελος· σφακέλος· σκόπελος· ἀσφόδελος· Κύψελος· μυελός· πτυελός· ὀβελός· Σικελός. **13** Τὰ ... 102.6 ὕδρηλος; cf. sch. Hom. II. 18.580b1 ἐρύγμηλον· ὡς βέβηλον· τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ηλος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς προσηγορικὰ ἢ κύρια προπαροξύνεσθαι θέλει, κάμηλος καὶ φάσηλος, «Στύμφηλον» (B 608). Τὰ μέντοι ἐπιθετικὰ ὀξύνεσθαι μὲν θέλει, ὅτε παρασχηματισμὸν ἔχει θηλυκοῦ, σιγηλός, «ὑψηλός» (α 426. ζ 263), «ἀπατηλός» (cf. A 526), μὴ οὕτως δὲ ἔχοντα βαρύνεσθαι, βέβηλος, κίβδηλος, κάπηλος. εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐρύγμηλος οὐκ ἔχει θηλυκόν, δῆλον ὅτι ὑγιῶς βαρυνονθήσεται καὶ οὐ δεόντως αὐτὸ Τυραννίων (fr. 44 P.) ὀξύνει. ἐγένετο δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐρύγω, ἔνθεν παρατατικός «ἡρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον» (Υ 404), ἐρύγηλος καὶ ἐν

1 τι] τί M **3** ἀσφοδελός] ἀσφοσελός δὲ O **4** δειελός... δειλινόν] Schmidt 62.4 (app. crit.): 'exciderunt fortasse δειέλος ὁ ἀστήρ' δειελός A: διελός MO **5** μυελός M^{p.c.} O: μελός M^{a.c.} **7** προπαροξύνεται M^{s.l.} **9** τρισύλλαβα... 10 σύνθετα] Schmidt 62.9 (app. crit.): 'Imo τριβράχεια εἶη ἐθνικὰ ἢ ἐπιθετικά' **11** †κεφαλός MO; κεφελός remedium non esse censuit Lobeck PSGP 107, n. 8; Schmidt 62.10: 'σφακέλος pro σφακελίας non lectum'; fortasse ἐκνέφελος vel ἀνέφελος vel ἀστυφέλος tamquam partem exemplorum compositorum, quae proparoxytona sunt **13** Τὰ] ἃ O <>] προσηγορικὰ ἢ κύρια add. Hdn. π. ἰλ. προσ. Υ 580; cf. Theognost. Can. II 61.32 - 62.2 (= 333)

ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκὰ προπαροξύνεται· εὐκηλος
τράχηλος κάπηλος. τὸ δὲ σιγηλός ἔχει
θηλυκόν.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΛΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ
ἔχοντα θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται· σιγηλός μιμηλός 5
ἀπατηλός ὑψηλός ὕδρηλός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΛΟΣ ἀρσενικὰ ὑπερδισύλλαβα
ἔχοντα τὸ Ι βραχὺ παροξύνεται. εἰ δέ τι
προπαροξύτονον εἴη, ἢ πάθει ἢ γένει ναυτίλος
Τρωῖλος Ζωῖλος Πενθίλος. τὸ δὲ αἶγιλος 10
θηλυκόν προπαροξύνεται. **(63.)** τὸ δὲ κόϊλος ἀπὸ

πλεονασμῷ τοῦ μ ἐρύγμηλος; *EM* 379.20-6 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΛΟΣ
ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προσηγορικὰ ἢ κύρια προπαροξύνονται·
οἶον κάμηλος, φάσηλος· τὰ μέντοι ἐπιθετικὰ ὀξύνονται, ὅτε
ἔχει παρασχηματισμὸν θηλυκοῦ· οἶον, σιγηλός, ὑψηλός· μὴ
οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντα βαρύνεται, βέβηλος, κίβδηλος, κάπηλος,
ἐρύγμηλος. Γέγονε παρὰ τὸ ἐρύγω, ἐρύγηλός τις ὦν· καὶ
πλεονασμῷ τοῦ μ Τὰ...102.3 θηλυκόν: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II
61.32-62.2 (= 333) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηλος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
προπαροξύτονα κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικὰ διὰ τοῦ η
γράφονται· οἶον, Κάρμηλος ὄνομα ὄρους· τράχηλος·
κάπηλος· πάσηλος· φάσηλος· κάμηλος· βέβηλος. 4 Τὰ...6
ὕδρηλός: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 5^r
σιγηλός, μιμηλός ἀπατηλός, ὀμβρηλός, ὕδρηλός; *Theognost.*
Can. II 62.3-5 (= 334) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηλος ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβὰς, διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· οἶον, μιμηλός· σιγηλός·
ὑψηλός· χαμηλός· ἀπατηλός· ἰδρηλός (*scrib.* ὕδρηλός)·
ὀμβρηλός· ὀκνηλός. 7 Τὰ...103.2 προπαροξύνεται: cf.
Theognost. Can. II 62.6-9 (= 335) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιλος ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβὰς πρὸ τέλους ἔχοντα τὸν τόνον διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται·
Ζωῖλος· Καδμίλος· Τρωῖλος· ναυτίλος· βανδίλος· πενθίλος·
ὀργίλος· Μυρτίλος· Χοιρίλος· φρυγίλος. 11 τὸ...103.1
πάθος: cf. *Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ.* 6.19-24 (18b) Ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ἡ
βαρεῖα καὶ ἡ ὀξεῖα εἰς ὀξεῖαν συναιροῦνται, εἰ μὴ τονικὸν
κωλύση παράγγελμα, οἶον ζῶός ζῶς, θεός θεύς, *Πρόϊτου*
Προίτου, κοῖλον κοῖλον· τὸ γὰρ κοῖλος κοῖλος διὰ τονικὸν
παράγγελμα προπεριεσπάσθη.

2 κάπηλος A: κάπηλος vel κάτηλος M: κάτηλος O σιγηλός
MO^{p.c.}: συγηλός O^{a.c.} 7 ΙΛΟΣ MO^{p.c.}: ηλος O^{a.c.} 9 πάθει...
γένει] πάθει γέγονε ἢ γένει διαφέρει Lobeck

τοῦ κοῖλος κατὰ πάθος, καὶ τὸ μύτιλος (ὁ ἔσχατος) προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΛΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα, εἰ ἔχοι τὸ Ι ἐκτεταμένον, προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἡ τρίτη ἔχοι τὸ Α, οὗ προκατάρχει σύμφωνον· στρόβιλος 5 (εἶδος ὀρχήσεως, στροβιλός δὲ ἡ συστροφή τοῦ ἐχίνου) ἔσβιλος ὄμιλος Πάμμιλος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν συλλήψει τὰ σύμφωνα. τὸ δὲ Καδμίλος (ὁ Ἑρμῆς) προπερισπᾶται ἔχον τὸ Α.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΛΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ κύρια 10 ἢ προσηγορικὰ προπαροξύνονται· Ἀσβολος ἄκολος. τὸ δὲ αἰόλος, εἴτε κύριον, εἴτε ἐπίθετον, παροξύνεται. καὶ τὸ βουκόλος παροξύτονον. τὸ δὲ ὀβολός ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΥΛΟΣ τρισύλλαβα προσηγορικὰ ἢ 15

8 τὸ...9 Α: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 5^v προπερισπᾶται τὸ Κασμίλος παρ' Ἰππώνακτι· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ α ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ συμφώνου καὶ ἐπεφέρετο δύο συμφώνους. τοιοῦτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ Καδμίλος, οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸν Καδμίλον **15** Τὰ...105.6 προπαροξύνεται: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 61.14-23 (= 330) Καθόλου τὰ διὰ τοῦ υλος δισύλλαβά τε καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, ὀξύτονά τε καὶ παροξύτονα, πλὴν τοῦ κοῖλος· τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γράφεται, ὅτι εὔρηται καὶ ἐν διαλύσει κόϊλον· τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οῖον, μυλός· τύλος· στύλος· γρύλος· σύλος· θρύλος· χύλος· δάκτυλος· σπόνδυλος· Βάκχυλος· Πάπυλος· Αἰσχύλος· αἰμύλος· Ῥώμυλος· στῶμυλος· κήρυλος, ὁ τῶν ἀλκυόνων ἄρρη· Βετύλος (scrib. βαίτυλος; vide etiam apparatus criticum) ὁ λίθος ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν· κρώβυλος· δεῖμυλος· θηβύλος· Σίπυλος· τίτυλος· νικάσυλος· Ὀνήσυλος. Τὰ... 104.4 ἐστι: cf. *Et. Gud.* α 14.4-7 τὰ διὰ τοῦ υλος ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς εἴτε ὀξύτονα εἴτε βαρύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ

1 μύτιλος M^{p.c.}O: μίτυλος M^{a.c.}; cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 21.2 **3** ἔχοι] ἔχει O **5** Α...σύμφωνον] Schmidt 63.5 (app. crit.): 'Imo Α προκατάρχον συμφώνων ἐν συλλήψει ὄντων aut Α ὁ προκατάρχει συμφώνων' **7** ἔσβιλος] σέσιλος vel ἰσπνίλος Lobeck *PSGP* 117.14-5; Schmidt 63.6 (app. crit.): 'Sed ἔσβηνες (leg. ἔσβιλος)· ποτηρίου εἶδος (παρὰ) Ταραντίοις Hesychius' Πάμμιλος O: πάμμιθος M **8** Καδμίλος] δα (expunctum) καδμίλος O **11** προπαροξύνονται M: προπαροξύνοντα (sic) O

κύρια, εἰ ἄρχοιτο ἀπὸ φύσει μακρᾶς, παροξύνεται κρωβύλος κηρύλος Αἰσχύλος Ῥωμύλος. σεσημείωται τὸ βαίτυλος καὶ ὄγκυλος. τὸ δὲ αἷσυλος ἐπίθετόν ἐστι.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΥΛΟΣ τρισύλλαβα ἐπιθετικά ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα τὴν τρίτην μακρὰν παροξύνεται στωμύλος αἰμύλος **(64.)** (ὁ πρᾶος) στρογγύλος ἀγκύλος καμπύλος. τὸ δὲ αἷσυλος προπαροξύνεται ὡς σύνθετον, ἀπὸ τοῦ Α καὶ τοῦ συλῶ, ὁ πολλὰ συλῶν. 5 10

Τὰ εἰς ΥΛΟΣ τρισύλλαβα κύρια ὄντα ἔχοντα τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν μηκνυμένην παροξύνεται προσηγορικά δὲ ὄντα προπαροξύνεται. παροξύνεται Δερκύλος Βακχύλος Χαρμύλος. προπαροξύνεται δὲ τὸ κόνδυλος σφόνδυλος δάκτυλος γόγγυλος. τὸ δὲ Ἄξυλος καὶ Ὀξύλος κύρια ὄντα τοῖς προσηγορικοῖς κατὰ τὸν τόνον ἠκολούθησαν. 15

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΥΛΟΣ τριβράχεια, εἰ ἔχοι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συλλαβῇ τὸ Ι εἰ μὴ εἷη παρώνυμον ἐν 20

γράφεται, οἷον κωβύλος (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν πορνοβοσκόν), Αἰσχύλος, ἀγκύλος, κρωβύλος; *EM* 11.5-6 τὰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ΥΛΟΣ ὀνόματα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἷον κρωβύλος, (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν πορνοβοσκόν) Αἰσχύλος, ἀγκύλος; cf. *etiam Et. Sym.* I 36.12-4 **11** Τὰ...18 ἠκολούθησαν: cf. *EM* 245.40-2 Δάκτυλος: Διατί προπαροξύνεται; Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΥΛΟΣ, εἰ ἔχει τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν διὰ δευτέρου συμφώνου μηκνυμένην, προσηγορικά ὄντα, προπαροξύνεται· οἷον, σπόνδυλος, γόγγυλος.

2 κρωβύλος *em. TGL* IV 2023A; cf. *EM* 11.5-6: κροκύλος ΜΟ κηρύλος Μ: κηρῦλος Ο Ῥωμύλος] ῥωμῦλος Ο **3** βαίτυλος... ὄγκυλος (βαίτυλος *scripsi coll. Theognost. Can.* II 61.21 (= 330.8) βετύλος, *quod* βαίτυλος *scribendum*): Οἷτυλος (e *St. Byz.* 487.15) ... Ὠγυλος (e *St. Byz.* 706.3) *Lobeck PSGP* 121, n. 2: αἷτυλος ... ὄγκυλος ΜΟ **7** πρᾶος] πρᾶος Μ **8** ἀγκύλος Μ: ἀγλύλος Ο **10** τοῦ *om.* ΜΟ **15** Δερκύλος Μ^{a.c.}Ο: δερκύλλος Μ^{p.c.} Χαρμύλος] χαλμύλος Ο **17** Ὀξύλος] ὄξυος Ο **19** τριβράχεια] τρισύλλαβα Ο ἔχοι Μ: ἔχει Ο **20** Schmidt 64.12 (*app. crit.*): 'post I] exciderunt προπαροξύνεται, τὰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως παροξύνεται. minus placet ἢ pro εἰ μή'

ἰσοσυλλάβοις προπαροξύνεται· τίτυλος
 Ἰτυλος τὸ κύριον. τὸ μέντοι Χρεμύλος καὶ
 Κρατύλος παροξύνονται οὐκ ἔχοντα Ι ἐν τῇ
 πρώτῃ. τὸ δὲ Στάφυλος παρώνυμόν ἐστι παρὰ
 τὸ σταφυλή. καὶ τὸ Ἀγκυλος κύριον 5
 προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΥΛΟΣ ὑπερτρισύλλαβα
 παροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι[εν] ἔννοϊαν συνθέσεως·
 ἐρωτύλος ἱαμβύλος. τὸ μέντοι εὐρύπυλος
 σύνθετον. 10

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΛΟΣ μονογενῇ ὑπὲρ δύο
 συλλαβὰς προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι πρὸ τοῦ Ω
 δύο σύμφωνα (65.) κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν, ὧν τὸ δευτερόν

11 Τὰ...106.11 ἔχει· cf. St. Byz. α 146.5-8 ὁξύνεται δὲ
 <Αἰτωλός>· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ὠλος ἀρσενικὰ πρὸ τοῦ ω τὸ τ ἔχοντα
 ὁξύνεται, Καστωλός Πακτωλός ἀμαρτωλός. τὸ Σπάρτωλος
 θηλυκόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ Μαύσωλος οὐκ ἔχει τὸ τ. ἔστι καὶ
 αἰτωλός ἐπίθετον παρὰ ῥῆμα τὸ αἰτεῖν; Theognost. Can. II
 62.28-33 (= 338.1-6) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὠλος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, εἴτε
 βαρύτονα, εἴτε ὀξύτονα, ἀπλᾶ ὄντα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου
 γράφονται· οἶον, Κίμωλος, ὄνομα νήσου· Μαύσωλος·
 φάκωλος (scrb. φάσκωλος) ὁ θύλακος· Μαγδωλός ὄνομα
 πόλεως· Ἐτέωλος ὄνομα λιμένος· Ἀρρωλος ὄνομα πόλεως·
 ἔωλος· φειδωλός· Αἰτωλός· ἀμαρτωλός· Πακτωλός·
 Σπαρτωλός; Choerob. Ep. Ps. 23.8-16 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΛΟΣ
 ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ Ω μεγάλου γράφεται, οἶον Ἀρτωλός,
 Πακτωλός· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀμαρτωλός· ἢ ὅτι τὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄλω
 (sic) συγκεείμενα διὰ τοῦ Ω μεγ. γράφεται, οἶον πανώλης,
 ἐξώλης, ἀπώλεια, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ΩΛΟΣ ὑπὲρ
 δύο συλλαβὰς ὑπερθετικὰ ἀπλᾶ, ῥηματικὰ ὄντα, ἔχοντα τὴν
 τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους μακράν, ὁξύνονται, οἶον φειδωλός,
 Αἰτωλός· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἀμαρτωλός· τὸ μέντοι ἔωλος
 παρώνυμόν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους βραχεῖαν ἔχει;
 Eust. II. I 483.19-21 ὁξύνεται δὲ τὸ Αἰτωλός, ὡς τὸ Πακτωλός
 καὶ ἀμαρτωλός καὶ ὄλως τὰ ἔχοντα τὸ τ πρὸ τοῦ ω ἀρσενικὰ·
 διὸ τὸ Μαύσωλος προπαροξύνεται ὡς μὴ ἔχον τὸ τ.

1 τίτυλος] fortasse πίτυλος, cf. Lobeck PSGP 121, n. 3; Οἶτυλος
 vel μίτυλος (= μύτυλος) **2** Ἰτυλος TGL IV 702 A, Göttling
 (1835), 185 : Ἰστυλος MO κύριον O: κύ⁹ M Χρεμύλος] sine
 accentu O **5** Ἀγκυλος] Ἀγυλος vel Ἀκυλος dubitanter Lobeck
 PSGP 122 **6** προπαροξύνεται] προπαροξύνονται O
8 ἔχοι[εν]] ἔχοιεν MO **13** δευτερόν] β^{ον} O: β' M

ἐστι Τ, οἶον· Κίμωλος †εὐρύσωλος
φάσκωλος (ὁ θύλακος)· Καστωλός δὲ
ὀξύνεται ἔχον δύο σύμφωνα, ὧν τὸ ἐν Τ ἐστι. τὸ
μέντοι Σπάρτωλος βαρύνεται· τὰ γὰρ δύο
σύμφωνα οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν συλλήψει, ἀλλ' ἐν 5
διαστάσει. τὸ δὲ Αἰτωλός τριγενές.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΛΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ
ῥηματικὰ ἔχοντα τὴν τρίτην μακρὰν ὀξύνεται·
φειδωλός Αἰτωλός ἀμαρτωλός. τὸ μέντοι
ἔωλος (ὁ χθεσινός) προπαροξύνεται ὡς 10
παρώνυμον, καὶ τὴν τρίτην βραχεῖαν ἔχει.

Τὰ εἰς ΛΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ
διὰ τοῦ Υ διφθόγγῳ προπαροξύνεται· δίαυλος
ἰουλος κούμουλος ὕπουλος.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς ΜΟΣ ΝΟΣ ΞΟΣ ΠΟΣ. 15

Βιβλίον ζ'.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Γ ὀξύνεται
προσηγορικὰ ὄντα· νυγμός φραγμός
τιναγμός ἀλαλαγμός ὑλαγμός διωγμός.
σεσημείωται τὸ ὄγμος (ἡ τάξις) βαρυνόμενον, 20
καὶ τὸ Ρίγμος οὐ προσηγορικόν.

(66.) Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ πρὸ τοῦ Μ Δ ἔχοντα ὀξύνεται
προσηγορικὰ ὄντα, εἰ δὲ κύρια εἴη, βαρύνεται.
ὀξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα· ἀρδμός σκιαδμός,
βαρύνονται δὲ ταῦτα· Κάδμος †Κύδνος. 25

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ Θ ἢ Χ ὀξύνεται·

26 Τὰ...107.3 βαρυνόμενον: cf. Eust. II. II 148.13-149.1 Τὰ εἰς
μος λήγοντα, ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ μ τὸ θ, ὀξύνεται· μηνιθμός,
πορθμός, σκαρθμός, ισθμός. οὕτω καὶ σταθμός. τὸ κρηθμός
οἱ μὲν τοῦ Ὀμήρου Ὑπομνηματισταὶ βαρύνεσθαι φασιν εἰς

1 ἐστι] ἐστι Ο †εὐρύσωλος ΜΟ^{p.c.}: εὐρύσωρος Ο^{a.c.}; Ἀρ(ρ)ωλος
Μα)ύσωλος coll. Theognost. Can. II 62.28 - 63.2 (= 338.1-8) conī.
Schmidt 65.2 (app. crit.); Ἐρίγβωλος Nonn. D. XXXII 223
2 Καστωλός δὲ] καὶ τὸ (τὸ add. M^{s.l.}) καστωλός (κάστωλος
A^{a.c.}) ΜΟ **3** ἐστι Μ: ἐστι Ο **10** ἔωλος] ἔωλος ΜΟ ὡς M^{s.l.}Ο:
om. M^{i.l.} **13** διφθόγγῳ ΜΟ^{p.c.}: φθόγγῳ Ο^{a.c.} **14** κούμουλος
ΜΟ; Κάμουλος Lobeck PSGP 132 ὕπουλος] ὕπουλος (sic) Ο
21 Ρίγμος M^{p.c.}Ο: ῥγμος M^{a.c.} **25** †Κύδνος ΜΟ; Schmidt 66.4
(app. crit.): 'forte apud St. Byz. 351.23 Κύδμος pro Κάδμος
legendum est'; Εὐκαδμος dubitanter conicio

βαθμός ἰσθμός ῥυθμός σταθμός
αὐχμός. σεσημείωται τὸ κρίθμος
βαρυνόμενον.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Κ σπάνια
μέν εἰσι καὶ βαρύνεται, οἷον· Λάκμος Δέκμος. 5
τὸ μέντοι Τρωκμός ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ λήγοντα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Τ
βαρύνονται, οἷον· πότμος Πάτμος Λάτμος.
σεσημείωται τὸ ἀτμός ὀξυνόμενον.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ λήγοντα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Σ 10
προσηγορικὰ ὄντα ὀξύνεται, μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸ
τέλους συλλαβῇ τὸ Σ εἰς Ο μόνον καταλήγον,
βρυσμός δεσμός δασμός θεσμός
χρησμός σπασμός. πρόσκειται προσηγορικά,
ἵνα φύγωμεν τὰ βαρύτενα κύρια τὸ Κροῖσμος 15
καὶ τὸ Κάσμος. τὸ δὲ κόσμος βαρύνεται, καὶ τὸ
κρουσμός <οὐκ ἔχον τὸ Ο μόνον> ὀξύνεται, καὶ
τὸ σύνδεσμος προπαροξύνεται σύνθετον ὄν.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ προσηγορικὰ ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ
τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς Λ καταλήγουσαν ὀξύνεται. 20

ιδιότητα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ Λυκόφρονος καὶ αὐτὸ
ὀξύνεται. 10 Τὰ ... 18 ὄν: cf. Choerob. Ep. Ps. 76.6-7 Τὰ εἰς

ΜΟΣ ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Μ τὸ Σ ὀξύνεται, οἷον χρησμός,
ξυσμός, δεσμός. 19 Τὰ ... 108.3 βαρύνεται: cf. Choerob. Ep.

Ps. 1.25-8 Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ προσηγορικά, ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τοῦ
τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς Λ λήγουσαν, ὀξύνονται, οἷον
ὀφθαλμός, ἰνδαλμός, τιλμός, καὶ ψαλμός. Σεσημείωται τὸ
ὄλμος βαρυνόμενον; EM 817.27-30 Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ προσηγορικά,
ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς Λ καταλήγουσαν,
ὀξύνεται, οἷον ὀφθαλμός ἰνδαλμός. Σεσημείωται τὸ ὄλμος
βαρύτενον

4 τὸ om. Ο σπάνια ΜΟ^{p.c.}: σπάνια ὄντα Ο^{a.c.} 5 Λάκμος]
λάκκος Μ 6 Τρωκμός] τρωκτρός Ο 8 βαρύνονται]
βαρύνεται Ο 10 λήγοντα] λήγοντα ἀπλᾶ haesitanter Schmidt
66.14 (app. crit.); cf. Choerob. Ep. Ps. 76.6-7 12 εἰς ... μόνον
Schmidt 66.16: μόνον εἰς ο ΜΟ 13 βρυσμός] βρυγμός Ο;
ῥυσμός vel βρασμός malit Schmidt 66.16 (app. crit.)
15 Κροῖσμος] κροῖσμος ΜΟ 17 verba<οὐκ... μόνον> (ἔχοντα
habent ΜΟ) post Κάσμος transmissa post κρουσμός transposui
praeunte Schmidt 66.19 (app. crit.) 18 ὄν] δὲ Ο 19 Τὰ] ἃ Ο
προσηγορικὰ om. Μ^{i.t.}

ὀφθαλμός (67.) τιλμός ψαλμός παλμός
ινδαλμός. τὸ δὲ Ὀλμος τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ
προσηγορικὸν βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους εἰς Μ
καταλήγουσαν ἀρσενικὰ προσηγορικά, εἰ ἀπὸ τῆς 5
πρώτης εἴη συζυγίας, ὀξύνεται· γράφω γραμμός
τρίβω τριμμός θλίβω θλιμμός. τὸ δὲ ἄμμος
καὶ ψάμμος θηλυκά. ἔτι καὶ τὸ μνάμμος (ὁ
ἐκγονος) βαρύνεται ἐπιθετικὸν ὄν.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ δισύλλαβα τῶ Η παραληγόμενα 10
κύρια ὄντα βαρύνεται· Κνημός Σῆμος Ῥῆμος.
τὰ δὲ προσηγορικά ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ διαστολή τις
εἴη· κημός (ἡ χώνη, τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ ὑδρίᾳ,
ἐξ ἧς αἱ ψῆφοι φέρονται) κνημός (ὁ τραχὺς
τόπος τῶν ὀρέων) δημός (τὸ λίπος, δημός δὲ ὁ 15
ὄχλος).

Τὰ εἰς ΑΜΟΣ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα
παροξύνεται· Σάμος γάμος Ἄμος. τὸ μέντοι
ἄμός (ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ <.....> μηδαμινός) τριγενὲς
ὄν ὀξύνεται. 20

10 Τὰ ... **16** ὄχλος; cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 63.3-8 (= 339.1-6) Τὰ διὰ
τοῦ ημος δισύλλαβα κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικά βαρύνοντα διὰ
τοῦ η γράφονται· οἶον, Κνημός ὄνομα κύριον· Φῆμος· Ῥῆμος
ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· κημός τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον τοῖς ἵπποις ἐν
στόματι· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ πλέγμα ἐκ σχοινίου· δημός τὸ πλῆθος
βαρύνοντον, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ λίπους, ὀξύνεται, ἀμφότερα δὲ διὰ
τοῦ η·

1 τιλμός] τολμός Ο **2** Ὀλμος scripsi praeunte Schmidt 67.1
(app. crit.): 'Ἄλμος cum sit in Paus. 9.34.10 videndum, ne post
κύριον desint haec καὶ Ὀλμος τὸ κύριον. cf. Nauck *Ar. Byz.*
(1848), 239': Ἄλμος ΜΟ **7** τρίβω τριμμός] τρίβον τριμμόν Ο
8 μνάμμος haesitanter retinui; μάμμος Nauck (1848), 157;
fortasse ἄμναμος **11** Κνημός... Ῥῆμος Nauck (1855), 35:
κρημός φῆμος πρημός ΜΟ; Κνημός Φῆμος Ῥῆμος Theognost.
Can. II 63.4-5 (= 339.2-3) **15** λίπος Α: λίπος/λίπος duobus
accentibus Μ: λιπος Ο **18** Σάμος... Ἄμος] σάμος γάμος
ἄμμος ΜΟ **19** ἡμέτερος] ἡμέτε Μ <>] Schmidt 67.17 (app.
crit.): 'perierunt haec τὸ τίς, ὅθεν καὶ μηδαμός καί'; fortasse
μηδαμός ὁ τριγενὲς] τριγενενὲς (sic) Ο

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Ο ἢ Ε μὴ ὄντα τριγενῇ βαρύνεται, ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἢ συμφώνων· βρόμος γόμος τρόμος δρόμος ῥό(68.)μος (ὁ σκώληξ) τόμος (ὁ τετμημένος, τομός ὁ τέμνων).

5

Τὰ εἰς ΥΜΟΣ ἔχοντα τὸ Υ ἐκτεταμένον δισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται· κρυμός ῥυμός χυμός θυμός. Θύμος δὲ τὸ κύριον, ἢ ἡ βοτάνη. τὸ δὲ δρυμός καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ προσηγορικοῦ ὀξύνεται.

10

1 Τὰ...5 τέμνων: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 63.31-64.6 (= 342) Καθόλου τὰ εἰς ος, εἴτε βαρύτονα, εἴτε ὀξύτονα, ἀπὸ ῥημάτων τὸ ε παραληγομένων γινόμενα, διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ γράφονται· βρέμω βρόμος· γέμω γόμος· τρέμω τρόμος· τέμνω τόμος· μένωμόνος· φένω τὸ φονεύω φόνος· πένω πόνος· νείφω τὸ χιονίζω νόφος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ γ γνόφος· τέκω τόκος· μείρω τὸ μερίζω μόρος, καὶ πλεονασμός τοῦ τ μόρτος· καὶ κατὰ ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ ρ μρτος· καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ μ πρὸ τοῦ ρ οὔτε κατὰ σύλληψιν, οὔτε κατὰ διάστασιν ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν, τέτραπται τὸ μ εἰς τὸ β, καὶ γέγονε βροτός· οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν Ἐπιμερισμοῖς; Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 32.8-10 Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ συμφώνου παραληγόμενα τῷ Ε ἢ τῷ Ο μὴ ὄντα τριγενῇ βαρύνεται, οἷον γόμος, τρόμος, βρόμος; 96.15-8 Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα μὴ ὄντα τριγενῇ βαρύνεται, οἷον τρόμος, βρόμος· τὸ μέντοι νομός καὶ βωμός πρὸς διάφορον σημαίνονμενον ὀξύνεται. **5** τόμος... τέμνων: cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 236.12

τομός ὀξυτόνως ὁ τέμνων καὶ τόμος βαρυτόνως ὁ τεμνόμενος

6 Τὰ...10 ὀξύνεται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 63.13-7 (= 340) τὰ διὰ τοῦ υμος δισύλλαβα ὀξύτονα, τῷ υ ἐκτεταμένῳ παραλήγεται· θυμός ἢ ὀργή, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ φυτοῦ βαρύνεται, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φυλάττει γραφὴν· ῥυμός ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης· χυμός· δρυμός· σεσημείωται τὸ λοιμός διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον; Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 81.27-31 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΜΟΣ ὀξύτονα δισύλλαβα τῷ Υ παραληγόμενα ἐκτείνει αὐτό· χυμός, δρυμός, ῥυμός, θυμός. Διατί ὀξύνεται; Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσιν τὸ Υ ἐκτεταμένον ὀξύνεται, οἷον κρυμός, ῥυμός, θυμός; *EM* 568.34-5 Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ὀξύτονα τῷ υ ἐκτεταμένω παραλήγονται, οἷον θυμός, ῥυμός, δρυμός.

1 Τὰ] ἄ Ο **2** ἀρχόμενα] ἀρφώμενα Ο **7** χυμός...8 θυμός Schmidt 68.4: inv. ord. ΜΟ **8** κύριον] κύ^ο Μ ἢ ἡ] ἢ Ο

Τὰ εἰς ΩΜΟΣ δισύλλαβα προσηγορικά
ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ συμφώνου μὴ τοῦ Μ, εἰ ἐπὶ οὐσίας
τάττοιτο, ὀξύνεται· βωμός ψωμός ζωμός
θωμός (ὁ σωρός). τὸ μέντοι κῶμος (ἡ ῥδή)
βαρύνεται καὶ τὸ μῶμος ἀπὸ τοῦ Μ ἄρχεται, καὶ 5
τὸ Ῥῶμος καὶ Κρῶμος κύριον βαρύνεται, ὥσπερ
τὸ ᾧμος.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ δισύλλαβα διφθόγγω

1 Τὰ...7 ᾧμος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 63.18-30 (= 341.1-11) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ ωμος δισύλλαβα ὀξύτονα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα,
καὶ ἐπὶ οὐσίας τιθέμενα, διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται· οἶον,
μωμός (scrib. βωμός)· ζωμός· ψωμός· θωμός ὁ σωρός· οἷς
ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ βρῶμος ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου βαρύτονον, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ
ἤχου διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ βαρύτονον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ βρέμω
βρόμος, ὡς τρέμω τρόμος· καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ οὐσίας· τὸ
ᾧμος ἐπὶ τοῦ σκληροῦ διὰ τοῦ ω, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου
ἤρξατο, καὶ οὐσίαν ὑπισχνεῖται· τὸ κῶμος ἀπὸ συμφώνου
ἀρξάμενον, τὴν γραφὴν φυλάττον, τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν
σημασίαν παρήμειψεν· τὸ ᾧμος ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τὴν
σημασίαν φυλάξαν καὶ τὴν γραφὴν, περὶ τὸν τόνον
διενήνοχε; *Et. Gud.* ψ 576.10-3 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ωμος καθαρὰ
δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά, ὀξύτονα, μὴ διφορούμενα, διὰ τοῦ ω
γράφεται, οἶον, βωμός, ζωμός, ψωμός, μὴ διφορούμενα εἶπε,
διὰ τὸ τομός καὶ τομός **8** Τὰ...111.3 βαρύνεται: cf.

Theognost. *Can.* II 64.7-12 (= 343) Τὰ εἰς μος δισύλλαβα
διφθόγγω τῇ διὰ τοῦ ι παραληγόμενα, σπάνια καὶ ἐν
ἀριθμῷ· ὅποιον τί ἐστὶν τὸ λοιμός ἀπὸ τοῦ λείπω γεγονός
κατὰ ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ π εἰς μ, καὶ τοῦ λαιμός ἀπὸ τοῦ λαύω
καὶ τοῦ δειμός, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖμός· καὶ τοῦ Αἷμος ὄνομα κύριον,
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Αἷμος τὸ ὄρος ἐν Θράκῃ, καὶ οἶμος ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ;
Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 27.32-28.1 Τὰ εἰς μος καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα
διφθόγγω παραληγόμενα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα σπάνιά
εἰσι καὶ ὀξύνονται, οἶον λαιμός, λοιμός, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ

2 μὴ Schmidt: ἡ ΜΟ

4 ὁ σωρός π: ἡ σωρὸς Μ (littera
paenultima codicis Μ tamquam ι scribitur): ἡ σωρὶς Ο ῥδή]
ῥδή Μ **5** καὶ²...6 Κρῶμος] καὶ τὸ ῥῶμος καὶ βρῶμος ΜΟ;
Schmidt 68.11 (app. crit.) malit: 'βρῶμος καὶ Ῥῶμος vel
βρῶμος καὶ Κρῶμος, nisi Βρῶμος i. q. Βῶρμος'; καὶ τὸ βρῶμος
ὁ χόρτος καὶ Κρῶμος Lentz 169.18 (app. crit.) **6** κύριον] κύρ^ο
ΜΟ **7** ᾧμος e Theognost. *Can.* II 63.27-8 (= 341.10-1) et sch.
Hom. II. 3.35b1, praeunte Schmidtio 68.12 (app. crit.), qui
πρῶμος an ᾧμος proposuit: πῶλος ΜΟ

παραλήγοντα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα ὀξύνεται
λοιμός λαιμός. τὸ Δεῖμος καὶ οἶμος
βαρύνεται.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΜΟΣ τριβράχεια προπαροξύνεται,
εἰ μὴ προηγείται τῷ Α τὸ Τ· πλόκαμος 5
κέραμος κάλαμος θάλαμος κύαμος
Πρίαμος. τὸ μέντοι ἰταμός καὶ ποταμός
ὀξύνεται ὡς ἔχοντα τὸ Τ πρὸ τοῦ Α.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΜΟΣ, εἰ ἔχοι τὴν πρώτην φύσει

φωνήεντος ἀρχόμενα βαρύνονται, οἶον αἶμος, οἶμος; *EM*
568.36-40 τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα διφθόγγω
παραληγόμενα, ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα, σπάνια εἰσὶ, καὶ
ὀξύνονται· οἶον λαιμός, λοιμός· τὰ δὲ μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου
ἀρχόμενα, βαρύνονται, οἶον Αἶμος, οἶμος. 4 Τὰ...8 Α: cf.
sch. Hom. II. 24.228a.1-6 {> ἢ καὶ} φωριαμῶν: Ἀρίσταρχος ὡς
κιβωτῶν. καὶ ἔχομεν τῶν διὰ τοῦ αμος παρηγμένων
ὀνομάτων κανόνας τοιούσδε, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς τὰ τριβράχεια,
μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, κάλαμος, «Πρίαμος»
(Α 255. Γ 161 al.)· τὸ «ποταμός» (Λ 492. 722 al.) ἐγένετο παρὰ
τὸ ποτασμός, καθ' ὑφαίρεσιν τοῦ ς· τὸ δὲ ἰταμός ἐπιθετικόν
ἐστι; Eust. II. IV 893.3-5 τὰ διὰ τοῦ αμος τριβράχεια, μὴ
ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα, βαρύνεται· κάλαμος, Πρίαμος, τὸ ἰταμός
ἐπίθετον, τὸ ποταμός ἐκ τοῦ ποτασμός γέγονεν ἀφαιρέσει
τοῦ σ. 9 Τὰ...112.4 κιβώτιον: cf. sch. Hom. II. 24.228a.8-15
εἰ δὲ φύσει, κύρια <μὲν> ὄντα βαρύνεται πάλιν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ
Πύραμος Τεύταμος, οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντα ὀξύνεται, ὡς ἔχει τὸ
«οὔλαμός» (cf. Δ 251. 273 al.), «χηραμός» (cf. Φ 495). τούτῳ
οὖν τῷ λόγῳ, εἴτε παρὰ τὸ τοὺς φῶρας ἀπείργειν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ
τὰ φάρη φυλάσσειν ἢ προκειμένη λέξις παρῆκται, ἔσται κατ'
ὀξεῖαν τάσιν, φωραμός καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ι φωριαμός. | ἢ
διπλῇ δέ, ὅτι ἐπιθήματα τῶν κιβωτίων τὰ πώματα,
καταχρηστικῶς δὲ πίθων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων; *Et. Gud.* φ 560.13-6
τὰ διὰ τοῦ αμος τρισύλλαβα, ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους
συλλαβὴν φύσει μακρὰν πάντα ὀξύνεται· οἶον, χηραμός,
οὔλαμός, οὕτως οὖν καὶ φωραμός, καὶ φωριαμός πλεονασμῷ

2 Δεῖμος Μ: δόμος Ο καὶ...3 βαρύνεται] βαρύνεται καὶ οἶμος
Ο 3 βαρύνεται M^{s.l.} 7 ἰταμός... ποταμός O^{p.c.}: ποταμός καὶ
ἰταμός O^{a.c.}, sed numerus β supra ποταμός et numerus α supra
ἰταμός inversam ordinem vocum indicant 9 ἔχοι] ἔχει ΜΟ
φύσει scripsi coll. sch. Hom. II. 24.228a.6-15, Eust. II. IV 893.6-7
(vide apparatus locorum similium): θέσει ΜΟ; Schmidt 68.21
(app. crit.): 'forte φύσει vel εἰ μὴ ... θέσει'

μακράν, εἰ μὲν κύρια εἶη, προπαροξύνεται· Πύραμος **(69.)** Σήσαμος· εἰ δὲ μή, ὀξύνεται· οὐλαμός χηραμός (ἢ κατάδυσις) φωριαμός (τὸ κιβώτιον).

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΜΟΣ, εἰ ἄρχεται ἀπὸ δύο 5
 συμφώνων, κύρια ὄντα ἢ ἐπίθετα,
 προπαροξύνεται· ἄρταμος (ὁ μάγειρος)
 ὄρχαμος Πέργαμος ἐμπέργαμος. τὸ μέντοι
 σχινδαλαμός (ὁ σχισμός) ὀξύνεται 10
 προσηγορικὸν ὄν.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα

τοῦ ἰώτα; π 479.23-5 τὰ διὰ τοῦ αμος ὀνόματα, εἰ μὲν ὥσι
 κύρια, βαρύνονται, οἷον Πρίαμος, Σίσαμος· εἰ δὲ μή οὕτως
 ἔχη, ὀξύνονται, οἷον φωριαμός, χηραμός; *EM* 804.17-23 Τὰ
 διὰ τοῦ ΑΜΟΣ τρισύλλαβα, ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους
 συλλαβὴν φύσει μακράν, πάντα ὀξύνονται, χηραμός,
 οὐλαμός. οὕτως οὖν καὶ φωραμός· καὶ πλεονασμῶ τοῦ ι,
 φωριαμός. Ἰλιάδος ω'. Ἡρωδιανὸς περὶ ἀττικῶν προσωδιῶν,
 τρίτη ἀπὸ τέλους ἢ ὀξεῖα· οὐχ ὡς ἀνάλογον, ἀλλ' ὡς
 Αττικόν. Ἡ μέντοι συνήθεια ὀξυνόμενον ἔχει; 688.16-8 Τὰ διὰ
 τοῦ ΑΜΟΣ ὀνόματα, εἰ μὲν ὥσι κύρια, βαρύνεται, ὡς
 Σίσαμος· εἰ δὲ μή, ὀξύνεται, ὡς φωριαμός, χηραμός; *Eust. II.*
IV 893.6-7 τὰ δὲ φύσει, εἰ μὲν εἰσι κύρια, βαρύνεται· Πύραμος,
 Τεύταμος. εἰ δὲ μή, ὀξύνεται· χηραμός, οὐλαμός. οὕτω καὶ
 φωριαμός, ἢ κιβωτός. **5** Τὰ ... 10 ὄν: cf. sch. Hom. *II.*

24.228a.6-8 δεύτερον δὲ ὡς τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν ἄρχουσαν μακράν,
 εἰ μὲν θέσει ἢ, βαρύνεται, «ὄρχαμος» (B 837. M 110 al.),
 Τύρταμος, «Πέργαμος» (cf. Δ 508. Z 512 al.); *Eust. II. IV* 893.5-6
 ἔτι δὲ τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν ἄρχουσαν μακράν θέσει βαρύνεται·
 ὄρχαμος, Τύρταμος, Πέργαμος. **11** Τὰ ... 113.3 ὀξύνεται: cf.
Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 4^v Περὶ τῶν εἰς
 εμος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς παραληγομένων ... Τήλεμος,
 Ἐχεμος, τρήνεμος (πρήνεμος?), πόλεμος, ἄνεμος, κοάλεμος,
 θελεμός; *Theognost. Can. II* 64.13-7 (= 344.1-5) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εμος
 ἀπλᾶ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἷον,

2 Σήσαμος Lobeck *PSGP* 156; σίσαμος ΜΟ; Κίσαμος (Nonn. *D.*
 13.237) etiam Lobeck *PSGP* 156 **3** χηραμός Bloch (in Dindorf
 (1823), I 56) et Götting (1835), 194: χιαμός M^{p.c}O: χιασμός
 M^{a.c}, ut videtur **6** ἐπίθετα M^{p.c}O: προσηγορικὰ M^{a.c}.
8 ἐμπέργαμος Lobeck *PSGP* 156: ἔμπημος ΜΟ
9 σχινδαλαμός...σχισμός Lobeck *PSGP* 156 adiutus coniectura
 Götting (1835), 194: κινδαμός ὁ ἐλιγμός ΜΟ

τῷ Ε προπαροξύνεται· Τήλεμος Ἐχεμος
πόλεμος ἄνεμος· τὸ δὲ θελεμός ἀπὸ τοῦ
θελημός ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ἀπλᾶ τῷ Η παραλήγοντα σπάνια
ὄντα προπαροξύνεται· ἔρημος (ἀττικῶς, 5
ἐρήμος δὲ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ) ἱήμος· ἔτι καὶ τὰ
σύνθετα· Εὐδημος εὐφήμος.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΜΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα προπαροξύνεται·
ἀγώγιμος ὄψιμος πρῶϊμος ὠφέλιμος
ἄλκιμος. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΟΜΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα
προπαροξύνεται· κέρτομος ἄνδρομος (ὁ
ἀνδρώδης) ἔβδομος θέομος· πλὴν τοῦ
καρατόμος ἀγροκόμος ἀπὸ ῥημάτων
συντεθέντων. 15

ἄνεμος· πόλεμος· ἥρεμος· Ἐχεμος ὄνομα κύριον· τήλεμος·
τρίλεμος· Ἰάλεμος· κάλλεμος· φάλεμος· ἄγρεμος· ἄνθεμος,
ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἀνθεμός· καὶ τὸ θελεμός ὀξύτονον; Choerob. *Ep. Ps.*
56.35-57.9 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΜΟΣ βαρύτενα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
ἀπλᾶ διὰ τοῦ Ε ψιλοῦ γράφεται, οἷον πόλεμος, ἥρεμος,
ἔχεμος, τήλεμος, ἄνεμος. Διατί εἶπεν ἀπλᾶ; Διότι τὰ παρὰ τὸ
ῥῆμα (αἷμα) συγκείμενα διὰ τῆς ΑΙ διφθόγγου γράφεται,
οἷον πολύαιμος, ἄνεμος (ἄναιμος), ὁ μὴ ἔχων αἷμα· καὶ τὰ
παρ' αὐτοῖς προπαροξύτονα· τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
τῷ Ε παραλήγοντα προπαροξύτονα, οἷον πόλεμος, ἥρεμος,
καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· τὸ μέντοι θελημός ὀξύνεται· ἐστὶ δὲ θελημός
καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ Η εἰς Ε θελεμός; *EM* 103.42-9 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΜΟΣ
βαρύτενα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ, ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦ ε
ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἷον πόλεμος, ἥρεμος. Διατί εἶπεν ἀπλᾶ;
Ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τὸ αἷμα συγκείμενα διὰ τῆς ΑΙ διφθόγγου
γράφεται, πολύαιμος, σύναιμος, ἄναιμος, ὁ μὴ ἔχων αἷμα.
Καὶ τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῷ ε παραληγόμενα
προπαροξύνονται· οἷον Ἐχεμος, Τήλεμος, ἄνεμος. Τὸ μέντοι
θελεμός ὀξύνεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ θελημός, τροπῇ τοῦ η εἰς ε.

1 Ἐχεμος om. O 4 παραλήγοντα ΜΟ^{p.c.}: παραληγόμενα Ο^{a.c.}
5 ἀττικῶς Μ^{s.l.} O: κοινῶς Μ^{i.l.} 6 ἱήμος] Κήμος ὄνομα νήσου
Theognost. Can. II 64.22-3 (345.4-5); λίημος· ψάμαθος *Hsch.* λ
987, cf. *Lobeck PGG* 398 13 ἔβδομος Μ: ἔβδομον O θέομος
ΜΟ: Schmidt 69.18 (app. crit.) malit Δίομος cum G. *Dindorf*
TGL IV 301C οpe *EM* 102.43-7; δέομος *Su.* δ 240 14 ἀγροκόμος
scripsi: ἀγρονόμος *Lentz* 171.23: ἀγριονόμος Μ: ἀγριοκόμος O

Τὰ εἰς ΥΜΟΣ ἔχοντα τὸ Υ βραχὺ πρὸ τοῦ ΜΟΣ **(70.)** προπαροξύνεται· ἔλυμος ἔτυμος δίδυμος Σόλυμος ἔρυμος. τοῦ μέντοι κωλυμός καὶ ῥυμός τὸ Υ μακρόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ τρισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ ΟΙ 5 διφθόγγῳ μὴ παρεσχηματισμένα θηλυκῷ γένει ὀξύνεται· κυδοιμός [ἀθροισμός ἀφλοισμός] (ἢ ταραχή). τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμος

1 Τὰ...4 μακρόν: cf. *Ep. Hom.* ν 47 τὰ εἰς μος λήγοντα ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῷ υ παραληγόμενα συνεσταλμένῳ βαρύνεται, οἷον Ἑλυμος, χέλυμος, σκόλυμος (εἶδος βοτάνης). πρόσκειται «ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς» διὰ τὸ χυμός. πρόσκειται «τῷ υ συνεσταλμένῳ παραληγόμενα» διὰ τὸ ῥυμός <καὶ> κωλυμός ἐκτεταμένον ἔχοντα τὸ υ; *Theognost. Can.* II 64.28-32 (= 346.1-5) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υμος προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· Ἑλυμος· ἡδυμος· νήδυμος ἔτυμος ὁ ἀληθής, καὶ ἐν πλεονασμῷ τῆς τη συλλαβῆς ἐτήτυμος· δίδυμος· Σόλυμος· Πόλυμος ὄνομα κύριον· σκώλυμος (scrib. σκόλυμος)· ἔρυμος ὁ ῥυμός ὅμοιον κατὰ γραφὴν οὐ κατὰ τόνον, ὀξύνεται γάρ; *Et. Gud.* ν 407.19-23 τὰ εἰς μος λήγοντα ὀνόματα, ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπαροξύτονα, μὴ ὄντα σύνθετα, τῷ υ παραληγόμενα, συστέλλει τὸ υ, οἷον, ἔρυβος (scrib. ἔρυμος), ἔλυμος, δίδυμος, ἔσυμος· τὸ γὰρ πρόθυμον σύνθετον; *EM* 603.10-4 τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ λήγοντα ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπαροξύτονα, μὴ ὄντα σύνθετα, τῷ υ παραληγόμενα, συστέλλει αὐτό, ἔρυμος, ἔλυμος, ἔσυμος, δίδυμος· τὸ γὰρ πρόθυμος σύνθετον. **5** Τὰ...115.2 προπαροξύνεται: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 64.33-65.5 (= 347) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἶμος τρισύλλαβα ὀξύτονα μὴ παρασχηματιζόμενα εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· οἷον, ἀλοιμός· κυδοιμός· ἀμοιμός κατὰ ἐναλλαγὴν στοιχείων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμοιβός· σεσημείωται τὸ ἔτοιμος προπαροξυνόμενον καὶ διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον· τριγενὲς γάρ, καὶ τὸ ἀλύδοιμος.

1 ΥΜΟΣ] μος **ΜΟ** **2** ἔλυμος spiritu incerto **Ο** ἔτυμος] ἔτυμος **Ο** **4** κωλυμός em. Lobeck *PGG* 423, cf. *Ep. Hom.* ν 47: κολυμός **ΜΟ** **7** ἀθροισμός...8 ἀφλοισμός del. Schmidt: ἀθροισμός ἀφλοισμός (ἀφλοισμός **Μ**) **ΜΟ**^{p.c.}: ἀθροισμός ἀφθλοισμός **Ο**^{a.c.}

ἀττικόν, τὸ δὲ ἑτοῖμος κοινόν. καὶ τὸ ἀλύδοιμος (ὁ οἰκτρός) προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Ν ἔν τι τῶν μέσων στοιχείων, ἔχοντα θηλυκὸν γένος, ὀξύνεται· στεγνός στυγνός ἀγνός κεδνός. τὸ μέντοι 5
λάγνος βαρύνεται· οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἴδιον θηλυκόν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ κύρια· Κύδνος Πύδνος Κάλυδνος.

Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Ν ἔν τι τῶν

3 Τὰ...8 Κάλυδνος; cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 24' στεγνός, στυγνός, ἀγνός, νεογνός, παδνός.
9 Τὰ...116.6 προσηγορικόν: cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.316a1 μόρφνον: μόρφνον ὡς „ὑπνον“ (K 159. Λ 241 al.) καὶ οὕτως ἔχει ἢ ἀνάγνωσις. εἴτε μορόφονός ἐστιν, εἴτε παρὰ τὴν ὀρφνὴν ἐσχημάτισται πλεονάσαντος τοῦ μ κατ' ἀρχὴν, ἵνα σημαίνεται ὁ μέλας, εἴτε παρὰ τὸ μάρπτω μάρφνος ἐστὶ καὶ μόρφνος ὁ συλλαμβάνων, ἐξ οὗ σημαίνεται ὁ ταχύς, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὀφείλει βαρύνεσθαι διὰ τε τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ος λήγοντα δισύλλαβα, μὴ ἔχοντα παρασχηματισμὸν θηλυκοῦ γένους, ἔχοντα δὲ πρὸ τέλους τὴν ορ συλλαβὴν πάντα βαρύνεται, ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν εἰς μος ληγόντων, οἷον „χόρτος“ (cf. Λ 774. Ω 640), „φόρτος“ (cf. Θ 163. Ξ 296), „ὄρκος“ (A 239. Ο 38 al.), Ὁρθος τὸ μονογενές, πόρνος· οὐ γὰρ θηλυκὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ πόρνη. οὕτως δὲ θέλει καὶ τὸ „πτόρθος“ (cf. ζ 128). οὕτω μόρφνος. παρεφύλαξα δὲ τὰ εἰς μος διὰ τὸ κορμός, φορμός. τὸ μέντοι „περκνός“ ὀξύνεται ὁμοίως τῷ πυκνός. οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης (p. 60 B.), μεταλαμβάνων εἰς τὸν μέλανα. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ οὕτως ἔχειν ὑγιῶς, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ παραλήγεται τῇ ορ συλλαβῇ, ὡς καὶ τὰ προκείμενα. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρίσταρχος ἀετοῦ εἶδος καὶ βαρύνει. ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἐπέισθη ἢ παράδοσις τοῖς ὀξύνουσιν; 14.351a στιλπναί {δ' ἀπέπιπτον}: ὁμοίως τῷ ἰσχναί· τὰ γὰρ εἰς νος δισύλλαβα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου τριγενῆ ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, «πρυμνός» (M 446), ἰσχνός, πυκνός. ἐναντιοῦται τὸ λίχνος· τὸ γὰρ λάγνος ἔννοιαν ἔχει συνθέσεως; EM 591.19-31 μόρφνος, ὁ καταλαμβάνων· ἐξ οὗ σημαίνει ὁ ταχύς καὶ δυνατὸς καταλαμβάνειν. Ἡ παρὰ τὴν ὀρφνὴν, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ μ, ἵνα σημαίνεται ὁ μέλας. Οἱ δέ,

2 ἀλύδοιμος] ἀλύδοιμος Ο οἰκτρός] οἰκουρός Su. Zonar. c. 123; πικρός Hescych. gl. α 3286 p. 132, cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 65.5 (= 347.6) **4** ὀξύνεται Schmidt: παροξύνεται M: προπαροξύνεται Ο **8** Κάλυδνος] καλύδνος ΜΟ

ἀντιστοίχων ὀξύνεται, ἐπιθετικά ὄντα καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ΟΡ· πυκνός κραιπνός τερπνός στρυφνός ἰσχνός· σεσημείωται τὸ λίχνος βαρύτονον, ὡς σύνθετον παρὰ τὸ λίαν χαίνειν. τὸ δὲ μόρφνος (ὁ μέλας) ἔχει τὸ ΟΡ, καὶ τὸ ὄκνος προσηγορικόν. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ ΝΟΣ ἔν τι τῶν ἀντιστοίχων, πλήν τοῦ Α, βαρύνεται· **(71.)** ὄκνος κύκνος Κύθνος Πέφνος ὕπνος Σίφνος. τὸ δὲ καπνός ὀξύνεται ἔχον τὸ Α. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΜΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα, εἰ παραλήγοι Α μετὰ συμφώνου, βαρύνεται· θάμνος ῥάμνος.

παρὰ τὸ μέρος ἢ μόρος, καὶ τὸ φόνος, μοροφόνος, οἶονεῖ ὁ διὰ μόρου φόνον ἐπιφέρων ταῖς ὀρνισιν, ὁ μεμορημένος καὶ πεπονημένος περὶ τοὺς φόνους· καὶ συγκοπὴ τῶν δύο ΟΟ, μόρφνος, ὁ φόνιος. Βαρύνεται· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΟΣ λήγοντα δισύλλαβα μὴ ἔχοντα παρασχηματισμὸν θηλυκοῦ γένους, ἔχοντα πρὸ τέλους τὴν ΟΡ συλλαβὴν, πάντα βαρύνεται, ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν εἰς ΜΟΣ ληγόντων· οἶον, ὀρθος, τὸ μονογενές· φόρτος, πτόρθος, καὶ μόρφνος. Πρόσκειται, «τὰ εἰς ΜΟΣ», διὰ τὸ κορμός, φορμός. Τὸ μέντοι περκνός ὀξύνεται, ὡς τὸ πυκνός **3** σεσημείωται... **5** χαίνειν: cf. *Et. Gud.* λ 372.1-2 Λίχνοι, οἱ πολυπράγμονες, καὶ ὀψοφάγοι, ἢ λαίμαργοι, παρὰ τὸ λίαν χαίνειν; *EM* 568.7-9 Λίχνοι: Οἱ πολυπράγμονες· σημαίνονται καὶ ὀψοφάγοι ἢ λαίμαργοι· παρὰ τὸ λίαν χαίνειν, ἢ ἰχαίνειν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμεῖν; *Zonar.* λ 1309.14-5 Λίχνος. ὁ λαίμαργος. ἀπὸ τοῦ λίαν χαίνειν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμεῖν **7** Τὰ...117.8 σκληρός: cf. *sch. Hom. II.* 18.319a1.4-7 τὰ γὰρ εἰς νος λήγοντα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ τὸ υ, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, «ὕμνος» (cf. Θ 429), «κύκνος» (cf. Β 460. Ο 692), «λύχνος» (cf. τ 34), Κύθνος. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ σκύμνος. Τὰ...11 Α: cf. *sch. Hom. II.* 18.319a1.4-7 τὰ γὰρ εἰς νος λήγοντα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ τὸ υ, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, «ὕμνος» (cf. Θ 429), «κύκνος» (cf. Β 460. Ο 692), «λύχνος» (cf. τ 34), Κύθνος. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ σκύμνος.

3 ἰσχνός] ἰσχρός O^{a.c.}, ut videtur **5** χαίνειν M: χαίρειν O μέλας] μέγας MO **11** ὀξύνεται C: ὀξύτονον MO ἔχον] ἔχον τ α O^{a.c.}

τὸ δὲ ἄμνός ὀξύνεται· ἀπὸ τοῦ Α γὰρ καὶ ἐπιθετικώτερον· ἄμενος γὰρ παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν μένος.

Τὰ εἰς ΜΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους μὴ φύσει μακράν, μονογενῇ μὲν ὄντα βαρύνεται ὕμνος σκύμνος Τύμνος· τριγενῇ δὲ ὀξύνεται γυμνός σεμνός στυμνός (ὁ σκληρός).

Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά μὴ ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκά, προπαροξύνεται· Λάτυμνος Λύκαμνος Ἐπίδαμνος Αἴσυμνος. τὸ μέντοι ἐρεμνός ἔχει θηλυκὸν τὸ ἐρεμνή, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἐρυμνός (ὁ κεκαλυμμένος).

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΝΝ βαρύνεται ἀπαρασχημάτιστα ὄντα θηλυκῶ γένει βλέννος θύννος Κύννος Δάτυννος Ἀργυννος τύραννος. τὰ μέντοι

1 τὸ... **3** μένος: cf. Eust. II. II 62.6-8 Τὸ ἄμνός ὀξύνεται διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιστρέφειν τὸν κανόνα. οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι ὀξύνεται, ἤδη καὶ τριγενές ἐστι καὶ ἀπλοῦν. **4** Τὰ... **8** σκληρός: cf. Et. Parv. α 30.2-5 τὰ εἰς ΜΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ πρὸ τέλους φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα βαρύνονται ὕμνος, σκύμνος· τὸ μέντοι σεμνός, τριγενές ὄν, ὀξύνεται; Et. Gud. α 211.2-5 τὰ εἰς μ<ν>ος δισύλλαβα, εἰ ἔχοι τὴν πρὸ τέλους <μῆ> φύσει μακράν, μονογενῇ <μὲν> ὄντα βαρύνεται, τριγενῇ δὲ ὀξύνεται, οἷον ὕμνος σκύμνος. Τὸ μέντοι σεμνός τριγενές ὄν ὀξύνεται

7 γυμνός σεμνός: cf. Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 2^r σεμνός ... γυμνός **15** Τὰ... **17** τύραννος: cf. Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 2^r Σάννος, κύννος, θύννος, τυννός

2 ἐπιθετικώτερον O: ἐπιθετικώτερο M **4** ΜΝΟΣ Schmidt: vos MO **6** Τύμνος Schmidt 71.9 (app. crit.), postea etiam Lentz 174.16: τέμνος MO τριγενῇ] τριγενῇ O **7** ὁ... **8** σκληρός om. O **11** προπαροξύνεται Schmidt: παροξύνεται MO Λάτυμνος Schmidt 71.12: ἄτυμνος MO; Schmidt 71.12 (app. crit.): 'Longius discedunt Ἄμυμνος Λεπέτυμνος Ἐκάτομνος' Λύκαμνος] Λύραμνος haesitanter Schmidt 71.13 (app. crit.) **12** Αἴσυμνος Schmidt: αἴσαμνος MO **16** θηλυκῶ O: θηλυκῶ M θύννος om. O **17** Δάτυννος scripsi: δάθυννος MO; fortasse etiam Σίγυννος (St. Byz. 565.3), κάρυννος, κήρυννος

ἔχοντα θηλυκὰ ὀξύνηται ἔραννός (ὁ ποθεινός)
ἀργεννός κλεεννός ἐρεβεννός.

Τὰ εἰς ΕΡΝΟΣ Ἰταλιωτικὰ παροξύνηται
Φαλέρνος Πατέρνος.

Τὰ εἰς ΑΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια ὄντα ἢ 5
προσηγο(72.)ρικά, μὴ ἔχοντα διαστολήν,
βαρύνεται Τάνος Φάνος (τὸ κύριον) θρᾶνος (ὁ
δίφρος). τὰ μέντοι ἐπιθετικά ἢ προσηγορικά
ἔχοντα διαστολήν ὀξύνηται φάνός. τὸ δὲ 10
πλάνος βαρύνεται, καὶ τὸ νᾶνος (ὁ μικρός).

Τὰ εἰς ΕΝΟΣ δισύλλαβά τινα μὲν βαρύνεται
ἔνος (ὁ ἐνιαυτός) ξένος· τινὰ δὲ ὀξύνηται
κενός στενός.

3 Τὰ...4 Πατέρνος: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 7 Φαλέρνος, πατέρνος **5** Τὰ...8 δίφρος: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 7 (in margine) Περί τῶν εἰς ανος δισυλλάβων κυριακῶν ἢ προσηγορικῶν μὴ ἐχόντων ἀντιδιαστολήν. Γάνος, Τάνος, Φᾶνος. **7** Φάνος...9 φάνός: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio a φ 2 Φάνος: τὸ κύριον παροξύνηται, φάνός· τὸ προσηγορικὸν ὀξύνηται; cf. etiam recensio b φ 3, recensio c φ 3, recensio d φ 2, recensio e φ 5 **8** τὰ...9 φάνός: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 7 Περί τῶν εἰς ανος δισυλλάβων ἐπιθετικῶν ἢ προσηγορικῶν ἐχόντων ἀντιδιαστολήν, φάνός, πανός, δανός, τρανός, μανός, μανόστημος **9** τὸ...10 μικρός: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 7^v πλάνος, νᾶνος **12** ὀξύνηται...13 στενός: cf. *Palimps. Fragm.* (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 7^v κενός, στενός

1 ἔραννός] ἔρανός O **2** κλεεννός Schmidt 71.20: κελαιννός MO; κελαδεννός Lobeck *PGSE*¹ 398, G. Dindorf *TGL* IV 1416D **3** Ἰταλιωτικὰ] ἰταλικά O παροξύνηται M: ὀξύνηται O **7** Φάνος...8 δίφρος] Φᾶνος ... πάνος ὁ λύχνος Lehrs (1833), 291; βάνος ὁ τυφλός Göttling (1835), 197 θρᾶνος Lentz 175.31: πάνος MO **10** νᾶνος] νάνος MO **11** δισύλλαβά τινα] δισύλλαβα τινὰ M: δισύλλαβα τινὰ O βαρύνεται O: βαρύνονται M

Τὰ εἰς ΗΝΟΣ κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ βαρύνεται
Τῆνος Σφήνος (ὁ τόπος) Ρῆνος. τὰ δ' ἐπίθετα
ὀξύνεται φηνός (ὁ λαμπρός) πτηνός. ἔτι καὶ τὸ
ληνός μὴ ὄν ἐπίθετον.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα βαρύνεται. Νῖνος 5
πίνος δῖνος σχῖνος. τὸ δὲ κλεινός αἰνός
δεινός ὀξύνεται μὴ ἔχοντα τὸ Ι μόνον.

Τὰ εἰς ΥΝΟΣ δισύλλαβα, εἰ μὴ κύρια εἶη,
ὀξύνεται. Θυνός ξυνός γρυνός (ἡ ῥίζα τῶν
ξύλων ἢ ξηρὰ καὶ παχεῖα) πλυνός. 10

1 Τὰ ... 4 ἐπίθετον: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 65.27-33 (= 352.1-7) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ ηνος δισύλλαβα κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικὰ βαρύνοντα
διὰ τοῦ η γράφεται οἷον Τῆνος· Ἥνος· Σφήνος, ὄνομα τόπου·
Ρῆνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Σμήνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Γλήνος
ὄνομα πόλεως Κρητικῆς· Μῆνος· Θρηῆνος· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίθετον
ὀξύνεται· Φῆνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἐπίθετον ὀξύνεται·
δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φανός γεγονός· οἷς ὅμοιον καὶ
τὸ πτηνός· στρηνός· ψηνός· ληνός.

5 Τὰ ... 7 μόνον: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 65.34 - 66.2 (= 353.1-3) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ινος
δισύλλαβα προσηγορικὰ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται οἷον, λῖνος·
σχῖνος· πρῖνος· σπῖνος εἶδος ὀρνέου· πῖνος ὁ ῥύπος· δῖνος ἢ
συστροφὴ· βρῖνος; Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 190.28-32 Δῖνος: Διὰ
τοῦ ι, ἀρσενικῶς γὰρ λέγεται· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ινος ὀνόματα πρὸ
μᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα μὴ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ τὸ ι, διὰ
τοῦ ι γράφεται οἷον, σχῖνος· πρῖνος· οὕτως καὶ δῖνος·
σημαίνει δὲ τὸ δῖνος καὶ εἶδος ὀρχήσεως, καὶ εἶδος ποτηρίου,
καὶ συστροφὴν ὕδατος.

8 Τὰ ... 10 πλυνός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 66.3-4 (= 354.1-2) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υνος δισύλλαβα οὐκ οἶδε
τὴν διὰ τῆς οι διφθόγγου γραφήν· θυνός· φρυνός· ξυνός·
γρυνός· πλυνός

2 Σφήνος ... τόπος scripsi, cf. Lentz 176.10: φῆνος ὁ τόπος ΜΟ;
Σφήνος ὄνομα τόπου Theognost. *Can.* II 65.28-9 (= 352.2-3). Sed
Schmidt 72.9 (app. crit.) praefert Φῆνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ
(Theognost. *Can.* II 65.31 (= 352.5)) propter φηνός, vel Φῆνος
Σφήνος δ' ἐπίθετα π: δὲ ἐπίθετα Μ: δὲ ἐπιθετὰ (sic) Α: δὲ
ἐπιθετικά Ο **6** πῖνος] πινος accentu incerto Μ δῖνος] δινος
accentu incerto Μ σχῖνος Ο: σχινος accentu incerto Μ
7 μόνον] μακρὸν Ο **9** Θυνός Schmidt 72.16: θυμὸς ΜΟ

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝΟΣ βαρύνονται Πρῶνος κῶνος ὦνος (ἢ τιμή).

Τὰ εἰς ΑΙΝΟΣ καὶ ΟΙΝΟΣ μονογενῇ βαρύνεται αἶνος Αὔαινος Κόλαινος οἶνος σχοῖνος. τὸ **(73.)** μέντοι κοινός τριγενές, ὥσπερ τὸ δαφοινός κελαινός καινός αἶνός. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενα τῇ διὰ τοῦ Υ μονογενῇ ὀξύνεται καυνός γλαυνός βαυνός (ὅπερ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ βαρύνουσι) κρουνός βουνός κεραυνός. τὸ μέντοι χαῦνος τριγενές. τὸ δὲ πύραυνος (ὁ χυτρόπους) προπαροξύνεται. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΑΝΟΣ τοῦ Α βραχέος ὄντος, εἰ μὴ

1 Τὰ...2 τιμή: cf. Theognost. Can. II 66.14-7 (= 356.1-4) τὰ διὰ τοῦ ωνος δισύλλαβα μὴ ἀπὸ ῥήματος ἔχοντα τὴν γένεσιν διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται οἶον, ὦνος ἢ τιμή· Πρῶνος πόλις Κρητική· κῶνος τὸ ἀποσκίασμα τῆς γῆς· στῶνος· χῶνος ἢ χώνη· φῶνος ὁ μεγαλόφωνος **3** Τὰ...6 αἶνός: cf.

Theognost. Can. II 66.27-33 (= 358.1-7) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἶνος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκὰ εἰς ἡ λήγοντα, βαρύντονα ὄντα διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· γέγονε δὲ τὰ πλείω ἀπὸ τῶν διὰ τοῦ αἶνα τροπῇ τοῦ α εἰς ος· Κόλαινος ὄνομα κύριον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Κολαινία Ἄρτεμις· Κρύσταινος· Λέαινος ὄνομα κύριον· Μύραινος· Τάλαινος ἀπὸ τοῦ τάλας· Μακαρίαινος· Πέρταινος· Ἀρίσταινος· κέλαινος ὁ μέλας; II 66.5-9 (= 354.3-7) Τὸ γὰρ κοινός διαφορεῖται· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως βαρύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφεται· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν δυσὶ τισὶ κειμένου διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου ὀξύνεται· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ φοινός, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ δαφοινός ὁ ἄγαν φόνιος. **7** Τὰ...

12 προπαροξύνεται: cf. Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 25' δαυνός, καυνός, καυνιάζω, τὸ κλῆρον μακρόθεν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ κανιάριν, ὡς ταβλίον τὸ βαρβαρικόν, ἔνθα ὡς ἐν κλήρῳ ἢ παιγνία γίνεται. λαυνός, δαυνός, βαυνός, φαῦνος, κεραυνός, βουνός, κρουνός, βροῦνος, χαῦνος. **13** Τὰ...121.5 θηλυκόν: cf. Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 25' (in margine) Περί τῶν εἰς νος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ἔχόντων πρὸ τοῦ ν ... στέφανος, κλίβανος, χόανος, γέρανος (κέρανος cod.), Ἄγανος, λίβανος, Τίτανος, Ἰτανος, ῥάφανος,

1 Τὰ] ἄ Ο **6** κελαινός Lobeck PGG 139: μελαινός ΜΟ **7** διφθόγγῳ] διφθόγγῳ Μ **8** μονογενῇ] μονογενῇ Ο^{a.c.} **9** βαρύνουσι] βαρύνουσιν Ο **13** βραχέος] βραχέον Ο ὄντος] τος Ο^{a.c.}

θηλυκὰ ἔχοι, εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ Α τὸ Δ ἢ Ε ἢ Ι ὑπάρχοι,
 προπαροξύνεται· στέφανος κλίβανος
 λίβανος χόανος. σεσημείωται τὸ πελανός
 οὐρανός Σικανός. τὸ δὲ πιθανός ἔχει
 5 θηλυκόν. τὸ δὲ "Δ πρὸ τοῦ Α" διὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ΔΑΝΟΣ, ὅτι πάντα ὀξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ὀφθειή
 πρὸ τοῦ Δ τὸ Ρ καταλήγον, οἶον· ἡδανός (ὁ ἡδύς)
 οὐτιδανός ἐλλεδανός (ὁ συστρέφων)
 ῥιγεδανός Ἀπιδανός. ἐφυλάξατο δὲ ὁ κανών
 10 "τὸ Ρ πρὸ τοῦ Δ ὑπάρχον" διὰ τὸ Δάρδανος
 Ἰόρδανος, προπαροξύτονα. <.....>
 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΝΟΣ τριγενῇ ὀξύνεται
 στεγανός (ὁ πυκνός) πιθανός <ἀγανός> (ὁ
 πρᾶος) ἱκανός ὀρφανός.
 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΜΕΝΟΣ μετοχικὰ ὀξύνονται, εἰ μὴ
 15

ρίβανος (?), ραίανος, σφεδανός, παμφανός, τρίβανος,
 κύανος, πλάτανος, δάπανος, κόμανος, κόπανος, κοίρανος / I.
 3 τὰ εἰς νος λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα [...] εἰ μὴ
 παρασχηματίζοιτο εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος, προπαροξύνεσθαι
 θέλει [...]. I. 6 στέφανος εἴτε τὸ προσηγορικὸν εἴτε τὸ κύριον
 [...]. χόανος [...]. λίβανος εἴτε τὸ ὄρος εἴτε τὸ δένδρον [...]
 δαιδαλικούς λιβάνους Σμύρνης. ταῦτα κεῖται καὶ θηλυκῶς.
 Τὰ...121.4 Σικανός; cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 79.11-4 Τὰ εἰς ΝΟΣ
 ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα πρὸ τέλους τὸ Α συνεσταλμένον
 προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ σχηματίζοιτο εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος,
 οἶον, στέφανος, γέρανος· σεσημείωται τὸ οὐρανός, Σικανός,
 ἔστι δὲ τόπος Ἰβηρίας. **3** σεσημείωται...4 Σικανός; cf.
Palimps. Fragm. (cod. Vindob. Hist. gr. 10) f. 25^v, l. 38 καὶ τὸ
 Σικανός· ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ αὐτὸς ὀνομαζόμενος
 Ἀφανός, ἔθνος οἱ Σικανοί **15** Τὰ...122.4 Σωζομενός; cf.
Theognost. Can. II 67.3-5 (= 360) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ μενος, εἴτε
 ὀνόματα, εἴτε μετοχαί, εἴτε ὀξύτονα, εἴτε βαρύτονα, διὰ τοῦ ε
 ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, Τισαμενός· Σωζομενός· Δεξαμενός·
 τυπτόμενος· νικώμενος; II 153.5-7 (= 923) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ μενος

1 ἔχοι MO^{p.c.}: ἔχει O^{a.c.} ἡ¹...I] Schmidt 73.9: 'cum spectare
 possint ad ὠκεανός Ῥιανός (cf. Hdn. apud St. Byz. 577.8,
 628.14) nolui Δ μετὰ τοῦ Ε ἢ Ι reponere' ὑπάρχοι] ὑπάρχη MO
5 τὸ...Δ] i. e. πρόσκειται **11** Ἰόρδανος] Schmidt 73.18 (app.
 crit.): 'malit Ἰάρδανος' **13** <ἀγανός> addidi: omissionem
 statuit Schmidt 73.20 (app. crit.) **14** πρᾶος O: πρᾶος M
15 ΜΕΝΟΣ] μένος O^{a.c.}

πάθος τι γένηται παρὰ τὴν φωνήν, τότε γὰρ
προπαρο(74.)ξύνεται. τὰ δὲ ὀξύτονα ταῦτα·
Τισαμενός Ἀκεσαμενός Φαμενός
Ἰαμενός Σωζομενός. τὸ Ἰάλμενος
προπαροξύνεται ὡς παθόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ 5
Ὅρμενος Κλύμενος ἴκμενος.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΝΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ ἢ
παρασύνθετα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ παρώνυμα εἴη κατὰ
τροπὴν γένους θηλυκοῦ εἰς τὴν εἰς ΟΣ κατάληξιν
γενόμενα, ἢ παρὰ γενικῆς ἀναπεμφθέντα, ἢ παρὰ 10
Συρακουσίους παράγοιτο καθ' ὁμοιωματικὴν
σημασίαν. ὀξύνονται δὲ ταῦτα· Τυρσηνός
Ἀβυδηνός. τὸ δὲ πανσέληνος σύνθετον,
ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δύστηνος δίμηνος τρίμηνος.

.....

Τὰ εἰς ΙΝΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα τὸ Ι βραχὺ 15

ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ε ψилоῦ γράφεται οἶον, Τισαμενός·
Σωζομενός· Δεξαμενός· οἷς ἀκόλουθα κατὰ τόνον τε καὶ
γραφὴν καὶ τὰ τούτων θηλυκά. 7 Τὰ...14 τρίμηνος: cf.

Theognost. Can. II 67.32-68.3 (= 367) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηνος ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβὰς μὴ ὄντα μετουσιαστικά, μήτε ὑποκοριστικά, διὰ
τοῦ η γράφονται οἶον, Ἀκεσηνός ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Εὐηνός·
σεληνός· ποτηνός· ὠγηνός· μεμηνός· γαλαθηνός· πετηνός·
ἀργηνός· τὸ δύστηνος· δίμηνος· πανσέληνος· διχόμενος
σύνθετα, περὶ τόνον μόνον οὐ γράφην διήλλαξαν.

16 Τὰ...123.4 χειμερινός: cf. Theognost. Can. II 67.14-8 (= 363.1-5)
τὰ διὰ τοῦ ινος ἐπὶ μετουσίας λαμβανόμενα, ἢ
τοιαύτης ὕλης ἐχόμενα, προπαροξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ι
γράφονται οἶον, ξύλινος· δρυῖνος· λίθινος· πέτρινος· γήϊνος·
δερμάτινος· τούτοις ὅμοια τὸ κάμινος· ἴκτινος· κύμινος·
κυκλάμινος· κόφινος· κότινος· διὰ τοῦ ι γράφόμενα, εἰ καὶ μὴ
μετουσιαστικά; Et. Gud. ι 275.44-8 τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ινος
προπαροξύτονα, μὴ ὄντα ἀπὸ ἀπλοῦ, ἔχοντα τὴν εἰ
δίφθογγον, διὰ τοῦ υ γράφεται, οἶον, φήγινος, δρυῖνος,
ξύλινος, κάμινος, οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἴκτινος; EM 470.40-2 τὰ γὰρ
διὰ τοῦ ΙΝΟΣ προπαροξύτονα, μὴ ὄντα ἀπὸ ἀπλοῦ, ἔχοντα

3 Τισαμενός Schmidt e π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 913, 21: στησαμενός
M^{o.p.c.}: στησασμενός O^{a.c.} 5 παθόν M: παθός O 6 Ὅρμενος
M: ὄρμενος O 7 ΗΝΟΣ M^{o.p.c.}: ηρος M^{a.c.} 11 ὁμοιωματικὴν
M^{o.p.c.}: ὁμοιωμτικὴν O^{a.c.} 13 Ἀβυδηνός M: ἀβυδινός O
16 ὑπερδισύλλαβα M^{o.p.c.}: δισύλλαβα M^{a.c.}

ἔχοντα σημαίνοντα μετουσίαν προπαροξύνεται· κρίθινος δάφνινος φήγινος πύρινος ξύλινος λίθινος. τὰ μέντοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἢ ἀπὸ ἐπιρρήματος ὀξύνεται· θερινός χειμερινός.

Τὰ εἰς ΙΝΟΣ μακρὸν τὸ Ι ἔχοντα, ὅσα ἐν ὕδατι διαιτᾶται, προπερισπῶνται· ἔχινος κορακῖνος φοξῖνος. καρκῖνος. ἐχρῆν καὶ τὸ γυρῖνος προπερισπᾶσθαι (ὁ μικρὸς βάτραχος). σπάνια δὲ τὰ ὀξυτονούμενα· ἔρινός (ὁ ἐρινεός) καὶ τὸ χαλινός.

(75.) Τὰ εἰς ΙΝΟΣ τὸ Ι μακρὸν ἔχοντα κύρια ἢ ἐθνικὰ ἢ ἐπιθετικὰ ἢ ὑποκοριστικῶν ἔννοιαν ἔχοντα προπερισπῶνται· Φιλῖνος Κρατῖνος Ἐχῖνος (τὸ κύριον) Λατῖνος Λεοντῖνος Ῥηγῖνος Μαμερτῖνος. τὸ δὲ λαρινός ὀξύνεται.

τὴν ΕΙ δίφθογγον, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, οἷον φήγινος, λίθινος, ξύλινος, οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἱκτίνος.

5 Τὰ... **7** καρκῖνος: cf. Theognost. Can. II 67.19-22 (= 364) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ινος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς πρὸ τέλους ἔχοντα τὸν τόνον διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ ι γράφεται οἷον· Κρατῖνος· Φαυστῖνος· Λογγῖνος· Κωνσταντῖνος· Ίουστῖνος· σεσημείωται τὸ Ἐχῖνος καὶ Καρκῖνος διὰ βραχέος; Choerob. De Orthogr. 236.14-7 τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ινος ὀνόματα πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα, μὴ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ τὸ ι, καὶ προπερισπῶνται, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, καὶ μακρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ ι· χωρὶς τοῦ Καρκῖνος· τοῦτο γὰρ βραχὺ ἔχει τὸ ι; EM 488.4-6 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΝΟΣ πρὸ μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα ἐκτείνουσι τὸ ι, πλὴν τοῦ ἐχῖνος, καρκῖνος· πρὸ δύο δὲ τὸν τόνον ἔχοντα, συστέλλει, πλὴν τοῦ κάμινος.

6 ἔχινος κορακῖνος] ἔχινος καὶ καρκῖνος Theognost. Can. II 67.22 (= 364.4); de altero cf. Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 20.17

7 φοξῖνος Göttlīng 201: φωξῖνος MO καρκῖνος...**8**

προπερισπᾶσθαι] καρκῖνος ἐχρῆν καὶ αὐτὸ προπερισπᾶσθαι. γυρῖνος Göttlīng (1835), 202, Lobeck PSGP 207 καρκῖνος]

καρκῖνος MO **8** προπερισπᾶσθαι...βάτραχος] malim ὁ

μικρὸς βάτραχος προπερισπᾶσθαι **14** κύριον] κύε M

15 Μαμερτῖνος Schmidt 75.4 e St. Byz. 430.15-6: μαρτῖνος MO

Τὰ εἰς ΕΙΝΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ παρώνυμα ὀξύνεται· φαεινός σκοτεινός ἀλγεινός βορεινός ταπεινός (τὸ ἐπίθετον). τὸ δὲ εὐξεινός σύνθετον ὄν προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΥΝΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα προπαροξύνεται· εἰ δέ τι ὀξυτονηθῇ, ἔθνικόν εὐρέθη· κίνδυνος Πάχυνος πίσυνος βόθυνος. τὸ μέντοι Βιθυνός καὶ Μαριανδυνός ἔθνικά. τὸ μέντοι μόσσυκος ἀπὸ γενικῆς μετήχθη.

Τὰ εἰς ΩΝΟΣ ἀπλᾶ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται·

1 Τὰ ... **4** προπαροξύνεται: cf. Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 179.23-8 τὰ γὰρ εἰς νος ὀξύτονα παρώνυμα, μὴ ἐπὶ καιροῦ λαμβανόμενα, ἀποστρέφονται τὴν διὰ τοῦ ι μόνου γραφήν· οἶον, ὄρος, ὄρεινός· φάος, φαεινός· πόθος, ποθεινός· φῶς, φωτός, φωτεινός· καὶ τὸ κτητικὸν ὄνομα ὁμοίως φωτεινός διὰ διφθόγγου· ἔλεος, ἐλεεινός· βορέας, βορεινός· σκότος, σκοτεινός· καὶ αἰπός, αἰπεινός; *Et. Sym.* II 170.18-20 τὰ μέντοι εἰς νος ὀξύτονα παρώνυμα <διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· φάος φαεινός, ἄλγος ἀλγεινός, πόθος ποθεινός, ἔλεος ἐλεεινός· οὕτως ἀργός ἀργεινός.

5 Τὰ ... **10** μετήχθη: cf. St. Byz. β 98.3-6 τὰ δὲ εἰς νος καθαρὸν ὑπερδισύλλαβα τῷ υ παραληγόμενα προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔθνικά εἴη. τὸ μόσσυκος βαρυνόμενον σημειῶδες καὶ μακρὸν ἔχει τὸ υ (τὰ γὰρ ἔχοντα τὸ σ βραχὺ ἔχει τὸ υ), καὶ τὸ γέρυνος ὁ μικρὸς βάτραχος; *Theognost. Can.* II 68.8-11 (= 369) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υνος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς οὐκ οἶδε πρὸ τέλους τὴν οἰ δίφθογγον· οἶον, Πάχυνος· Μόσσυκος· κίνδυνος· χέλυνος· εὐθυνος· Ρόσχυνος· Πόλτυκος· Ὀρδυνος, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Κόρυνος.

11 Τὰ ... **125.4** προσηγορικόν: cf. *Ep. Hom.* 5,a.6-8 Οἰωνός ὀξύνεται· τὰ διὰ τοῦ ωνος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, οἶον οἰωνός, κοινωνός, Τιθωνός· πρόσκειται, «ἀπλᾶ» διὰ τὸ τετράγωνος, ἄφωνος, εὐωνος; Choerob. *in Theod.* 373.23-9 οὐκ ἔχομεν γὰρ εὐθειαν εἰς νος καθαρὸν δισύλλαβον τῷ ω παραληγομένην καὶ ὀξυνομένην·

1 ἀπλᾶ M^{i.m.}: om. M^{i.l.} **5** ΥΝΟΣ] ενος O **6** ὀξυτονηθῇ Schmidt 75.11: ὀξυτονηθῇ MO **8** βόθυνος M: βόθυκος O^{p.c.}: βόθυμος βόθυμος (alterum postea expunctum) O^{a.c.} Βιθυνός Schmidt 75.12: βυθινός MO **9** Μαριανδυνός] μαρνανδινός MO **10** μόσσυκος] Hdn. π. διχρ. GG iii.ii 10.17, St. Byz. 170.1-5: ομόσυκος spiritu incerto MA: ὁμόσυκος OBC; ὁμόσυκος TGL V 1989A **11** ἀπλᾶ M^{s.l.}O: om. M^{i.l.}

κοινωνός οἰωνός Γελωνός. τὰ δὲ σύνθετα
προπαροξύνεται· τετράγωνος εὐφωνος
εὐωνος. τὸ δὲ Κόρωνος κύριον, τὸ δὲ
κορωνός προσηγορικόν.

Τὰ εἰς ΞΟΣ θηλυκὰ βαρύνονται· Λίπαξος 5
Ἄραξος (ἀκρωτήριον) Πύξος (ἢ πόλις καὶ τὸ
φυτόν). τὸ μέντοι ἰξός ὡς προσηγορικόν
ὀξύνεται, καὶ τὸ λοξός φοξός ὡς ἐπίθετα, καὶ
τὸ Κοραξός ὡς ἔθνικόν.

(76.) Τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ δισύλλαβα μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ 10
παραλήγοντα διχρόνῳ ἢ μακρῷ φωνήεντι
βαρύνεται· ἵππος (ἢ παγίς) ῥύπος ῥῶπος (ὁ
παντοδαπὸς φόρτος) κῆπος.

Τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραλήγοντα διχρόνῳ 15
καταλήγοντι εἰς Μ ἢ Π βαρύνεται· ἵππος

βαρυνόμενην δὲ ἔχομεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κῶνος (σημαίνει δὲ τὸ
στροβιλοειδὲς ἡγουν τὸ εἰς ὀξὺ λήγον) ὤνος (σημαίνει δὲ τὴν
τιμὴν) τούτου χάριν οὐκ ὠξύνθη ἀλλ' ἐβαρύνθη· πρόσκειται
«δισύλλαβον», ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχομεν εὐθείαν
ὀξυνομένην, οἷον κοινωνός οἰωνός Τιθωνός; Theognost. *Can.*
II 68.16-20 (= 371) τὰ διὰ τοῦ ὤνος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ
ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ὤ μεγάλου γράφονται· οἷον, υἱωνός ὁ υἱοῦ
υἱός· οἰωνός ὁ κόραξ· κοινωνός· Τιθωνός· ξυνωνός· Κολωνός·
μελλεδωνός ὁ φροντιστής· Ἡδωνός ὄνομα ἔθνους· Ἐτεωνός·
Καννωνός· Ὀθρωνός ὄνομα ἔθνους· Κορωνός. **10** Τὰ... **13**
κῆπος· cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 46.18-21 τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ λήγοντα,
ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν καταλήγουσαν εἰς Μ ἢ εἰς
Π, βαρύνονται, οἷον ἵππος, κάμπος, πάππος· μάχεται τὸ
καρπός ὀξυνόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ δίχρονον λήγον εἰς Μ ἢ
εἰς Π.

4 προσηγορικόν M^{s.l.} O: ἐπίθετον M^{i.l.} **5** θηλυκὰ] fortasse
θηλυκὰ κύρια; vide etiam notam de 125.5-8 θηλυκὰ ...
ὀξύνεται βαρύνονται] βαρύνεται O **6** Ἄραξος] ἀραξος sine
accentu O ἀκρωτήριον] ἀκρωτή^o M: ἀκρωτ^o O: ἀκρωτή^o ἀ εἰς
ξος (ἀ εἰς ξος erasa leguntur) A πόλις] πό^l M **8** φοξός... **9**
Κοραξός Götting (1835), 215: κοραξός, ὡς ἐπίθετον ὀξύνεται,
βαρύνεται δὲ ὡς ἔθνικόν Lobeck *PGG* 404, n. 14 φοξός
fortasse M^{p.c.} O: φωξός M^{a.c.} **9** Κοραξός] καραξός MO
12 ἵππος] ἴππος MO **15** ἵππος] ἴσπος MO; λίσπος haesitanter
Schmidt 76.5 (app. crit.)

κάμπος Λάμπος (τὸ κύριον· λαμπός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον). τὸ δὲ καρπός ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ δισύλλαβα μὴ ἐπιθετικά ἔχοντα Ο ἐν τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ μετὰ συμφώνου ἢ συμφώνων, εἰ μὴ διαφοράν τινα ποιοίῃ, ἢ ὑποστρέφει εἰς ῥῆμα 5
τῷ Ε παραληγόμενον, βαρύνεται· τρόπος ὁ τρέπων τρόπος ὁ τετραμμένος, κόμπος τὸ προσηγορικὸν κομπός τὸ ἐπίθετον, τόπος κόπος κόλπος δόρπος. τὸ μέντοι σκοπός ὀξύνεται, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπίθετα· λοιπός γρυπός 10
πομπός χαλεπός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΔΑΠΟΣ πάντα παρηγμένα ὀξύνονται· ἡμεδαπός ποδαπός 15
παντοδαπός ἀλλοδαπός. ἔτι τὰ ἐπιθετικά σύνθετα τῷ Ω παραληγόμενα· αἰμωπός κελαινωπός πολυωπός.

Τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά ὄντα καὶ ἐπιθετικά, εἰ μὴ παραλήγοιτο τῷ Ω, προπαροξύνεται· Ἄροπος Ἄναπος 20
Ἀστέροπος Ὀλυμπος Εὐριπος Χάροπος (τὸ κύριον, χαροπός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθε(77.)τον).

3 Τὰ...11 χαλεπός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 68.30-4 (= 374) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ οπος δισύλλαβα ἀπαρασχημάτιστα ἀπλᾶ διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ γραφόμενα σπάνιά ἐστιν· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ λόπος, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ λαμπρόν· κόπος· τόπος· τὸ σκοπός καὶ ὁπός ἐναντία περὶ τόνον, οὐ περὶ γραφήν· λῶπος δὲ τὸ ἱμάτιον διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου σεσημείωται

17 Τὰ...127.10 ὀξύνεται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 69.17-21 (= 380) τὰ εἰς πος κύρια ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπὸ φύσει μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται τῇ παραληγοῦσῃ· οἶον, Ἴνωπός ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Αἰσωπός (scrib. Ἀσωπός ex Ps.-Arcad.)· Εὐρωπός· Ὀρωπός· τὸ Αἰσωπος· ἄνθρωπος, σημειώδη οὐ κατὰ τὴν γραφήν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τόνον.

1 λαμπός...2 ἐπίθετον M^{i.m.}

7 κόμπος] κόμπος δὲ Ο

13 ποδαπός] π...πός Ο

17 Τὰ] ἀ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) Ο

18 ἐπιθετικά] μὴ ἐπιθετικά haesitanter Schmidt 76.21

19 Ἄροπος] Ἄτροπος Göttling (1835), 219

20 Ὀλυμπος]

ὄλυπος Ο Χάροπος] χάραπος Ο

σεσημείωται τὸ ἀτραπὸς ὀξυνόμενον. τὰ δὲ
 παραληγόμενα τῷ Ω κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ καὶ
 βαρύνεται καὶ ὀξύνεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν κύρια ἀπὸ
 φύσει μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα ὀξύνεται· Ἰνωπὸς
 Ἀσωπὸς Ὠρωπὸς. σημείωσαι τὸ Αἴσωπος. τὸ 5
 δὲ Κρότωπος καὶ Μελάνωπος κύρια οὐκ ἀπὸ
 μακρᾶς ἄρχονται. τὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπος
 προσηγορικὸν προπαροξύνεται. τὸ μέντοι
 στενωπὸς ὀξύνεται προσηγορικὸν ὄν ἐπὶ
 θηλυκοῦ μόνου. ἔτι καὶ τὸ ἀλωπὸς ὀξύνεται. 10

**Περὶ τῶν εἰς ΡΟΣ ΣΟΣ ΤΟΣ ΦΟΣ καὶ τῶν
 καθεξῆς.**

Βιβλίον η'.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Α
 κύρια ὄντα ἢ προσηγορικὰ βαρύνεται· λάρος 15
 κάρος φάρος Σάρος (ποταμός) Πάρος. τὰ
 μέντοι ἐπίθετα ὀξύνεται· μναρός (ὁ ἡδύς)
 λαρός (ὁ γλυκύς) ψαρός βλαρός.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια ὄντα
 βαρύνεται· Σῆρος Τρεῆρος Ἥρος. τὰ δὲ 20
 προσηγορικά, εἰ μὴ **(78.)** ἀπὸ συμφώνων ἄρχοιντο,

1 τὰ...7 ἄρχονται· cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 69.22-4 (= 381.1-3) Τὰ
 εἰς πος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνοντα ἀπὸ βραχείας
 ἀρχόμενα διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφει τὴν παρατέλευτον·
 Κρότωπος ὄνομα κύριον· Μελάνωπος· **19** Τὰ...128.11

οἶκος· cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 69.27-34 (= 382) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηρος
 δισύλλαβα κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικὰ καὶ ἐπίθετα, ὁποίας ἂν
 εἴη τάσεως, διὰ τοῦ η γράφεται· οἶον, Σῆρος ὄνομα κύριον·
 Δρεῆρος πόλις Κρητική, ἀμφότερα βαρύνονται· πηρός· μηρός·
 κηρός· ξηρός· φηρός ἢ τροφή τῶν θεῶν· κλήρος· λῆρος·
 σκληρός· νηρός· σεσημείωται διὰ τοῦ ι γραφόμενα κύρια
 τέσσαρα· Ἥρος· Τίρος· Πίρος· Σκίρος· καὶ ἐπὶ προσηγορικῶν
 ὀξύτονα δύο· ἱρός ὁ ἱερός· σιρός τὸ οἶκημα.

1 ὀξυνόμενον] θηλυκὸν καὶ ὀξυνόμενον haesitanter Schmidt
 77.1 (app. crit.) **2** τῷ] τῷ M **4** φύσει M^{s.l.}O: om. M^{i.l.} Ἰνωπὸς
 Schmidt e Theognosto 380.3: οἰνωπὸς MO et Götting (1835),
 219; Unger (1839), 368 **5** Ὠρωπὸς Schmidt 77.4, cf. Theognost.
Can. II 69.19 (= 380.3): ὀρωπὸς MO σημείωσαι] σεσημείωται O
7 ἄνθρωπος] ἄνος O **20** Σῆρος...Ἥρος] Schmidt 77.19 (app.
 crit.): 'malit Bῆρος Τρεῆρος Σῆρος, quibus addendum fortasse
 Δρεῆρος' Τρεῆρος] τηρος MO

ὀξύνεται· κηρός φηρός. τὸ μέντοι κληρός
βαρύνεται ὡς ἀπὸ δύο συμφώνων ἀρξάμενον.

Τὰ εἰς ΗΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἐπιθετικά ὄντα μετὰ
θηλυκῶν, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ ἡμιφώνου ἄρχοιτο, ὀξύνεται·
σκληρός ξηρός. τὸ δὲ λῆρος μονογενές.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Ι
κύρια ὄντα βαρύνεται· Ἰρος Πίρος Τίρος
Σκίρος τὸ κύριον. εἰ μέντοι προσηγορικά ἢ
ἐπιθετικά εἴη, ὀξύνεται ἱρός (ὁ ἱερός) λιρός (ὁ
ἀναιδής) σιρός (τὸ προσηγορικόν, ὁ κατώγειος
οἶκος).

10

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Ο
βαρύνεται, ὅποτε γίγνεται ἀπὸ τῶν

6 Τὰ ... 11 οἶκος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 69.31-4 (= 382.5-8) (vide supra); *EM* 475.24-8 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια καὶ βαρύνονται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται, οἶον, Κίρος, ὄνομα κύριον· Πίρος, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· καὶ Τίρος, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Μίρος, ποταμὸς Φρυγίας· σκίρος, ὁ γύψος. **12** Τὰ ... 129.11 δείρω: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 70.14-7 (= 385) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ορος δισύλλαβα ἀπὸ ῥημάτων γινόμενα διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ γράφονται· εἶρω τὸ συμπλέκω ὄρος· σπείρω σπόρος· χαίρω χαρῶ χόρος· τροπῇ τοῦ ω εἰς ο· οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ καθόλου· σπερῶ σπόρος· φθερῶ φθόρος; sch. D. T. *Vat.* 108.17-26 Σχηματίζεται δὲ ὄρος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπείρω γέγονε σπόρος, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶρω (τὸ συμπλέκω καὶ συνάπτω) γίνεται ὄρος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὄρος συμπλέκει καὶ συνάπτει τῷ ὀριστῷ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ· ἐκ τοῦ εἶρω δὲ καὶ ὄρμος, τὸ σημαῖνον τὸν περιτραχήλιον κόσμον, καὶ γὰρ ὁ περιτραχήλιος κόσμος συμπεριέχει κόσμιόν τι· καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὄρμος ὁ λιμὴν, περιεκτικὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λιμὴν πλῆθους νεῶν. Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ λέγει, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρῶ (τὸ βλέπω) γέγονεν ὄρος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὄρος εὐόρατα καὶ εὖοπτα ποιεῖ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀριζόμενα. Εὐλόγως δὲ δασύνεται τὸ ὄρος· εἴτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶρω γινόμενον (τὸ συμπλέκω) δασύνεται, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ εἶρω δασύνεται, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρῶ ὡσαύτως.

2 ἀρξάμενον ΜΟ^{p.c.}: ἀρχόμενον Ο^{a.c.} **4** μὲν Lentz 190.23: μὴ Μ **7** Ἰρος Schmidt 78.8: ἱρος ΜΟ Πίρος ΜΟ; Hdt. 1.145.10, Paus. 7.18.1.2, 7.22.1.7 **8** Σκίρος ΜΟ; Σκῖρος Schmidt 78.8 κύριον] κύ^o Μ **9** ὁ¹ om. Ο **13** γίγνεται Ο: γίνονται Μ

παραληγομένων Ε ἢ ΕΙ διφθόγγῳ ῥημάτων, εἰ μὴ
 τις διαστολή γένοιτο· σπόρος ὅτι σπείρω,
 πτόρος (ὁ παρμός) ὅτι πτείρω, φθόρος ὅτι
 φθείρω, μόρος ὅτι μείρω, κόρος ὅτι κείρω,
 φόρος ὅτι φέρω, φορός δὲ (ὁ ἄνεμος) ὀξυτόνως, 5
 ὄρος, εἶρω γάρ, ὀρός δὲ ὀξυτόνως (τὸ
 ἀφυλιζόμενον τοῦ γάλακτος). τὸ μέντοι βορός (ὁ
 πολλὰ ἐσθίων) καὶ τὸ χορός καὶ σορός (ὁ
 τάφος) καὶ τορός ὀξύνονται οὐ γὰρ γίνονται ἀπὸ
 τοιούτων ῥη(79.)μάτων. σεσημείωται τὸ δορός (ὁ 10
 δεδαρμένος) εἰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δείρω.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Υ
 βραχεῖ βαρύνεται Σύρος Τύρος. εἰ δὲ ἔχῃ
 ἐκτεταμένον, κύρια μὲν ὄντα βαρύνεται· Κῦρος
 Σκῦρος (ἡ νῆσος) Σφῦρος· μὴ οὕτως δέ, 15
 ὀξύνεται πυρός (ὁ σῖτος) τυρός ξυρός.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ μονογενῇ δισύλλαβα

12 Τὰ...16 ξυρός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 70.1-3 (= 383) Τὰ διὰ
 τοῦ υρος ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, Κύρος·
 Τύρος· Σύρος· Σκύρος· φυρός· πυρός· ξυρός· πλὴν τοῦ χοῖρος.
17 Τὰ...130.5 ἀττικῶς: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 70.4-13 (= 384) τὰ
 διὰ τοῦ ορος δισύλλαβα κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικά, μὴ
 ἔχοντα ῥῆμα ἐξ οὗ παρήχθησαν, διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου
 γράφονται, ὀξύτονά τε καὶ βαρύτενα τυγχάνοντα· Λῶρος·
 χῶρος· Ὠρος ὄνομα κύριον· πῶρος· βῶρος· Πῶρος ὄνομα
 κύριον· ψῶρος· βλῶρος ὁ διάλευκος· πωρός ὀξυτόνως· ζωρός·
 μωρός· τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἐμψύχου τιθέμενον βαρύνεται· τὸ Φλόρος
 ὄνομα κύριον διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ· τὸ σωρός ἀρσενικὸν μὲν ὄν
 διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου· θηλυκὸν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ· ὁμοίως καὶ
 τὸ μωρός, ὀξυνόμενον μὲν διὰ τοῦ ω, βαρυνόμενον δὲ διὰ
 τοῦ ο μικροῦ; *Et. Gud.* (Addit.) 587.1-5 τὰ εἰς ρος λήγοντα

1 Ε...ΕΙ scripsi: εἰ ἢ ε (αι pro ε dedit Galland (1886), 297) Μ: εἰ
 ἢ ἢ Ο; τῇ ε ἢ εἰ ἢ αἰ (per πταίρω, sed vide annotationem de
 πτείρω) Schmidt 78.13-4 **3** πτείρω] πταίρω Schmidt 78.16
6 εἶρω Μ: εἶρω Ο ὀρός (perperam ὄρος Galland (1886), 297)
 ΜΟ **9** τορός] τυρός ΜΟ ὀξύνονται ΜΟ^{p.c.}: ὀξυτόνως Ο^{a.c.}
 γίνονται Μ: om. Ο **10** δορός Schmidt 79.1: δαρός ΜΟ; fallitur
 Lobeck RVGNVT 279 **11** δείρω] δ..ρω Ο **13** Σύρος] accentu
 incerto Ο ἔχοι Ο: ἔχει Μ **14** μὲν Μ^{s.l.}Ο: om. Μ^{i.l.} **15** Σφῦρος
 Schmidt 79.6 (cf. Paus. II 23.4): φύρος ΜΟ οὕτως ΜΟ: οὕτω
 Schmidt 79.6

παραληγόμενα τῷ Ω βαρύνεται· Δῶρος Βῶρος
Χλῶρος (τὸ κύριον). σεσημείωται τὸ σωρός (τὸ
πλήθος). τὰ μέντοι ἐπιθετικά ὁξύνεται· χλωρός
βλωρός (ὁ ὑπόλευκος) ζωρός (ὁ ἄμικτος)
μωρός καὶ μῶρος ἀττικῶς.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ ΑΙ
διφθόγγῳ, εἰ μὲν κύρια εἶη, βαρύνεται· Σφαῖρος
Σκαῖρος· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ὁξύνεται· καιρός. τὸ
δαῖρος διαφορεῖται (ἦτοι ὁ καυστικός).

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα τῇ ΑΥ διφθόγγῳ
παραληγόμενα ἐπὶ ἐμψύχων τιθέμενα βαρύνεται·
φλαῦρος σαῦρος καῦρος (ὁ κακός).

10

δισύλλαβα, τῷ ω, παραληγόμενα, μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά
βαρυτονεῖται. ὦρος, δῶρος, χῶρος, φλῶρος, βῶρος·
σεσημείωται τὸ σωρός ὁξυνόμενον· τὰ δὲ ὁξύτονα ἐπιθετικά
εἰσιν, οἷον χλωρός, ψωρός, μωρός; *EM* 742.25-31 τὰ γὰρ εἰς
ΡΟΣ λήγοντα δισύλλαβα, τῷ ω παραληγόμενα, μὴ ὄντα
ἐπίθετα, βαρύνεται, Ὦρος, Δῶρος, Φλῶρος, Βῶρος· οὐδὲν
ἔχομεν ὁξύτονον· σεσημείωται τὸ σωρός. τὰ ὁξύτονα
ἐπίθετά εἰσι, χλωρός, ψωρός, μωρός. Πῶς οὖν ὁξύνεται τὸ
σωρός; Ἠλόγηται ὅταν δισυλλαβῇ· τὸ πρῶτον ἄρα σωρέος,
ὡς ὀχεός, λοχεός; *Zonar.* σ 1703.20-1704.3 τὰ εἰς ρος λήγοντα
δισύλλαβα τῷ ω παραλήγοντα, μὴ ὄντα ἐπίθετα,
βαρυτονεῖται. Ὦρος· Δῶρος· Φλῶρος· Βῶρος. σεσημείωται τὸ
Σωρός ὁξυνόμενον. τὰ δὲ ὁξυνόμενα ἐπιθετικά εἰσι. χλωρός·
μωρός· ψωρός.

6 Τὰ ... 9 καυστικός: cf. *Choerob. Ep. Ps.*
46.35-47.3 Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ καθαρὰ δισύλλαβα τῇ ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ
παραληγόμενα, εἰ μὲν εἰσὶ κύρια, βαρύνονται, οἷον σφαῖρος,
καῖρος (scrib. Σκαῖρος), εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁξύνονται, οἷον καιρός,
θαιρός; *Theognost. Can.* II 70.18-21 (= 386) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰρος
δισύλλαβα σπάνια καὶ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ περιληπτὰ διὰ τῆς αἰ
διφθόγγου γράφονται· Σφαῖρος· Σκαῖρος· ὀνόματα κύρια· τὸ
καιρός ὁξύτονον· τὸ γὰρ δαῖρος περὶ τόνον διαφορεῖται
(scrib. διαφορεῖται).

10 Τὰ ... 131.2 γέγονε: cf. *Et. Gud.* γ
300.3-4 τὰ εἰς ρος δισύλλαβα τῇ αυ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενα
ἢ προσηγορικὰ ἢ ἐπίθετα <προ>περισπᾶται, οἷον σαῦρος
μαῦρος ταῦρος γαῦρος.

1 Βῶρος *M^{s.l.}*: κῶρος *M^{i.l.}*· **2** κύριον *O*: κύ⁹ *M* σεσημείωται
O: σημειῶσαι *M* **4** ἄμικτος *scripsi*: μικρός *MO* **7** διφθόγγῳ]
δφω *O* βαρύνεται] βαρύνονται *O* **9** δαῖρος] δαῖρός *duobus*
accentibus MO διαφορεῖται *M^{i.l.}*: διαφορεῖται *M^{s.l.}*· *O*
12 φλαῦρος] φαῦρος *O^{ac.}* κακός] καιρός *O*

σημείωσαι τὸ σταυρός ἄψυχον· καὶ τὸ μαῦρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄμαυρός γέγονε.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα τῇ ΕΥ παραληγόμενα σπάνια ὄντα βαρύνονται εὖρος πλεῦρος. τὸ δὲ λευρός ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ τὸ Νευρός ὄνομα ἔθνους. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ παραληγόμενα τῇ ΟΥ διφθόγγῳ βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ τι εἴη κατὰ διαστολήν· **(80.)** οὔρος (ὁ ἄνεμος, οὐρός τόπος ὁ περιορίζων τὰς ναῦς) Φροῦρος (τὸ κύριον, φρουρός τὸ ἐπίθετον) κοῦρος θοῦρος λοῦρος (πλακοῦντος εἶδος). τὸ δὲ κηπουρός καὶ οἰκουρός ὡς σύνθετα ὀξύνεται. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Α μονογενῇ ἢ κύρια προπαροξύνεται Πίνδαρος Πάνδαρος κόμαρος. 15

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα δεδιπλασιασμένα κατ' ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν εἰς Ρ καταλήγοντα προπαροξύνεται· βάρβαρος Τάρταρος μάρμαρος κέρβερος πέρπερος βόρβορος. 20

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα Α συνεσταλμένῳ ἢ ἐκτεταμένῳ τριγενῇ ὄντα ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ δεδιπλασίσται ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ· χαλαρός λιπαρός χλιαρός ψαφάρος λαγάρος (ὁ ἀσθενής). τὸ μέντοι φλύαρος 25

7 Τὰ...**13** ὀξύνεται: cf. sch. Hom. II. 2.153a.4-6 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ρος λήγοντα δισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ, ἔχοντα τὴν ου δίφθογγον ἐβαρύνετο, «κοῦρος» (Δ 321), «θοῦρος» (Ε 507. Ω 498), «οὔρος» (cf. Φ 405); Eust. II. I 298.1-3 τὰ εἰς ρος δισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα τὴν ου δίφθογγον βαρύνονται, κοῦρος ὁ νέος, θοῦρος ὁ ὀρμητικός, οὔρος ὁ ἄνεμος.

1 σημείωσαι] σεσημειώται Ο σταυρός] σαυρός Ο
4 σπάνια...βαρύνονται O^{i.t.}: γρ (= γράφεται) σπάνια, βαρύτονα O^{i.m.}: σπάνια βαρύτονα M πλεῦρος] πεῦρος O^{a.c.}
13 οἰκουρός] νικουρός Ο σύνθετα] σύνθετα τρισύλλαβα haesitanter Schmidt 80.4 (app. crit.) **15** προπαροξύνεται] προπαροξυται O^{a.c.} **18** πρώτην] α^{ην} Ο **20** κέρβερος BC: κάρβερος MO^{p.c.}: κάρβαρος O^{a.c.} **24** τῇ ἀρχῇ M: τῇ ἀρχῇ Ο

προπαροξύνεται οὐκ ἔχον θηλυκόν, καὶ τὸ ἔγκαρος †ἢ ἔγκυος†.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΤΕΡΟΣ τρισύλλαβα, εἰ ἔχοι τὴν ἄρχουσαν μακράν, προπαροξύνεται· φέρτερος βέλτερος κύντερος ὕστερος δεύτερος. 5
τὸ δὲ καρτερός ὀξύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατερός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΤΕΡΟΣ τριβράχεια τότε βαρύνονται, ὅτε πυσματικὴν ἔννοιαν ἔχοι, ἢ ἐκ δύο προσώπων ἔν τι τὸ κατηγόρημα ποιεῖται· πότερος πρότερος ἔτερος, οἷς ἠκολούθησε καὶ τὸ 10
ἐκάτερος.

(81.) Τὰ εἰς ΤΕΡΟΣ ὑπερτρिसύλλαβα συγκριτικὰ ἢ συγκριτικῶς παραληγόμενα προπαροξύνεται· ἰθύντερος ἀβέλτερος

3 Τὰ...6 κρατερός: cf. sch. Hom. II. 1.280b τὰ εἰς τερος τρισύλλαβα βαρύνεται, οἷον σφέτερος, «πρότερος» (A 548 al.), κύντερος. πῶς οὐχὶ κάρτερος κατὰ βαρεῖαν λέγομεν; ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἦν εἰς τερος, ἀλλ' εἰς ερος· τὸ γὰρ τ οὐκ ἐν τῇ παραγωγῇ ἔσχεν· ἦν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτος, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βλάβος βλαβερός οὐ διὰ τοῦ βερος ἢ παραγωγή (ἐν γὰρ πρωτοτύπῳ τὸ β), οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτος κρατερός διὰ τοῦ ερος ἢ παραγωγή, οὐ διὰ τοῦ τερος; Choerob. Ep. Ps. 63.9-12 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΤΕΡΟΣ τρισύλλαβα, εἰ ἔχει τὴν ἄρχουσαν μακράν, βαρύνεται, οἷον φέρτερος, βέλτερος, ἱκτερος, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Τὸ καρτερός ὀξύνεται(ύτονον) οὐ μάχεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατερός γέγονε καθ' ὑπερβιβασμὸν τοῦ P; Theognost. Can. II 70.22-6 (= 387) τὰ διὰ τοῦ τερος βαρύτονά τε καὶ ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἷον· κρατερός· ἀριστερός· περισσότερός· Βλαττερός ὄνομα κύριον· πρότερος· ὕστερος· φέρτερος· ὁ δὲ κανὼν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀντωνυμιῶν· σφέτερος· σφωῖτερος· ἡμέτερος· ὑμέτερος; EM 259.18-21 Καθόλου τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΤΕΡΟΣ ὀνόματα, εἴτε ὀξύνονται, εἴτε βαρύνονται, διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφεται· οἷον, κρατερός, σοφώτερος, ἱκτερος, ὕστερος. Οὕτω καὶ δεύτερος.

2 †ἢ ἔγκυος† M: ἢ ἔγκυρος O: ὁ ἐγκέφαλος Lobeck PSGP 253, n. 1; haesitanter ἔγκαρος ἢ ἱγκρος (coll. Hsch. ι 147) Schmidt 80.17 (app. crit.); fortasse ἔγκαρος καὶ ἄγγαρος **6** καρτερός MO^{p.c.}: καρτελός O^{a.c.} **7** τριβράχεια M: τριβράχια O **9** τι M **13** παραληγόμενα M^{p.c.}O: ληγόμενα M^{a.c.} **14** ἰθύντερος ἀβέλτερος em. Lehrs (1857), 71 (21.25) ope Hdn. π.μ.λ.: κύντερος βέλτερος MO

μελάντερος ὀρέστερος. τούτοις ἠκολούθησε καὶ τὸ κασσίτερος, εἰ καὶ προσηγορικόν ἐστι. τὸ μέντοι ἀριστερός ὀξύνεται, ὡς διὰ ΕΡΟΣ, καὶ δεξιτερός. τὸ δὲ ἀμφότερος ἐπιθετικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἀμφοτερός τὸ κύριον ὀξύνεται.

5

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΡΟΣ τριγενῇ ὄντα καὶ τριβράχεια ὀξύνεται, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ἔχοι τὸ Τ πρὸ τοῦ Ε· γοερός νοερός ψογερός δροσερός τρυφερός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἴτε κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά, εἴτε ἐπιθετικὰ μὴ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά, προπαροξύνεται· ὁμηρος σίδηρος Φάληρος τριέτηρος πενταέτηρος τετραφάληρος. τὰ μέντοι διὰ τοῦ ΗΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ἐπιθετικὰ ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά ὀξύνεται· λαπηρός

10

15

4 τὸ¹...5 ὀξύνεται: cf. sch. Hom. II. 16.415a.1-3 Ἀμφοτερόν: εἰς διαστολὴν τὸ κύριον ὀξυτόνως ἀνέγνω ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ὡς «δεξιτερόν» (E 393 al.)· καὶ ἐπείσθησαν οἱ γραμματικοί; Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e, α 43 Ἀμφοτερός· κύριον, ἀμφότερος· ἐπίθετον.

9 Τὰ...135.6 EI: cf. EM 660.45-55 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΗΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ὀξύτονα καὶ βαρύτονα, μὴ ἔχοντα ἀναφαινόμενον τὸ ο, μήτε ῥῆμα ἀντιπαρακείμενον, διὰ τοῦ η γράφεται· Ἀβδηρος, τόπος· Ἀβληρος, κύριον· φάληρος, ἐξ οὗ τὸ τετραφάληρος· πενταέτηρος. Σεσημείωται βαρυνόμενα δύο, Κάμιρος, Αἶρος. Ὀξύνεται καυστειρός· ὅπερ γίνεται κατὰ διάλεκτον Βοιωτικὴν, ὡς τὸ τέθηκα τέθεικα. «Μὴ ἔχοντα ἀναφαινόμενον τὸ ο» διὰ τὸ ὄνειρος· ὄνοιρος γὰρ λέγεται Αἰολικῶς. «Μὴ ἔχοντα δὲ ῥῆμα ἀντιπαρακείμενον» διὰ τὸ μάγειρος.

Τὰ...13 τετραφάληρος: cf. Theognost. Can. II 71.14-8 (= 391) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηρος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικά προπαροξύτονα, μὴ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ ῥήματος τὴν γένεσιν, διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· οἶον, Ὀμηρος· Ἀβδηρος· Ἀηρος πόλις Κρητικὴ· Φάληρος· Ἄνδρος· Ἰβηρος· σίδηρος· ἄσηρος· ἐρίηρος· Σεύηρος.

13 τὰ...134.4 σημαίνει: cf. Theognost. Can. II 71.9-13 (= 390) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ηρος παράγωγα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· οἶον, ὀλισθηρός· μοχθηρός· καματηρός· αίματηρός· πονηρός· τὸ καυτειρός σεσημείωται διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον τροπῇ Βοιωτικῇ τοῦ η εἰς τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον.

5 κύριον] κύ^ο M **6** ΕΡΟΣ] έρος O **15** λαπηρός M: λυπηρός O

ἀταρτηρός τυχηρός ὀλισθηρός. ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι τὸ πόνηρος καὶ μόχθηρος οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀξύνειν προπαροξύνουσιν, ὅταν τὸν ἐπίμονον καὶ ἐπίμοχθον σημαίνει.

2 τὸ...4 σημαίνει: cf. Ptolem. *De different. vocabul.* 402.13-6 μόχθηρος καὶ πόνηρος προπαροξυτόνως, μοχθηρός ὀξυτόνως τὰ ἦθη πονηρός: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰ φαῦλα καὶ μοχθηρὰ καὶ πονηρά, ὡς Θουκυδίδης πονηρὰ τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντὶ τοῦ φαῦλα; Herenn. *Philo De divers. verb. significat.* π 140.1-9 πόνηρον, ὡς σόλοικον, καὶ πονηρόν, ὡς νοσερόν, διαφέρειν φασίν· ὁμοίως <μόχθηρος> καὶ μοχθηρός. πονηρός μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὀξυτόν[ως] ὁ κακοήθης, βαρυτόνως δὲ ὁ ἐπίπονος· ὅτι δὲ ὀξυτονεῖν ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ ἐξ ἀνάγκης σαφές. πᾶν γὰρ παρώνυμον εἰς ῥος λήγον σχηματιζόμενον τοῖς γένεσιν ὀξυτόν[ος] ἐστὶν, οἷον κάματος καματηρός, ὀλισθος ὀλισθηρός, μέλι μελιτηρός. εἰ καὶ πόνος καὶ μόχθος τὰ πρωτότυπα, πονηρός καὶ μοχθηρός ὀξυτόνως. εἰ δ' Ἀττικοὶ βαρυτονοῦσιν, οὐ θαυμαστόν· χαίρουσι γὰρ τῇ βαρύτητι; Ammon. *Diff.* 326.1-5 μοχθηρός, †μοχθη†ρος καὶ πόνηρος διαφέρουσι. μοχθηρός μὲν γὰρ ὀξυτόνως ὁ τὰ ἦθη πονηρός: λέγουσι δὲ ἀπλῶς τὰ φαῦλα καὶ μοχθηρὰ πονηρά, ὡς Θουκυδίδης (cf. 7, 48, 1; 8, 24, 5)· «πονηρὰ τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων», ἀντὶ τοῦ φαῦλα. †μοχθη†ρος δὲ ὁ ἐπίπονος, ὡς καὶ πόνηρος; 405.1-15 πόνηρον βαρυτονούμενον, ὡς σόλοικον, καὶ πονηρόν ὀξυτονούμενον, ὡς κυδοιμόν, φασὶ διαφέρειν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς· ὁμοίως μόχθηρον καὶ μοχθηρόν. πονηρός μὲν γὰρ, φασίν, ὀξυτόνως ὁ κακοήθης, πόνηρος δὲ ὁ ἐπίπονος. — «ἀτόπως», φησὶ Τρύφων (fr. 15 Vels.)· «καὶ <γὰρ> τὰ φαῦλα μόχθηρα λέγομεν. κατὰ δ' ὀξύτητα», φησὶ, «καὶ ἐπ' ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀψύχων· μοχθερᾶς γέ τοι τέχνης τὸ δημιούργημα φαμεν εἶναι. εἰ δὴ τὰ τοῦ τύπου κεκοινώνηκεν, ἄμφω ὀφείλει καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τόνων μετέχειν, †ὅτι† ὀξυτονεῖν ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ λόγος βία ἀνάγκης. πᾶν γὰρ παρώνυμον εἰς ῥος λήγον παρασχηματιζόμενον τοῖς γένεσιν ὀξυτονεῖται, οἷον κάματος, καματηρός, ὀλισθος ὀλισθηρός, μέλι μελιτηρός, τόλμα τολμηρός, νόσος νοσηρός. εἰ δὴ πόνος καὶ μόχθος τὰ πρωτότυπα, πονηρός καὶ μοχθηρός ῥητέον ὀξυτόνως. εἰ δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ βαρυτονοῦσιν, οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι· χαίρουσι γὰρ τῇ βαρύτητι

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
 παραληγόμενα τῇ ΕΙ διφθόγγῳ ἢ μόνῳ τῷ Ι
 ἐκτεταμένῳ βαρύνεται· Κάμειρος ὄνειρος
 πέπειρος μάγειρος Στάλιρος **(82.)**
 Σύσιρος. τὸ καυστειρός οὐ μάχεται ἀπὸ γὰρ 5
 τοῦ Η ἐτράπη εἰς ΕΙ.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ
 Ο σύνθετα ὄντα προπαροξύνεται κατήγορος
 συνήγορος, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ τέλει λέξομεν· νῦν δὲ 10
 διαληψόμεθα περὶ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸν τόνον ἐν τῇ

1 Τὰ ... 6 ΕΙ: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 71.19-24 (= 392.1-6) τὰ διὰ τοῦ
 ειρος προπαροξύτονα ἀπὸ ῥημάτων γινόμενα διὰ τῆς ει
 διφθόγγου γράφονται οἷον, μάσσω μάγειρος· Αἰολεῖς δὲ διὰ
 τοῦ ι· πέπτω πέπειρος· ὄνῳ τὸ ὄφελῳ ὄνειρος· αἴσσω
 αἴγειρος· ἦδω Ἄνδειρος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· κονῳ Κόνειρος
 ὄνομα ἔθνους· καίῳ καυστειρός· τοῦτο τὴν γραφὴν ἐφύλαξεν
 οὐ τὸν τόνον, ὁξύνεται γάρ; II 71.29-32 (= 393) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιρος
 ἐπὶ πόλεων βαρύντονα διὰ μαρκοῦ (*scrib.* μακροῦ) τοῦ ι
 γράφονται οἷον, Κάμιρος· Στάγιρος· Κύστιρος· Δύϊρος·
 Βεδύσιρος· Σίτιρος· Πύστιρος· τοῦτο καὶ διὰ διφθόγγου
 γράφεται; Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 177.30-4 Τὰ γὰρ εἰς ρος
 ῥηματικά τῇ ει διφθόγγῳ θέλουσι παραλήγεσθαι οἷον,
 αἰίσσω αἴγειρος· μάσσω, μάγειρος· ὄνῳ, ὄνειρος· τὸ δὲ αἰ τῆς
 πρώτης συλλαβῆς γέγονεν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴσσω αἴγειρος, κατὰ
 κρᾶσιν; 245.7-8 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ειρος προπαροξύτονα διὰ τῆς ει
 διφθόγγου γράφεται οἷον, ὄνειρος· μάγειρος; *Et. Gen.* α
 160.4-7 τὰ εἰς ρος ῥηματικά τῇ ει διφθόγγῳ θέλουσι
 παραλήγεσθαι οἷον μάσσω μάγειρος, πέπτω πέπειρος, ὄνῳ
 ὄνειρος (σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνῳ τὸ ὠφελῳ, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν
 ἰδίων ὀνείρων ὠφελήθησαν), οὕτως καὶ αἴσσω αἴγειρος; *EM*
 488.9-16 Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΙΡΟΣ ἐπὶ πόλεως λεγόμενα καὶ μὴ
 οὐδέτερα διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, Πίστιρος, Στάλιρος, Κύστιρος,
 Δύσιρος, Σίτιρος. Τὸ ἡπειρος οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν· οὐκ ἐπὶ
 πόλεως γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χωρίου· οὔτε τὸ Στάγειρος· ἔχει γὰρ
 οὐδέτερον τὰ Στάγειρα. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα διὰ τῆς ΕΙ
 διφθόγγου γράφεται χωρὶς εἰ μὴ ὧσιν ἀπὸ δισυλλάβου,
 μάγειρος, κάμειρος; Zonar. ο 1452.16-8 Ὀνειρος. παρὰ τὸ ὄνῳ,
 τὸ ὠφελῳ, ὄνειρος. ὡς πέπω πέπειρος, αἴσσω αἴγειρος,
 μάσσω μάγειρος.

2 τῇ τῇ Ο **5** Σύσιρος] Σίτιρος Lentz 198.19 e Theognost. *Can.*
 II 71.31 (= 393.3) et *EM* 488.11; Πύστιρος Lobeck *PSGP* 270, n. 38
 καυστειρός ΜΟ^{p.c.}: καυστιρός Ο^{a.c.}

προπαραληγούση· ἄνορος πάπορος
κατάκορος.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
παραληγόμενα τῷ Υ κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά, μὴ
περιεκτικά ἢ ἐπιθετικά ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν θηλυκά, 5
προπαροξύνεται· πάπυρος διάπυρος (ὁ
θερμός) μάρτυρος ἄργυρος. τὸ δὲ ἄχυρός (ὁ
ἀχυρών) παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς ὀξύνεται ὡς περιεκτικόν.
τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα θηλυκὰ τριγενῇ ὀξύνεται· λιγυρός
καπυρός ἀλμυρός ὀχυρός ἐχυρός 10
ἐκυρός (ὁ πενθερός).

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΩΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια
προπαροξύνεται· Θεόδωρος Ἀψωρος
Ἰσίδωρος. τὰ μέντοι προσηγορικά ἢ ἐπιθετικά
καὶ ὀξύνεται καὶ βαρύνεται. καὶ ὀξύνονται μέν, 15
ὅσα ἔχει ἔννοϊαν τοῦ ὦρῳ ῥήματος· θεωρός
ύληωρός ἰωρός (ὁ γνήσιος φύ(83.)λαξ)
πυλωρός. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βαρύνεται· νέωρος
ἀσχέδωρος μετέωρος ὀλίγωρος.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ 20
ΑΙ διφθόγγῳ προπαροξύνονται, κἂν ἐπιθετικά
ὑπάρχωσιν· εὐκαιρος ἄκαιρος. τὸ μέντοι
ἐταῖρος προπερισπᾶται.

3 Τὰ ... 11 πενθερός: cf. Theognost. Can. II 71.33 - 72.2 (= 394) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ υρος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε
προσηγορικά, εἴτε ὀξύτονα, εἴτε βαρύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ
γράφονται· οἶον, πόρφυρος· πάπυρος· Ἰπυρος ὄνομα
ποταμοῦ· Μάνθυρος· ἐκυρός· ἰσχυρός· βδελυρός· ἀλμυρός.

2 κατάκορος O: κατάμορος M **6** διάπυρος ... 7 θερμός
Schmidt 82.11: δίπυρος ὁ θερμός MO **7** ὁ ... 8 ἀχυρών om. O^{a.c.}
10 ἀλμυρός MO^{p.c.}: ἀρμυρός O^{a.c.} ὀχυρός] οχυρός spiritu
incerto M ἐχυρός O: ἐχυρός M **11** ἐκυρός Schmidt 82.14-5:
εκυρός spiritu incerto M: ἐκυρός O **16** ὦρῳ Schmidt 82.19:
ωρος MO **17** ύληωρός Schmidt 82.20: ύλιωρός (ύλιωρος sine
accentu A) MO ὁ ... φύλαξ] οἱ γνήσιοι φύλακες M^{s.l.}: om.
M^{i.l.} AO **18** νέωρος] Schmidt 83.1 (app. crit.): 'offendit νέωρος
pro νεωρός, haud scio an trasponendum' **19** ἀσχέδωρος em.
Nauck (1848), 118: ἀσχέωρος MO **21** προπαροξύνονται]
προπαροξύνεται O **22** εὐκαιρος ἄκαιρος] Schmidt 83.5 (app.
crit.) ὥσπερ ἔχει εὐκαιρος ἄκαιρος· Πάλαιρος Χήμαιρος malit
coll. Herod. π.μ.λ. 927.12-4

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ
ΑΥ διφθόγγῳ, μὴ ἔχοντα θηλυκά,
προπαροξύνεται· Πίσαυρος Ἐπίδauρος
Κένταυρος Ἄναυρος. τὸ δὲ θησαυρός ὡς
περιεκτικὸν ὀξύνεται, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τριγενῆ 5
ἀμαυρός ἀφαυρός.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
παραληγόμενα <τῇ> ΟΥ προπαροξύνεται·
ἐπίκουρος ἐπάρουρος (ὁ κηπουρός)
Ἑλουρος (ἐθνικόν) μελάνουρος 10
παλίνουρος παλίουρος (τὸ φυτόν).
σεσημείωται νομηουρός (ὁ τὴν νομὴν
φυλάττων) καὶ ὕλοκουρός (ὁ τὴν ὕλην τέμνων).

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ τρισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ ΟΥ
ὀξύνεται, εἰ ἔχοι τὴν ἀρχουσαν μακράν· 15
οἰκουρός κηπουρός τηλουρός (ὁ μακράν
ὦν). τὰ μέντοι προπερισπώμενα τρισύλλαβα
ὀρᾶται ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ ΟΥ δύο σύμφωνα ἢ
καὶ πλείω τῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν τῆς δευτέρας
συζυγίας τῶν βαρυτόνων· ἀρκτοῦρος (84.) 20
ἀγχοῦρος κλαγγοῦρος (ὁ κρακτικός). τὸ δὲ
Λάμπουρος προπαροξύνεται καὶ τὸ
κέρκουρος εἶδος πλοίου.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς
συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ΝΕ ὀξύνεται 25
νεκρός νεβρός νεφρός.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς τοῦ Γ

1 Τὰ...6 ἀφαυρός: cf. sch. Hes. *Th.* 832.2-7 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ρος
ὀνόματα, τῇ αὐ διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενα, ἔχοντα κατ' ἰδίαν
θηλυκά ὀξύνονται, οἷον ἀφαυρός καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. τὸ δὲ
ἄγαιρος βαρύνεται, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ α ἐκ δισυλλάβου τοῦ
γαῦρος γινόμενον. τὰ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντα θηλυκά
προπαροξύνεσθαι θέλει, οἷον Ἐπίδauρος, ὄνομα πόλεως,
Ἄγραυλος, Κένταυρος. σεσημείωται τὸ θησαυρός
ὀξυνόμενον.

3 Πίσαυρος] ἴσαυρος dubitanter Schmidt 83.8 (app. crit.)
7 συλλαβὰς] συλλαλὰς (sic) O **8** <τῇ> addidi **10** ἐθνικόν
M^{i.m.} (prope ἔλουρος) O: om. M^{i.t.} **12** νομηουρός Lobeck PGSE¹
466: νομοουρός M: νομιουρός O; νομοουρός Götting
21 κλαγγοῦρος M: γλαγγοῦρος O **24** εἰς] διὰ τοῦ νεβ (verba
deleta leguntur) εἰς M

βαρύνεται μονογενῇ ὄντα· φάγρος πάγρος γόγγρος. τὰ δὲ τριγενῇ ὀξύνεται· λυγρός ὕγρος μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἀγρός.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα Δ μονογενῇ βαρύνεται· Ἄνδρος Κόδρος Φαῖδρος (τὸ κύριον)· φαιδρός δὲ (ὁ λαμπρός) ὀξύνεται, ὡς καὶ τὸ κυδρός (ὁ τίμιος). σεσημείωται τὸ χονδρός ὀξυνόμενον (οὐ τὸ ἐπίθετον τριγενὲς ὄν, ἀλλὰ τὸ προσηγορικόν, εἶδος ἐντέρου ὄν).

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα τριγενῇ ἔχοντα δασὺ πρὸ τοῦ Ρ ὀξύνεται· νωθρός σαθρός ψυχρός ἐχθρός αἰσχρός στιφρός (ὁ συνεστραμμένος). σεσημείωται τὸ γλίσχρος.

Τὰ εἰς ΚΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα ὀξύνεται· μακρός μικρός πικρός νεκρός Λοκρός Τευκρός (τὸ ἐθνικόν, Τεῦκρος δὲ τὸ κύριον). Τὸ δὲ ἄκρος καὶ ἵκρος βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα Π πρὸ τοῦ Ρ **μο(85.)**νογενῇ μὲν παροξύνεται· κόπρος κάπρος Κύπρος Λάμπρος (τὸ κύριον, λαμπρός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον). τριγενῇ δὲ ὄντα ὀξύνεται· σαπρός λεπρός λυπρός.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Ρ τὸ Τ μόνον ἢ μεθ' ἑτέρου <συμφώνου> μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται· χύτρος Λεῦκτρος οἷστρος βόστρος Ἰστρος. τὸ δὲ δαιτρός ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ οἰκτρός, ἔτι καὶ τὸ φιτρός (ὁ κορμός).

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΡΡ ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα ὀξύνεται·

5 Φαῖδρος...**6** ὀξύνεται: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. τον. recensio a φ 4 Φαῖδρος· τὸ κύριον προπερισπᾶται, φαιδρός· ὁ λαμπρός ὀξύνεται; cf. recensio b φ 6; recensio c φ 4; recensio d φ 4; recensio e φ 2 **21** Λάμπρος...**22** ἐπίθετον: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e λ 7 Λάμπρος· κύριον, λαμπρός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον

1 πάγρος M: πάτρος O **14** ΚΡΟΣ] Schmidt 84.21: ρος MO **17** κύριον] κύ^ο M **18** βαρύνεται (βαρύ supra ὀξύ, ut fiat βαρύνεται) O^{p.c.}: ὀξύνεται O^{a.c.} **25** <συμφώνου> add. Lentz 204.13; lacunam iam statuit Schmidt 85.5 **26** Λεῦκτρος] Λεύκτρος MO **27** δαιτρός] δαιστρος O

στερρός πυρρός (τὸ ἐπίθετον). Πύρρος δὲ τὸ κύριον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Ὑρρος.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου ὀξύνεται ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα· φαλακρός μολοβρός ἐρυθρός. τὰ δὲ σύνθετα τῆς κατὰ τὸ τέλος συνθέσεως ὑπερβαινούσης μίαν συλλαβὴν βαρύνεται· δείλανδρος ἄνανδρος ἔνυδρος ἄνυδρος ὕπανδρος φίλανδρος ἄϊδρος.

Τὰ εἰς ΡΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς κύρια ὄντα μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς συμφώνου προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἔθνικα εἴη· Μίνυθρος Ἑρυθρος Χάραδρος (ποταμός) Σκάμανδρος. τὸ δὲ Οἰνωτρός κύριον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἔθνος.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ διβράχεια βαρύνεται· Θάσος Κάσος δρόσος πίσος (τὸ ὄσπριον) μέσος ἴσος πόσος.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ δισύλλαβα τῷ Η παραληγόμενα βαρύνεται· νῆσος Βῆσος Μνῆσος Ῥῆσος.

(86.) Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ θηλυκὰ δισύλλαβα τῷ Ω παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται· κρωσός (ἡ ὕδρία)

1 πυρρός...**2** κύριον: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio a π 22 Πύρρος· τὸ κύριον παροξύνεται. πυρρός· ὁ ξανθὸς ὀξύνεται; recensio b π 6 Πύρρος· τὸ κύριον παροξύνεται, πυρρός· τὸ τριγενὲς ὀξύνεται; recensio c π 18 Πύρρος· τὸ κύριον, πυρρός· ὁ ξανθὸς καὶ ὁ σῖτος; cf. recensio d π 20; recensio e π 27 Πύρρος· κύριον, πυρρός· ὁ ξανθὸς **18** Τὰ...**19** Ῥῆσος: cf. Theognost. Can. II 72.6-8 (= 396) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ησος βαρύτερα δισύλλαβα κύρια τε καὶ προσηγορικὰ διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται· οἶον, Κῆσος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Κτῆσος· Βῆσος· Μνῆσος· Δρῆσος· νῆσος· Ῥῆσος.

2 κύριον] κύ^o M Ὑρρος] fortasse Κύρρος (St. Byz. 397.11; Zonar. κ 1268.1); Lentz 204.23-4 Ὑρρος retinuit et Κύρρος postea addidit **3** ὑπερδισύλλαβα] ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς **O** **8** ἔνυδρος M: ἄνυδρος **O** **14** κύριον **O**: κύ^o M **15** βαρύνεται MO^{p.c.}: τῷ η παραληγόμενα (haec verba postea deleta a scriptore) βαρύνεται O^{a.c.} **16** Κάσος] θράσος MO **16** Κάσος] σάκος **O** **18** ΣΟΣ] ος **O** **20** θηλυκὰ M^{i.m.}**O**: om. M^{i.t.}

Κνωσός. τὸ μέντοι Σῶσος ἀπὸ τοῦ σώσω βαρύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ μονογενῇ παραληγόμενα διχρόνῳ ἐκτεταμένῳ βαρύνεται· 5
Ἰσος (τὸ κύριον) Κῖσος Κρῖσος (τὸ κύριον)
Πῖσος (τὸ κύριον). τὸ δὲ Λισός ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ
Μυσός (ἐθνικόν), ἔτι καὶ τὸ χρυσός.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα διφθόγῳ ὀξύνεται, ὅτε ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη, ἢ ἐπὶ πόλεων κεῖται· Παισός (πόλις) Λουσός 10
Πραισός. Ἐτι ὀξύνεται καὶ τὰ ἐπιθετικά·
βλαιοσός. τὸ μέντοι Ναῖσος βαρύνεται, καὶ
Βλαῖσος (κύριον) καὶ τὸ γαιῖσος
(προσηγορικόν, εἶδος δόρατος ὄν).

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς ἀμετάβολον λήγουσαν βαρύνεται· εἰ 15
δὲ τι εὐρεθῇ ὀξυνόμενον, τοῦτο ὥφθη ἐν τῇ πρὸ
τέλους συλλαβῇ ἔχον Ι ἢ Α. καὶ βαρύνεται μὲν
ταῦτα· κόρσος (ὁ κρόταφος) μόλσος (ὁ δῆμιος)

3 Τὰ...7 χρυσός: cf. Theognost. Can. II 72.13-5 (= 398) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ισος δισύλλαβα κύρια μονογενῇ βαρύνοντα διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ ι γράφει τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, Κρῖσος· Ῥῖσος· Ἰσος· Κῖσος· Πῖσος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πῖσα ἢ πόλις. **8** Τὰ...14 ὄν: cf. Theognost. Can. II 72.22-6 (= 400) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰσος δισύλλαβα ὀξύνοντα διὰ τῆς αἰ διφθόγου γράφονται· οἶον, Παισός· Πραισός, ὄνομα ἔθνους· βλαιοσός· τὸ Ναῖσος ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸ παῖσος ἐπὶ τοῦ δόρατος, καὶ τὸ γαιῖσος βαρύνοντα κατὰ τόνον μόνον οὐ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν διήλλαξαν. **15** Τὰ... 141.7 εἶη: cf. St. Byz. α 24.3-6 τὰ εἰς σος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους εἰς ἀμετάβολον λήγουσαν βαρύνεται, Μάγαρσος πόλις Κιλικίας, Μαίμαρσος πόλις Ἰστρων. οὕτως Ἀγάθυρσος, καὶ κύριον καὶ ἐθνικόν.

1 Κνωσός M: om. O Σῶσος MO^{p.c.} (σ supra κ, ut fiat σώσος): κῶσος O^{a.c.} **5** Ἰσος em. Theognost. Can. II 72.15 (= 398.3): ἴσος MO κύριον¹ O: κύ^e M Κῖσος em. Theognost. Can. II 72.15 (= 398.3): κίνσος MO Κρῖσος em. Theognost. Can. II 72.14 (= 398.2): κρίσος MO κύριον² O: κύ^e M **6** Πῖσος em. Theognost. Can. II 72.15 (398.3): πίσος MO κύριον O: κύ^e M **8** Τὰ] ἃ O **10** πόλις] πόλ^λ O **12** Ναῖσος MO^{p.c.}: βλ (postea expunctum) ναῖσος O^{a.c.} **13** κύριον O: κύ^e M **15** ΣΟΣ A: ος MO **19** δῆμιος] δῆμος Hesychius

καὶ τὸ σέλινον) μόρσος χέρσος θύρσος
 μύρσος. σεσημείωται τὸ **(87.)** πυρσός
 ὀξυνόμενον, τὸ κιρσός καὶ τάρσος. τὰ δὲ
 ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ ἀμεταβόλου τὸ Α ἐν
 τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ βαρύνεται· Βάγαρσος 5
 Μέγαρσος. τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τὸ
 Ἀγάθυρσος εἴτε κύριον εἴτε ἐθνικὸν εἶη.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα καὶ ἕτερον Σ
 <οῦ> κλιτικὸν ἐν τῇ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβῇ μὴ κατὰ
 πάθος ὀξύνεται· Βεσσός (τὸ ἐθνικόν) Θυσσός 10
 Ἀσσός δισσός τρισσός κισσός. <....>
 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ Ὑσος καὶ Νέσος ἐπὶ τοῦ
 Κενταύρου. τὸ γὰρ γλωσσός (ὁ λάλος) παρὰ τὸ
 γλώσσα γέγονε παρωνύμως. τὸ δὲ κάσος ἀπὸ
 τοῦ κάσος γίνεται κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ Σ· ἔστι δὲ 15
 εἶδος ἱματίου.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὸ Α
 συνεσταλμένον, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Σ,
 προπαροξύνονται· κόμπασος ἄρπασος
 Δάμασος βαύνασος καὶ βάνανσος. 20
 σημειῶσαι τὸ κερασός φυτὸν ὀξυνόμενον, τὴν
 δὲ πόλιν βαρύνουσι. τὸ μέντοι τὲγγυασός

1 θύρσος Götting: θέρσος MO **3** κιρσός Meineke 12, n. 5:
 κισσός MO τάρσος MO: Ταρσός Götting (1835), 210; ὀρσός
 Meineke St. Byz. 12, n. 5 **5** Βάγαρσος... **6** Μέγαρσος] fortasse
 Μάγαρσος Μαίμαρσος (e St. Byz. α 24.4-5); iam proposuit
 Schmidt 87.3 (app. crit.), sed inv. ord.; fallitur L. Dindorf TGL II
 11C; cf. Lyc. 1145 444, Arrh. Anab. II 5.9 Βάγαρσος em.
 Meineke 12, n. 5: βάγαρος M: βάγασος O **6** Μέγαρσος em.
 Meineke 12, n. 5: μέγαρος MO; Μάγαρσος Lentz 207.28-9 (app.
 crit.) e St. Byz. α 24.4-5, 424.6 **9** <οῦ>] addidi **10** Βεσσός]
 Βυσσός malit Meineke St. Byz. 190.16 **11** κισσός] Götting
 (1835), 211: 'κισσός. Κίσσος δὲ τὸ κύριον παροξύνεται
 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ βύσος καὶ Νέσος ἐπὶ τοῦ Κενταύρου'
12 Νέσος Schmidt 87.10: ἔσος MO **15** γίνεται] γέγονε O
17 ΣΟΣ A: ος MO **19** προπαροξύνονται] προπαροξύνεται O
 κόμπασος] Κάμπασος malit Lob. Proll. 405, sed vide
 Diogenian. 5.46 **20** βαύνασος... βάνανσος M: βαύσανος O
 καὶ] τὸ καὶ dubitanter Schmidt 87.16 (app. crit.) **22** πόλιν
 MO^{p.c.}: πόσλιν O^{a.c.} τὲγγυασός MO; vide Lobeck PSGP 407-8 et
 Lehrs (1857), 374

ἐκτετα(88.)μένον ἔχον τὸ Α ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ Παρνασσός δύο ΣΣ ἔχον.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ τῷ Ε παραληγόμενα σπάνια ἐν Σ ἔχοντα προπαροξύνεται Ἐφεσος Ἐρεσος. τὸ μέντοι 5
Θυεσσός δύο ΣΣ ἔχον ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα τῷ Η παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται· εἰ δέ τι βαρύτονον εἶη, παρώνυμον ἂν εἶη ἢ ἔννοϊαν συνθέσεως ἔχον· 10
Ταρτησσός Λυρνησσός Λυκαβησσός. τὸ

3 Τὰ ...6 ὀξύνεται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 72.27-30 (= 401) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εσος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπαροξύτονα σπάνια· τὰ δ' ὄντα διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφονται οἷον, Ἐφεσος, Ἐρεσος, ὀνόματα πόλεων· τὸ Εὐεσσός σεσημειώται διὰ δύο σσ γραφόμενον· ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα πόλεως. **7** Τὰ ...143.4

σύνθετα: cf. sch. Hom. *II.* 12.20b.10-4 τὰ εἰς σος λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξυνόμενα, τῷ η παραληγόμενα, ἔτερον ἔχοντα ς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν ἀναδεξάμενον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐξήλλαξεν αὐτὸ τῆς ἐκείνων τάσεως, εἶγε τὸ Ἀλικαρνησσός δισσὸν ἔχει τὸ ς, Λυκαβησσός, Ταρτησσός, τὸ μέντοι Κάρησος ἐν ἔχει τὸ ς. ἴσως οὖν διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηλλάγη; Theognost. *Can.* II 72.31 - 73.4 (= 402) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ησος ὀξύτονα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς διὰ τοῦ η καὶ δύο σσ γράφονται οἷον, Μυκαλησσός· Τευμησσός· Ταρτησσός· ὀνόματα ποταμῶν Λυρνησσός ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Ἐλβησσός ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· Ὀρδησσός· Μοδησσός· Σαλμυδησσός· τὸ Κέησος· Βρίλησος δι' ἑνὸς σ γραφόμενα βαρύνονται· τὸ Μαρπησσός παρώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρπήσας, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλισσα Μέλισσος; Eust. *II.* III 345.4-10 Τὰ εἰς σος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῷ η παραληγόμενα ἔχοντα καὶ ἔτερον σ ὀξύνεται· Ἀλικαρνασσός, Λυκαβησσός, Ταρτησσός, Λυρνησσός. τὸ Κάρησος, μὴ δισσὸν ἔχον τὸ σ, ἐξηλλάγη κατὰ Αρίσταρχον, εἰ καὶ ὁ Τυραννίων οὐ βούλεται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρήσου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρα τις Καρησηνὴ λέγεται, ἣν ὁ ἰδιωτισμὸς Κερασηνὴν φησιν. ὁ δὲ Γεωγράφος λέγει, ὅτι Καρησηνὴ ὀρεινὴ ἀπὸ Καρήσου ποταμοῦ, ὅς νῦν, φησί, καλεῖται Ῥοῖτης, δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν Γράνικον.

5 προπαροξύνεται om. MO **6** Θυεσσός] Εὐεσσός Theognost. *Can.* II 72.29 (= 401.3) **10** Λυκαβησσός M^{i.l.}O^{i.l.}, sed tt supra σσ ut fiat Λυκαβηττός M^{s.l.}O^{s.l.}

μέντοι Κάρησος τινές βαρύνουσι. βαρύνεται δὲ ταῦτα· Μάρπησος ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάρπησσα. τὸ δὲ Μυόννησος Χερρόνησος Προκόννησος Ἐλαφόννησος Πελοπόννησος σύνθετα.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΣΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα πρὸ 5
τοῦ τέλους Ι εἰς Σ καταλήγον μονογενῇ ὄντα
προπαροξύνεται· κυπάρισσος νάρκισσος
(καὶ τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τὸ κύριον) Μέλισσος. τὸ
μέντοι περισσός τριγενές. σεσημείωται τὸ
Τελμισσός. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα τὴν
πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς Ι ἐκτεταμένον λήγουσαν
ὀξύνεται· εἰ δέ τι βεβαρυτόνηται, τοῦτο
παρώνυμον ὥφθη ἀπὸ θηλυκοῦ· Κηφισός
Ἴλισός Κερδισός. τὸ δὲ Ἄρκισος Ἄρκισα, 15
Λάρισος Λάρισα ἀπὸ θηλυκῶν.

5 Τὰ... **10** Τελμισσός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 73.5-11 (= 403) Τὰ
διὰ τοῦ ἴσος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾶ μονογενῇ
προσηγορικὰ προπαροξύτονα, ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους εἰς σ
καταλήγουσαν, διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· οἷον κυπάρισσος·
νάρκισσος· Μέλισσος· Κύρμισσος· Πόλισσος· Ἀρχέμισσος
ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· τὸ περισσός τὸν τόνον ἀμείψαν τὴν γραφὴν
ἐφύλαξεν· τὸ Χερρόνησος, Μυόννησος, ὀνόματα πόλεων οὐχ
ἀπλᾶ. **11** Τὰ... **16** θηλυκῶν: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 73.12-8 (= 404)
Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἴσος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύτονα κύριά τε
καὶ προσηγορικὰ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφονται· δηλονότι τῆς
παραληγουσῆς δι' ἑνὸς σ ἐκφερομένης· οἷον, Ἄρνισος ὁ
ποταμός· Κήφισος· Ἐλισος· Λάνισος· Νήριος· Ἄρισος ὁ
ποταμός· Πάμισος· Λάρισος· Ρίμισος ὁ ποταμός Σικελίας·
Κρίμιος· Μόρμιος ὁ ποταμός· ἄϊος· ὕβριος· τὸ Ἀμισός
τὸν τόνον ἀμείψαν τὴν γραφὴν ἐφύλαξεν.

1 Κάρησος Lentz 211.18 e sch. Hom. *II.* 12.20b.14; cf. Eust. *II.* III
345.6: κάρησος ΜΟ τινές om. Ο **2** Μάρπησσα] Μαρχήσας
Theognost. *Can.* II 73.3 (= 402.6) **3** Μυόννησος] μυόννησος
ΜΟ Προκόννησος Schmidt 88.12: προικόννησος ΜΟ
4 Πελοπόννησος] πελοπόννησος ΜΟ **5** ΣΣΟΣ] σος Ο
8 κύριον] κύρ Μ **15** Ἴλισός Κερδισός] ἱλισσός κερδισσός Ο
Ἄρκισος Μ: ἄρκισσος Ο Ἄρκισα Μ: ἄρκισσα Ο

(89.) Τὰ εἰς ΣΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα τῷ Ο παραληγόμενα ἐν διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ Σ ὀξύνεται· νεοσσός· κολοσσός· Μολοσσός.

Τὰ εἰς δύο ΣΣ παραληγόμενα τῷ Υ
<.....> 5
.....> προπαροξύνεται· μέθυσος
γόγγυσος· Διόνυσος.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΣΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῷ Ω παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται· Κερωσσός. τὸ δὲ ἄλωσος ἐν Σ ἔχει. 10

<.....>

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῇ ΟΥ

1 Τὰ...3 Μολοσσός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 73.19-22 (= 405) Τὰ κατὰ διπλασιασμὸν τοῦ σ ὀξύτονα τὸ ο παραληγόμενα πάνυ σπάνια, καὶ σχεδὸν ὠρισμένα· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ Μολοσσὸν ὄνομα ἔθνους, καὶ τὸ νεοσσός· Κολοσσός καὶ μόνον. **4** Τὰ...7

Διόνυσος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 73.23-9 (= 406) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υσος ἅπαντα, εἴτε δι' ἑνὸς σ ἐκφέροντο, εἴτε διὰ δύο, εἴτε δισύλλαβα, εἴτε ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, βύσος ὁ βυθός· Ὀνυσος ὁ ποταμός· μέθυσος· Διόνυσος· Βρύσος ὁ λιμήν· ἄφυσος· ἄρυσος ἀγγεῖον πλεκτὸν σφυριδῶδες· Γένυσος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ διὰ δύο σσ· Ἀμβρυσος· σεσημείωται τὸ Κροῖσος διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον. **8** Τὰ...10 ἔχει: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 74.1-6 (= 408) Τὰ (addidi) εἰς ος λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς καὶ διὰ δισσοῦ σ προσφερόμενα, καὶ τὸ ω παραληγόμενα σπάνιά ἐστιν· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ Βήρωσος διὰ δύο σσ προσφερόμενον, καὶ τὸ Κερωσσός ὀξυνόμενον· ἔστι δὲ πόλις Ἀπολλωνιάδος· καὶ τὸ Βλώσος βαρύτονον παρὰ τὸν βλώσω μέλλοντα γεγονός, καὶ δι' ἑνὸς σ γραφόμενον. **12** Τὰ...145.7 ἐθνικόν: cf.

Theognost. *Can.* II 74.7-13 (= 409-10) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ οἰτος δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικά, μὴ ἐπιθετικά βαρύτονα διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γράφονται· οἶον, μοῖτος· οἶτος· κοῖτος· Προῖτος· γοῖτος ὁ ῥύπος· φοῖτος. Τὰ διὰ τοῦ αἰτος δισύλλαβα βαρύτονα, μὴ ἐπιθετικά, τῇ αἰ διφθόγγῳ παραλήγεται· οἶον,

1 τῷ τῷ Μ **2** Σ] ε Ο **5** <>] cf. Lobeck *PSGP* 417 **6** μέθυσος... **7** Διόνυσος] μέθυσος γόγγυσος (γόγγυσος M^{ac}.) διόνυσος ΜΟ **10** ἄλωσος Μ: ἄλωσος Ο; Βλώσος Theognost. *Can.* II 74.5 (= 408.5); cf. Lobeck *PSGP* 418; Ἀμβρωσος Paus. 10.3.2 **11** <>] Schmidt 89.11 (app. crit.): 'exciderunt exempla in ΑΙΣΟΣ terminatorum e Theognost. *Can.* II 73.30 St. Byz. 502.15 repetenda'

ἢ ΟΙ ἢ ΑΙ διφθόγγω, μὴ τῇ ΕΙ, ἀρσενικὰ ὄντα μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ μέρος σώματος σημαίνοι· πλοῦτος οἶτος κοιτός Προῖτος γοῖτος (ὁ ῥῦπος) Λαῖτος βροῦτος. τὸ δὲ Κλειτός ἔχει τὴν ΕΙ· καὶ τὸ γλουτός μέρος σώματος δηλοῖ· καὶ τὸ Βουτός θηλυκὸν (κώμη Αἰγύπτου) καὶ τὸ Παιτός ἐθνικόν. 5

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα ἐνὶ τῶν φύσει μακρῶν κύρια ὄντα βαρύνεται· Κλητός Δωτός Ὠτος. τὸ μέντοι λωτός οὐ κύριον. εἰ μέντοι **(90.)** ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη παραληγόμενα τῷ Η ἢ τῷ Ω, ὁξύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀριθμοῦ τάττοιτο· ῥητός πλωτός πρωτός (ὁ πεπρωμένος)· πρῶτος δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριθμοῦ. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ διβράχεια μονογενῇ βαρύνεται, 15

Λαῖτος· Παῖτος· οἷς ἀκόλουθον καὶ τὸ Κλοιτός διὰ τῆς οἱ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ τῆς αἰ· σεσημείωται τὸ ἔτος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρόνου. **8** Τὰ ... 14 ἀριθμοῦ· cf. Theognost.

Can. II 74.14-21 (= 411) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ητος ἢ ωτος, κύρια ἢ ἐπιθετικὰ δισύλλαβα, τὴν πρὸ τέλους ἔχει διὰ τοῦ η, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ω· οἶον, Κλητός ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· νητός· ῥητός· κρητός· τρητός· Δωτός· Κνωτός· Ὠτος ὄνομα κύριον καὶ τὸ ὄρνεον· νῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς ψόας, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἀνεμοῦ (*scrib.* ἀνέμου) διὰ τοῦ ο μικροῦ· πλωτός· στρωτός· γνωτός· καὶ ἐν πλεονασμῷ τοῦ σ γνωστός· πτωτός· βωτός· οἷς ἀκόλουθον τὸ πρῶτος οὐ κατὰ τόνον ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν. **15** Τὰ ... 146.7

ὁξύνεται· cf. *sch.* Hom. II. 6.202c τὰ γὰρ εἰς τος λήγοντα δισύλλαβα, βραχεῖα παραληγόμενα, μονογενῇ βαρύνεται, κρότος, κότος, μίτος, «Νότος» (B 145 al.), πότος. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ πάτος. δοκεῖ ἀντικειῖσθαι τὸ «στρατός» (ω 81)· τὸ γὰρ «βροτός» (Γ 223 al.) κατὰ δύο τρόπους ἀποφεύγει, ὅτι καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἔχει ἀντέμφασιν; *Et. Gud.* β 263.19-264.2 Τὰ εἰς τος λήγοντα ὀνόματα βραχεῖα παραληγόμενα μονογενῇ πρὸ

1 τῇ] τῇ M **3** σημαίνοι] σημαίν MO κοιτός *scripsi*: κλοῖτος MO; Κλοιτός Theognost. *Can.* II 74.12 (= 410.3) **4** ῥῦπος] ῥύπος MO De Λαῖτος βροῦτος vide Hsch. **5** De Κλειτός vide Hdn. II. Pros. O 445; Lehrs (1833), 291; Götting (1835), 223 τὴν MO^{p.c.}: τῇ O^{a.c.} **6** θηλυκὸν ... 7 Αἰγύπτου] malim (κώμη Αἰγύπτου) θηλυκόν **9** φύσει] διφθόγγων (*deletum*) φύσει M **11** ἐπιθετικὰ... παραληγόμενα MO^{p.c.} (παραληγόμενα O^{a.c.}) **12** τῷ O: τῷ M **15** διβράχεια] δισύλλαβα O

όποτε μὴ ἐπ' ἀθροίσματος ἢ κύρια εἰσιν ἀπὸ ἐπιθετικῶν βάτος λάτος βρότος (τὸ αἶμα, βροτός δὲ ὁ φθαρτός τὸ τριγενές) πότος (τὸ συμπόσιον, ποτός δὲ τὸ πινόμενον) πάτος (ἢ ἀναστροφή) Στράτος (τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ 5 ἀθροίσματος, στρατός δὲ τὸ σύναγμα). τὸ δὲ Κριτός καὶ Κλιτός ὁξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ διβράχεια ἐπιθετικὰ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀριθμοῦ ταπτόμενα ὁξύνεται· βατός φατός 10 θετός πλυτός. τὸ δὲ τρίτος ἐπὶ ἀριθμοῦ.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα I

μιᾶς τὸν τόνον ἔχει, οἷον κότος κρότος σκότος βάτος πάτος πλάτος. σεσημειῶται τὸ βροτός καὶ στρατός ὁξυνόμενα; *EM* 656.17-21 Τὰ γὰρ εἰς ΤΟΣ λήγοντα δισύλλαβα βραχεία παραληγόμενα μονογενῇ, βαρύνεται, κρότος, νότος, μίτος, πότος· οὕτω καὶ πάτος. Δοκεῖ ἀντικειῖσθαι τὸ στρατός· τὸ γὰρ βροτός κατὰ δύο τρόπους ἀποφεύγει· ὅτι καὶ κοινόν, καὶ ἔχει ἀντέμφασιν. **3** πότος... 4 πινόμενον: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διαφ. σημ. recensio a π 17 πότος· τὸ συμπόσιον παροξύνεται, ποτός· τὸ πινόμενον ὁξύνεται. **11** Τὰ...

147.2 τριγενές; cf. Theognost. Can. II 74.25-9 (= 413) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιτος δισύλλαβα βαρύνοντα διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ ι γράφονται οἷον, ῥίτος· σῖτος· μίτος· Τρίτος ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ βραχὺ τὸ ι· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τίτος διὰ βραχὺ τοῦ ι· τὸ λιτός ὁ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν οὐ δὲ κατὰ χρόνον, ἢ μόνον διήλλαξεν; Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 256.13-8 Τεῖτος· εἰ δίφθογγος, ἢ ῥίτος ι· ῥητοὶ δὲ εἰσι ποταμοὶ δύο διὰ φάραγγος ὑπὸ γῆν ῥέοντες· ἔνθα φησὶν ὡς πλησίον (scrib. πλησίον) Ἐλευσίνος· καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὁ Ὠρος διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφει, ὁξύνονον γὰρ ὡς τὸ κλειτός· ὁ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ καθόλου λέγει ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται, καὶ βαρύνεται· οἷον, ῥίτος· σῖτος· Τρίτος, ἔστιν δὲ ὄνομα ποταμοῦ; *Et. Gen.* λ 183.1-9 Λιτός· σημαίνει τὸν εὐτελῆ καὶ ἀποίκιον χιτῶνα. λέγει ὁ Δίδυμος παρὰ τὸ λεῖος εἶναι, διὰ τοῦ εἰ. ἢ δὲ παράδοσις διὰ τοῦ ι, ὡς φησὶν Φιλόξενος· τὰ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ΙΤΟΣ ἀποστρέφονται τὴν <διὰ τῆς> Εἰ διφθόγγου γραφὴν, οἷον· σῖτος· ἐπαφρόδιτος· λήιτος· Θεοδώριτος· Μούνιτος. οὕτως οὖν καὶ λιτός διὰ τοῦ Ι. δεῖ προσθεῖναι· χωρὶς τοῦ κλειτός καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτό, οἷον Ἡράκλειτος· Πολύκλειτος· ἀγάκλειτος.

1 ἐπ' Μ: ἐπὶ Ο ἢ... εἰσιν] ἢ κύρια εἰσιν Μ: εἰσὶν Ο **4** ποτός ΜΟ^{a.c.}: ποτος since accentu Ο^{p.c.} **10** τὸ... ἀριθμοῦ] βαρύνεται addi iubet Lobeck *PGG* 351, n. 51

μακρῶ βαρύνεται· σῖτος Τρῖτος (ὁ ποταμός)
 ῥῖτος (φρέαρ). τὸ μέντοι λιτός τριγενές.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα τῷ Υ
 προσηγορικὰ ὀξύνεται· βρυτός (ὁ βρύων) χυτός
 ῥυτός λυτός κλυτός.

5

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους
 συλλαβὴν εἰς Ρ καταλήγουσαν ἢ καθ' ὅλου εἰς
 ἀμετάβολον βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη ἔχοντα
 θηλυκόν· φόρτος χόρτος Μύρτος (τὸ κύριον)
 ἄρτος μίλ(91.)τος δέλτος. σεσημείωται
 κοντός καὶ παλτός ὀξυνόμενα. τὸ δὲ
 σπαρτός κυρτός καρτός τιλτός ὀξύνονται
 ὡς θηλυκὰ ἔχοντα.

10

Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ ὀξύνεται, εἰ
 μὴ ἢ πρὸ τέλους συλλαβὴ ἔχοι τι τῶν φύσει
 βραχέων· ἰστός Σηστός παστός μαστός
 ξυστός. τὸ Φαῖστος (ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥρωος) βαρύνεται.

15

περὶ τοῦ Τρίτος, ὃ ἐστὶ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ὁ μὲν Ἡρωδιανὸς
 βαρύνει καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ι γράφει, ὁ δ' Ὡρος ὀξύνει καὶ διὰ τῆς Εἰ
 διφθόγγου; *Et. Gud.* σ 501.27-30 Τὰ εἰς τος δισύλλαβα
 μονογενῇ, παραληγόμενα τῷ ἰῶτα ἐκτεταμένῳ βαρύνεται,
 οἶον κῖτος, μῖτος, τῖτος· οὕτως οὖν καὶ σῖτος· τὸ μέντοι
 λιτός τριγενές ὃν ὀξύνεται; *EM* 714.43-9 τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ
 δισύλλαβα μονογενῇ παραληγόμενα τῷ ι ἐκτεινομένῳ
 βαρύνεται, κῖτος, μῖτος, Τῖτος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ
 ἀριθμοῦ, βραχύνεται τὸ ι οὕτω καὶ σῖτος. τὸ λιτός, οὐ κατὰ
 τὴν γραφὴν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ μὴ μόνον περὶ τὸν
 τόνον διήλλαξε· τὸ μέντοι λιτός, τριγενές ὃν, ὀξύνεται.
3 Τὰ...5 κλυτός: cf. *Theognost. Can.* II 74.30-2 (= 414) Τὰ διὰ
 τοῦ υτος δισύλλαβα ὀξύτονα διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται ἀπὸ
 ῥημάτων γινόμενα· οἶον, χυτός· ῥυτός· βρυτός· πλυτός·
 κλυτός· τρυτός.

1 Τρῖτος O: τρίτος M **2** ῥῖτος *Theognost. Can.* II 74.26 (= 413.2),
 ῥῖτος Lobeck *PGG* 351, n. 51: ῥίτος MO **4** βρύων] βρύχων
 M^{a.c.}, ut videtur; suspectum **7** καθ' ὅλου] καθόλου MO
8 ἐπιθετικὰ Schmidt: ἐθνικὰ MO **9** κύριον O: κύ⁹ M
11 παλτός Lobeck *PGG* 351, n. 51: πλατός MO **12** τιλτός
 scripsi: τικτός MO (κικτός O^{a.c.}, ut videtur); θικτός Schmidt
 91.2, sed θηκτός malit **15** ἔχοι] ἔχει MO **16** Σηστός Schmidt
 91.6: σιστός MO; οἰστός Lobeck *PGG* 351, n. 51 παστός Lobeck
PGG 351, n. 51: πλαστός MO **17** ἐπὶ] ἀπὸ O

σεσημείωται τὸ βύστος καὶ Κάστος βαρύντονα. τὸ δὲ Νέστος (πόλις) καὶ κόστος καὶ νόστος βραχεῖ παραλήγουσι.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ δισύλλαβα ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Τ Σ, εἰ παρασχηματίζοιτο εἰς διάφορα γένη, ὀξύνεσθαι 5
θέλει, εἰ μὴ ὑπερθετικὰ εἶη, ἢ ἐκ πλειόνων συλλαβῶν εἰς δισυλλαβίαν μεταστῇ· πιστός 10
ξυστός μεστός κεστός. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστος λῶστος ῥᾶστος ὑπερθετικὰ ὄντα βαρύνεται καὶ τὸ δύστος (ὁ δύστηνος) καὶ πόστος ἐκ τοῦ 10
πόσατος γέγονε.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ῥηματικά, μὴ ὄντα ἀριθμητικά, πρὸ τοῦ Τ τὸ Κ ἢ τὸ Π ἔχοντα ὀξύνεται πλεκτός 15
έλκτός πνικτός θρεπτός. τὸ δὲ οἶκτος βαρύνεται· οὐ γὰρ ῥηματικόν· καὶ τὸ ἄρκτος καὶ πόκτος (ὁ πόκος) καὶ τὸ κάκτος. τὸ δὲ πέμπτος ἔκτος τὰ τοῦ **(92.)** ἀριθμοῦ βαρύνεται. τὸ μέντοι πεμπτός ὀξύνεται τὸ ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐκτός (ὁ ἐχόμενος) ἐκτός δὲ τὸ χωρὶς 20
ἐπίρρημα.

Τὰ εἰς διπλοῦν ΤΤ βαρύνεται, χωρὶς τῶν

4 Τὰ...¹¹ γέγονε: cf. *Et. Gud.* χ 570.34-41 Τὰ εἰς στος, εἴτε ἀπλᾶ, εἴτε σύνθετα, διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράφεται, οἶον, πιστός, ἰστός, παστός, Χριστός. ὀξύνεται, τὰ εἰς τος λήγοντα ὀνόματα, ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ τ, τὸ σ, εἰ παρασχηματίζοιτο εἰς διαφορὸν (*scrib.* διάφορον) γένος, εἰ μὴ ὑπερθετικὰ εἶη, ὀξύνεται· οἶον, πιστός, πλιστός, ξυστός, μεστός, σχιστός, φραστός, κτιστός, χριστός. πρόσκειται μὴ ὑπερθετικά, διὰ τὸ πλεῖστος, λῶστος, ῥᾶστος.

1 Κάστος Schmidt 91.8: κάμπτος ΜΟ **2** Νέστος Schmidt 91.8: νέτος ΜΟ πόλις Schmidt 91.8: ἡ πόλις ΜΟ **4** νόστος ΜΟ^{p.c.}: νόστος βύστος καὶ (βύστος καὶ *postea delevit scriptor*) Ο^{a.c.} εἰ] εἰ μὴ ΜΟ; Schmidt 91.10 (*app. crit.*): 'quod si sit εἰ μὲν scribendum huic sectioni praecedens sectio, verbis τὰ ΣΤΟΣ particula δὲ inserta, adnectenda est' **9** λῶστος ῥᾶστος Ο: λῶστος ῥᾶστος Μ **17** τὰ...ἀριθμοῦ ΜΟ; τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ haesitanter Schmidt 91.22 **18** πεμπτός ΜΟ^{p.c.}: πέμπτος Ο^{a.c.} **19** ἐκτός...ἐχόμενος Schmidt 92.2: ἔκτος ὁ ἔχων ΜΟ

Ἀττικῶν· κόττος ῥύττος κάττος. τὰ δὲ Ἀττικὰ ὁμοτονεῖ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἐξ ὧν γέγονε· κιττός ὅτι κισσός, τριττός ὅτι τρισσός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΤΑΤΟΣ ὑπερθετικά· προπαροξύνεται, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ΣΤΟΣ ὑπερθετικά· λαμπρότατος ὀσιώτατος σεμνότατος κάλλιστος κύδιστος ἄριστος. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ πλατάνιστος ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάτανος.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ προσηγορικὰ παραληγόμενα τῷ Α προπαροξύνεται· Ἑλατος ὕπατος ἔνατος θάνατος Ἑρατος (τὸ κύριον, ἐρατός ὁ ἐπιθυμητικός).

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΤΟΣ παρηγμένα εἰ μὴ ῥηματικά εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΜΙ ληγόντων, ἢ ἀπὸ δευτέρας συζυγίας τῶν περισπωμένων προπαροξύνονται· μέσατος πύματος ὀγδόατος τρίτατος τέταρτος νέατος. τὸ μέντοι ἐρατός ἐλατός ὀξύνεται. ὡσαύτως δὲ ὀξύνεται καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας συζυγίας τῶν περισπωμένων μακρὸν ἔχοντα τὸ Α· περατός θεατός †φρατός ἰατός.

(93.) Τὰ εἰς ΕΤΟΣ τρισύλλαβα <προ>παραληγόμενα τῷ Ε κύρια ὄντα καὶ

23 Τὰ ... 150.14 προπαροξύνεται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.5-8 (= 416) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ετος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς κύριά τε καὶ προσηγορικά ὀξύτονά τε καὶ βαρύτονα, διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ γράφει τὴν παραλήγουσαν· οἶον, νιφετός· ἀφετός· τοκετός· ἔχετος ὄνομα κύριον· πυρετός· αἰνετός· τηλύγετος.

1 ῥύττος κάττος] Schmidt 92.5 (app. crit.): 'βρύττος Βάττος an Γρύττος (Ar. *Eq.* 877) Βάττος dubitanter'; fortasse βύττος pro ῥύττος **9** ΤΟΣ] στος **Ο** **12** Ἑρατος... ἐρατός] ἔραστος ... ἐραστός **ΜΟ** κύριον] κύ⁹ **Μ** **13** ἐπιθυμητικός] ἐπιθημητικός **Ο** **14** εἰ μὴ Schmidt 92.17: εἰ καὶ **ΜΟ** **16** προπαροξύνονται] προπαροξύνεται **Ο** **19** τὰ om. **Ο** **21** †φρατός **Μ^{p.c.}Ο**: φαατός **Μ^{a.c.}**, ut videtur; φ.ρατός Schmidt in textu (92.24), sed φυρατός in apparatu critico proposuit, quod Lentz 218, 25 consecutus est; fortasse φωρατός **23** ΕΤΟΣ Schmidt 93.1: τος **ΜΟ** **24** <προ>παραληγόμενα scripsi, cf. Lentz 218.26-219.3: παραληγόμενα **ΜΟ** τῷ **Ε** Schmidt 93.1: τῷ **α** **ΜΟ** **Ε**] **α** **Ο** καὶ ... 150.1 προσηγορικά **Μ^{s.l.}Ο**: om. **Μ^{i.l.}**

προσηγορικὰ προπαροξύνεται· Μέγιστος Πέλετος Ἐχετος Δέρκετος Μένετος (τὸ κύριον, μενετός τὸ ἐπίθετον). τούτοις ἠκολούθησε καὶ τὸ ἔμετος, ὡς ἔχον Ε ὥσπερ τὰ ἄνω. τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα Α ὁμοίως· ἄργετος Ἄρετος ἄνετος (ἀνετός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον) πάγετος, ὅπερ ὀξύνει ἢ συνήθεια. ἔτι ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ νιφετός ὑετός καὶ τὸ αἰετός.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΕΤΟΣ τρισύλλαβα προσηγορικὰ ἢ ἐπιθετικὰ ὀξύνεται, εἰ μὴ παρωνύμως τετύπεται· κοπετός πυρετός τοκετός συρφετός ἀφυσγετός (ἢ ἀκαθαρσία). τὸ μέντοι ἄσχετος ἄσπετος γνύπετος (ὁ χαῦνος) προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ κύρια ἢ ἐπίθετα παραληγόμενα τῷ Η μονογενῇ βαρύνονται· Ἄρητος Λάμητος Μέλητος βύνητος (εἶδος ἱματίου παρ' Αἰγυπτίους) τρύγητος (ὁ καιρὸς μονογενῶς,

15 Τὰ ... 151.4 Α: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.9-15 (= 417) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ητος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς κύρια μονογενῇ προπαροξύνονται διὰ τοῦ η γράφονται οἷον, Ἄρητος ὄνομα κύριον· Λάμητος ὁ ποταμός· Κατάρητος ὁ ποταμός· Ἐνητος ὄνομα κύριον· Μέλητος ὄνομα κύριον· Μίλητος ὄνομα πόλεως· Κόρητος· οἷς ἀκόλουθον τὸ τρύγητος καὶ ἄμητος προπαροξυνόμενα ἐπὶ καιροῦ λαμβανόμενα, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς πράξεως ὀξύνεται.

1 Μέγιστος ... 2 Πέλετος] Μεγαίνετος Νέπετος Lobeck *PSGP* 373; Νέπετος πέλετος malit Schmidt 93.2 (app. crit.) **3** κύριον] κύρ M μενετός MO; Schmidt 93.4 (app. crit.): 'deest cautio de Ἐνετός' **5** Ἄρετος M^{p.c.}O: ἀρετός M^{a.c.}; Ἀσβετος haesitans Schmidt 93.6 (app. crit.) **6** ἄνετος ἀνετός] Αἶνετος αἰνετός Lobeck *Proll.* 481 minime probabiliter ἀνετός ... ἐπίθετον] ἀνετός δὲ τὸ ἐπιθετικὸν M^{s.l.} **8** νιφετός ὑετός] aperte corrupta secundum Schmidt 93.8 (app. crit.); ἀφετός ἀετός coni. Schmidt (l. c.), coll. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.7 (= 416.3), vel ἀετός καὶ αἰετός; νιφετός ὑετός ad seq. tmema retractis secundum Schmidt (l. c.) **11** συρφετός om. O **13** ἀφυσγετός ... ἀκαθαρσία M^{i.m.} (sine signo vel numero) O^{i.m.} (sine signo vel numero), nisi quod pro ἀφυσγετός habent ἀσφυγετός MO: om. M^{i.t.}O^{i.t.} γνύπετος Schmidt: γονύπετος MO **16** βαρύνονται Α: β. εἴτε προπαροξύνονται MO Λάμητος em. Schmidt e Theognosto 417.3: δάμητος MO

τρυγητός δὲ τὸ τρυγώμενον). τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἄμητος καὶ ἀμητός. τὸ δὲ ἐψητός λαλητός ὀξύτονα καὶ ἐπιθετικά· καὶ τὸ ἀλαλητός ἀπὸ τοῦ λαλητός προσθέσει τοῦ Α.

(94.) Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς 5
 παραληγόμενα τῷ Η ἀπλᾷ τριγενῇ ὀξύνεται·
 δωρητός ἀσκητός κοσμητός ἀγαπητός
 ὠνητός. τὸ δὲ ἄρρητος ἄκλητος ἄητος (ὁ
 ἀκατάπαυστος) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐτός προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀρσενικά 10
 παραληγόμενα τῷ Ι μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικά
 βαρύνονται· βάρβιτος Ἀδήριτος Λήϊτος
 Ἀγχιτος. τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται· ἀμαξιτός
 ἀτραπιτός Λυχνιτός (ἢ πόλις) [δηριτός].

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ τρισύλλαβα ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ 15
 τέλους συλλαβὴν εἰς Ο καταλήγουσαν σπάνιά

10 Τὰ...14 δηριτός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.21-6 (= 419) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιτος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἀπλᾷ προπαροξύτονα, ἐπιθετικά τε καὶ κύρια, διὰ τοῦ ι γραφόμενα σπάνιά ἐστίν· οἶον, Ἀγχιτος ὄνομα κύριον· Ἀφρόδιτος· ἀδήριτος· Ὀϊκριτος ὄνομα κύριον· τὸ ἀμαξιτός· λυχνιτός· ἀτραπιτός ὀξύτονα, κατὰ τόνον καὶ κατὰ γένος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνακόλουθα.

15 Τὰ...152.2 προπαροξύνεται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.27-9 (= 420) τὰ διὰ τοῦ οτος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τὸ ο παραληγόμενα προπαροξύτονα δύο ἐστίν· βίος· ἄρος· ὀξύτονα δὲ τέσσαρα· βιοτός· ὁμοτός· ὄνοτός· μολοτός.

1 τρυγώμενον em. Lobeck *RVGNVT* 51: τρυγόμενον MO
9 ἐτός Schmidt 94.4: ἔτος MO **12** Ἀδήριτος scripsi e Theognost. *Can.* II 75.23 (= 419.3): δήριτος MO; Νήριτος Lobeck *PSGP* 379, postea Lentz 220.22 Λήϊτος Lobeck *PSGP* 379: δήϊτος M: om. O **13** Ἀγχιτος Lentz 220.23 add. e Theognost. *Can.* II 75.23 (= 419.3), non pro ἄρκιτος; cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.21-6 (= 419.1-6): ἄρκιτος MO; Ὀϊκριτος Theognost. II 75.24 (= 419.4); Φώκριτος Lobeck *PSGP* 379, postea Lentz 220.23 ἀμαξιτός] ἀμαξιτός O **14** Λυχνιτός em. Schmidt 94.9 e St. Byz. 423.15: λαχνιτός MO ἢ πόλις om. O δηριτός del. Schmidt 94.10

εἰσιν· ὄνοτός Μολοτός. τὸ μέντοι ἄροτος καὶ βίοτος προπαροξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα Υ βραχεῖ κύρια ὄντα βαρύνεται Ἑρυτος Ἄνυτος 5 Αἶπυτος Ὀρνυτος. πρόσκειται κύρια διὰ τὰ τριγενῇ ἀπλᾷ ὄντα, ἃ ὀξύνεται φορυτός πινυτός. τὸ δὲ ἄλυτος σύνθετον προπαροξύνεται. τὰ δὲ τρισύλλαβα ἐκτεταμένον τὸ Υ ἔχοντα ὀξύνεται Βηρυτός κωκυτός 10 Καρδυτός βουλυτός· τὸ δὲ Σεβέννυτος κύριον προπαροξύνεται ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν τρισυλλαβίαν.

(95.) Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ τρισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα

3 Τὰ...12 τρισυλλαβίαν: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.30 - 76.3 (= 421) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υτος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, εἴτε βαρύτονα, εἴτε ὀξύτονα, εἴτε κύρια, εἴτε προσηγορικά, διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἶον, Νέρυτος ὄνομα κύριον· πίνυτος· Ἄνυτος· Μάδνυτος ἢ πόλις· Αἶπυτος· Ὀρυτος (scrib. Ὀρνυτος)· Ωκυτός· ὀξυτός· φορυτός· ἀρυτός· Βηρυτός· κωκυτός· κορδυτός· ὠρυτός· Κολλυτός· τὸ ἄλοιτος (scrib. ἀλοιτός), ὃ δηλοῖ τὸν ἄδικον καὶ μισρὸν, σεσημείωται διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου γραφόμενον. **8** τὰ...12 τρισυλλαβίαν: cf. St. Byz. β 88.9-12 ὀξύνεται (scil. Βηρυτός) δ' ὡς τρισύλλαβον καὶ μακρὸν ἔχει τὸ υ, ὡς τὸ κωκυτός γωρυτός Καρδυτός πόλις. τὸ Σεβέννυτος τετρασύλλαβον. ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἀραβίας, ἢ πρότερον καλουμένη Διόσπολις. τὸ ἐθνικὸν τὸ αὐτό. **13** Τὰ...153.8 ἀκηλίδωτος: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 76.4-8 (= 422) τὰ διὰ τοῦ ωτος ὀξύτονα ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης συζυγίας τῶν περισπωμένων γεγενημένα, εἴτε δισύλλαβα, εἴτε ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, διὰ τοῦ ω μεγάλου γράφονται· οἶον, πλωτός· στρωτός· τρωτός· πτωτός· ἄλωτός (scrib. ἄλωτός)· περωτός (scrib. πτερωτός)· αὐλωτός· κηρωτός· ἄζωτος.

1 ὄνοτός em. Schmidt e Theognosto 420.3: ὠνοτός ΜΟ Μολοτός em. Schmidt e Theognosto 420.3: μωλοτός ΜΟ ἄροτος em. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* 230, n. 1, cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 75.28 (= 420.2): εὐροτος ΜΟ **4** βραχεῖ] βραχὺ Ο Ἑρυτος] Νέρυτος (l. Ἑρυτος) Theognost. *Can.* II 75.32 (= 421.3) **10** Καρδυτός Schmidt 94.20: κανδυτός ΜΟ; Κορδυτός Theognost. *Can.* II 76.1 (= 421.5); Καρδυτός Κορδυτός haesitanter Schmidt 94.20 (app. crit.); cf. St. Byz. β 88.9-12 Σεβέννυτος] ἐβέννυτο (sic) ΜΟ

τῷ Ω ὀξύνεται· πτερωτός τορνωτός
 χρυσωτός Βοιωτός μυωτός (εἶδος χιτῶνος)
 ἄλωτός. τὸ δορυάλωτος σύνθετον
 προπαροξύνεται. τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Α
 στερητικὸν προπαροξύνεται· ἄγνωτος 5
 ἄτρωτος ἄπτωτος· καὶ ἔτι τὰ σύνθετα·
 ἀνακίδωτος (ἄνευ ἀκίδος) ἀπύργωτος
 πολύγνωτος ἀκηλίδωτος.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα κύρια, καὶ ἔννοιαν
 συνθέσεως ἔχοντα, καὶ ἔτι τὴν παραλήγουσαν εἰς 10
 ἀμετάβολον καταλήγουσαν βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ
 διαστολή τις γένοιτο· Ἀλῖαρτος Ἀψυρτος
 Ἀσφαλτος Ἀμάραντος (τὸ κύριον, τὸ δὲ
 ἔθνικόν ὀξύνεται). ὀξύνεται δὲ τὰ πρὸ τέλους ΕΝ
 ἔχοντα· Λωμεντός Λαυρεντός (Σικελικαὶ 15
 πόλεις). ἔτι ὀξύνεται καὶ τὸ κονιορτός καὶ
 κολοσυρτός σύνθετα ὄντα. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιθετικὰ
 ὀξύνεται· ἱμερτός ἐγερτός ὑφαντός.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ἀπλᾶ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα
 πρὸ τοῦ Τ ψιλὸν κατ' ἐπιπλοκὴν ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα 20
 καὶ ῥηματικὰ ὀξύνεται· ἐλικτός ἀμελκτός
 χαρακτός ὀρεκτός. τὸ μέντοι Αἷγυπτος καὶ
 Πάνακτος καὶ Ναύπακτος μὴ ὄντα ῥηματικὰ
 προπαροξύνεται. σεσημείωται τὸ δρυφακτός
 ὀξυνόμενον, (ἢ θύρα τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἢ καὶ 25
 κιγκλίδες καλοῦνται).

(96.) Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΟΣ κύρια ἀρσενικὰ μόνως
 βαρύνεται· Ἀκαστος Ἀλαστος Ἡφαιστος.
 τὰ δὲ προσηγορικὰ ὀξύνεται· ἀγοστός (ἢ
 ἀγκάλη) ὀϊστός. 30

Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΟΣ ἐπιθετικὰ ἀπλᾶ ῥηματικὰ ὑπὲρ

1 πτερωτός Ο (coni. iam Lobeck *PSGP* 391, n. 18): πτερνωτός
 Μ **3** δορυάλωτος] δωρυάλωτος Ο **4** τῇ πρώτῃ Μ: τῇ α^η Ο
9 κύρια] κ. καὶ προσηγορικὰ *haesitans* Schmidt 95.8 (app. crit.)
12 Ἀλῖαρτος Μ: ἀλῖατος Ο Ἀψυρτος] ἄψυτος Ο **13** κύριον]
 κύ^ρ Μ **15** Λωμεντός em. Schmidt 95.13 e St. Byz. 423.18; *TGL* V
 385E: λομεντός ΜΟ Σικελικαί] Ἰταλικά Unger *Parad. Theb.*
 204 **18** ἐγερτός] ἡγερτός ΜΟ **24** δρυφακτός] δρυφρακτός
 ΜΟ **28** Ἀκαστος Ἀλαστος] Ἀκαστος Ἀλκαστος (Böckh C. I.
 1241, 1351) vel Λύκαστος Ἀκαστος *dubitanter* Schmidt 96.2
 (app. crit.) **29** ἢ...30 ἀγκάλη Μ^{s,l}Ο: om. Μ^{i,l}.

δύο συλλαβὰς ὀξύνεται· ληϊστός μεριστός
ὀνομαστός. τὰ δὲ σύνθετα προπαροξύνεται·
φραστός ἄφραστος ἀλίαςτος ἄλαστος (ὁ
ἄδικος ἀπὸ τοῦ λαμβάνω). ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ
ὑπερθετικά· τάχιστος ἄριστος κάλλιστος 5
μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἕκαστος.

Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα
Ο ἐπὶ ποσότητος τασσόμενα ὀξύνεται·
πολλοστός εἰκοστός τριακοστός
πεντηκοστός. 10

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς
παραληγόμενα τῇ ΕΥ διφθόγῳ ἀπλᾶ ὄντα
ὀξύνεται· τορνευτός στρατευτός
βουλευτός. τὸ δὲ ἀστράτευτος σύνθετον.

Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΟΥΤΟΣ προπερισπᾶται 15
τηλικουῖτος τοιοῦτος τοσουῖτος.

Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα τῇ ΑΥ διφθόγῳ
παραληγόμενα προπαροξύνεται· ἄπαυστος
ἄθραυστος ἄκλαυ[σ]τος. σεσημείωται τὸ
ἐνιαυτός ὀξυνόμενον. 20

Τὰ εἰς ΦΟΣ δισύλλαβα κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά

7 Τὰ ... 10 πεντηκοστός: cf. Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 133.3-6 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ
λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ Τ τὸ Σ καὶ τὴν
γενικὴν περατουμένην εἰς ΟΥ, ἐπὶ ποσότητος τασσόμενα,
ὀξύνονται, οἷον πολλοστός, ὀλιγοστός, εἰκοστός; *Et. Parv.* ε
50 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς <ἔχοντα>, ἔχοντα
πρὸ τοῦ Τ τὸ Σ, τὴν τε γενικὴν εἰς ΟΥ περατουμένην, ἐπὶ
ποσότητος τασσόμενα, ὀξύνονται· οἷον εἰκοστός, πολλοστός;
EM 297.40-2 Τὰ εἰς ΤΟΣ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς, ἔχοντα
πρὸ τοῦ τ τὸ σ, τὴν τε παραλήγουσαν εἰς ΟΣ περατουμένην,
ἐπὶ ποσότητος τασσόμενα, ὀξύνεται· πολλοστός, εἰκοστός.
21 Τὰ ... 155.9 προπερισπᾶται: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 76.9-12 (= 423)
Τὰ διὰ τοῦ υφός, εἴτε δισύλλαβα, εἴτε ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβὰς διὰ τοῦ υ ψιλοῦ γράφονται· οἷον, ἄργυφος·
κόσσυφος· κολόσυφος· κόρυφος· κύφος (scrib. κῦφος vel

11 Τὰ] ἄ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) Ο

12 τῇ] τῇ Ο

15 προπερισπᾶται Schmidt 96.17: προπαροξύνεται *RVGNVT*
ΜΟ 19 ἄκλαυστος] ἄκλαυστος ΜΟ σεσημείωται Ο:
σημείωσαι Μ 21 Τὰ ... ΦΟΣ Μ: τὰ εἰς φός: τὰ εἰς φος Ο
κύρια ... προσηγορικά] κύρια ἢ τοπικά ἢ προσηγορικά Lobeck
RVGNVT 278 κύρια Ο: κύ^ο Μ

βαρύνεται, εἰ μὴ παραλήγοι τῷ Υ βραχεῖ, ἢ τῷ Λ [τοπικά]· Πάφος τάφος Σόφος (τὸ κύριον, σοφός **(97.)** δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον) ὄρφος (κοινῶς, ὀρφῶς δὲ ἄττικῶς). τὸ δὲ κρυφός καὶ συφός 5 ἔχει τὸ Υ βραχύ. τὸ δὲ κῦφος τὸ ΚΥ μακρόν. τὸ δὲ ἀλφός (τὸ σωματικὸν πάθος) καὶ πολφός (ὄψον τι) ἔχουσι τὸ Λ. τὰ δὲ ἐπίθετα ὀξύνεται σοφός κυφός κωφός. τὸ δὲ κοῦφος προπερισπᾶται.

Τὰ εἰς ΦΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ἀπλᾶ μὴ 10 δηλοῦντα ἐνέργειαν προπαροξύνεται κρόταφος ἔλαφος Ἐπαφος κόλαφος ἀσκάλαφος ἄργυφος (ὁ λευκός). τὸ δὲ ἀδελφός ὀξύνεται, καὶ τὰ ἐνέργειαν δηλοῦντα παροξύνεται πορφυροβάφος ὑποδηματορράφος καὶ 15 ἵπποτρόφος.

κυφός· τύφος· κρύφος (scrib. κρυφός)· σύφος (scrib. συφός)· σκύφος· ὕφος. **3** ὄρφος...⁴ ἄττικῶς; cf. Jo. Alex. Τον. παρ. 8.35-9.4 (30) Ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰς ὡς περισπᾶται τὰ ὑποκείμενα λαγῶς, ὀρφῶς, ταλῶς. τὸ Μανεθῶς καὶ Τυφῶς καὶ ταῶς καὶ περισπᾶται καὶ δικατάληκτά ἐστι καὶ γὰρ <καὶ> εἰς ν λήγει. πάντα δὲ τὰ εἰς ὡς περισπασθέντα ἄνευ λόγου περιεσπᾶσθη. τὸ δὲ Τηλεβῶς ἐκ τοῦ Τηλεβόας συνήρηται; π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e o 13 ὄρφος· κοινῶς, ὀρφῶς· Ἀττικῶς; Choerob. in Theod. 253.10-2 Σεσημείωται τὸ ὀρφῶς καὶ λαγῶς περισπώμενα, ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν τὸν τόνον τῶν κοινῶν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὀρφῶς τὸ κοινὸν ὄρφος ἐστὶ βαρυτόνως; EM 635.33-8 τὰ εἰς ΩΣ Ἀττικά τῆς κοινῆς εὐθείας ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον· κὰν φθάσῃ προπαροξυνθῆναι ἢ εὐθεία, πᾶσα πτώσις προπαροξύνεται. Σεσημείωται τὸ ὀρφῶς καὶ τὸ λαγῶς· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὸν τόνον τῶν κοινῶν. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὀρφῶς ὁ τόνος ὄρφος ἐστὶ, βαρύτονος·

1 παραλήγοι] παραλήγει O τῷ² Schmidt 96.23: τὸ O: εἰς τὸ M
2 τοπικά del. Schmidt κύριον] κύ⁹ M **3** κοινῶς M: κοινός O
5 κῦφος] κύφος MO **7** ὄψον τι] ὄψόν τι MO **10** Τὰ] ἀ (τ om. in spatio vacuo) O ὑπερδισύλλαβα] ὑπέρδισύλλαβα (sic) O
14 παροξύνεται M: προπαροξύνεται O **15** πορφυροβάφος...
16 ἵπποτρόφος om. O καὶ om. M

Τὰ εἰς ΧΟΣ δισύλλαβα μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται· Κόλχος βρόχος μόσχος κόγχος τρόχος (ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τρέχουσι, τροχός δὲ ὁ κύκλος) βρόχος. σεσημείωται τὸ μυχός (ὁ ἐνδότερος τόπος). τὸ δὲ μοιχός 5
πτωχός ἀρχός ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΧΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα προπαροξύνεται· στόμαχος βάτραχος Σωτήριχος δόλιχος (τὸ ὄσπριον, δολιχός δὲ ὁ μακρός). τὸ δὲ 10
μόναχος ὀξύνεται.

Τὰ εἰς ΨΟΣ δισύλλαβα <...> ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνεται· μόψος γύψος Τίψος θάψος (εἶδος ξύλου). τὰ δὲ ἐπιθετικὰ πρὸ τοῦ Ψ ἔχοντα Μ ὀξύνεται· κομψός γαμψός.

1 Τὰ...4 βρόχος: cf. Ammon. *Diff.* 478.11-6 τὰ γὰρ εἰς χος δισύλλαβα—παρατελεύτου ὄντος τοῦ ο—βαρυντονεῖται· οἶον †λέχος† ὄχος βρόχος κόγχος κόλχος μόσχος, οὕτω τρόχος. καὶ ἔτι τὰ παρὰ ῥήματα εἰς ω βαρύνοντα καὶ αὐτὰ βαρυντονεῖται ἰσοσυλλαβοῦντα· οἶον πλέκω πλόκος, σπείρω σπόρος, λέγω λόγος, φέρω φόρος, οὕτω καὶ τρέχω τρόχος. **8** δόλιχος...**9** μακρός: cf. Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio c δ 11 δολιχός· τὸ ἐπιθετικόν, μακρός, δόλιχος· τὸ ὄσπριον καὶ ὁ τόνος; recensio e δ 14 δόλιχος· τὸ ὄσπριον, δολιχός· ὁ μακρός; Su. δ 1339.1-2 Δόλιχος: τὸ ὄσπριον· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δρόμου, προπαροξυτόνως. δολιχός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον, ὁ μακρός, ὀξυτόνως.

11 Τὰ...14 γαμψός: cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 76.30 - 77.2 (= 429) Οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς ψος ληγόντων ὀνομάτων, οὔτε δισύλλαβα, οὔτε ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, πρὸ τοῦ ψ εὔρηται ἔχον τὴν οἰ δίφθογγον, ἢ τὴν εἰ, ἢ τὸ η, ἢ τὴν αἰ δίφθογγον, ἢ τὸ ω· ὅθεν ταῦτα περιελομένου τοῦ κανόνος, τὰ λοιπὰ ἴσχει διὰ τοῦ ι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ υ, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ε, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ο γραφόμενα· οἶον ὕψος· γύψος· Τίψος ἢ πόλις· δίψος· Μίψος τὸ ἔθνος· νίψος· Γάλιψος· Τράνιψος τὸ ἔθνος· Κάλυψος τὸ ἔθνος.

1 Τὰ...ΧΟΣ] τὰ εἰς χος: τὰ εἰς χος Ο **3** κόγχος] κόχλος ΜΟ: Schmidt 97.14 (app. crit.): 'λόχος κόγχος an aeolicum πόλχος dederit non liquet' ὁ Ο^{p.c.}: ἐν ὁ Ο^{a.c.} **5** ἐνδότερος Μ: ἐνδότατος Ο **11** <>] lacunam statuit Schmidt 97.21 et μὴ excidisse in apparatu critico notavit; possis etiam μὴ ὄντα addere **12** θάψος Schmidt 97.22: τάψος ΜΟ

(98.) Τὰ εἰς ΨΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται
Λυκαψός κινδαψός χορδαψός.

Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ λήγοντα οὐδέτερα ὀνόματα ἀεὶ
βαρύνονται· τεῖχος βέλος πάθος πέλαγος
ῥυψος. αἱ δὲ μετοχαὶ οὐδέτεραι ὀξύνονται 5
τετυφός πεποιηκός γεγραφός ὥσπερ καὶ
αἱ ἀρσενικαί.

1 Τὰ...**2** χορδαψός: cf. St. Byz. γ 24.3-5 τὰ δὲ εἰς ψος
ὑπερδισύλλαβα ὀξύνεται, σκινδαψός (ὄργανου ὄνομα καὶ
κύριον, τίθεται καὶ κατ' οὐδενὸς ὡς τὸ τραγέλαφος)
χορδαψός λυκαψός; Zonar. γ 415.26-8 τὰ εἰς ψος ὑπὲρ δύο
συλλαβῶν ὀξύνονται, οἷον· σκινδαψός· [χεραψός·] λυκαψός·
γαληψός.

2 Λυκαψός Meineke St. Byz. 197.16, ubi male χεραψός:
καλυψός MO; Κάλυψος τὸ ἔθνος Theognost. Can. II 77.2 (= 429.7) **3** αἰεὶ] ἀεὶ O **4** πάθος] πάχος O^{a.c.} **5** οὐδέτεραι M^{s.l.} O:
om. M^{i.l.}

PART FOUR: Notes

1.1–4 Τοὺς...4 βούλημα: 'Those who wish to arrive at the overall regularity in prosodies, but are defeated by the length of Herodian's treatise, the transmission through an epitome will help towards the purpose.'

1.1–6 Τοὺς...6 σαφήνειαν: What urged the epitomator to provide an abridged version of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* was that people (perhaps students) grew weary of the great length of the text. On the addressee and the purpose of this Epitome see also Egenolff (1887), 5 and Wouters (1975-6), 602. On the length of the text see pp. 39-40 of the Introduction.

1.1 Τοὺς: I have adopted Dr Philomen Probert's emendation of the manuscripts' *τό*. The change to *τὸ* could have occurred because a scribe thought the article should go with *ἐφικέσθαι*.

1.1 προσωδίαις: I translate the word *προσωδίαις* with the term 'prosodies', not 'accentuation', because vowel quantities and aspiration are also included in the work.

1.2–3 ποθοῦντας...3 ἀπαγορεύοντας: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' *ποθοῦντες ... ἀπαγορεύοντες* (1.2, 3). An accusative is needed because of *ἐφικέσθαι*.

1.3 ἀπαγορεύοντας: 'are exhausted by', LSJ s. v., II.

1.4 βούλημα: O's *βούλευμα* also means 'purpose'.

1.5 Σκόπει: The second-person singular here, as well as at 2.18 ἐζήτησας and 2.19 ἐπικρινεῖς, could suggest that the addressee is a pupil or a friend of the epitomator. Cf. the discussion in the Introduction, pp. 40-1.

1.5–6 Σκόπει...6 σαφήνειαν: 'So, consider whether something useful has been accomplished by us with regard to conciseness, but also with regard to clarity.' The fact that the epitomator emphasises his aim of clarity (cf. also 1.19–21 ἵνα μὴ συντομία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφήνεια τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ὑπάρχη; 2.16–19 εἰ δὲ τὸ συντομώτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπειγομένου πεποιήκαμεν ... μετὰ τοῦ σαφεστεύου) should not lead us to conclude that Herodian was not clear enough for his own audience. One should rather distinguish between Herodian, writing for highly educated people, and the author of our epitome, making an abridgment for pupils or less educated people. See Lentz (1867-70), LXIV.

1.6–10 ἐπεὶ...10 Ἡρωδιανῶ: 'Since the mass of conditions that appears all together in many rules was hard to comprehend, this has been divided, so that those that are brought under one rule by Herodian would become easy to comprehend divided'.

1.6–13 ἐπεὶ...13 δυσέφικτον: The epitomator's first method of excerpting Herodian's Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας was the division

of the material pertaining to a single termination, which Herodian had placed in one large rule, into smaller ones, in order to make it easier to understand.

1.7 ὁρισμῶν: ὁρισμοί here are the conditions which have to be met for the rule to be valid (see Galland (1882a), 28-30, 40). Examples of conditions are given below 1.10–12 γένος ... πάθος.

1.9 <τὰ>: I have adopted Schmidt's addition τὰ (1.8). This was probably omitted by a scribe under the influence of the termination -τα of the previous word (διαιεθέντα).

1.10–13 τὸ ... 13 δυσέφικτον: 'for to pay attention simultaneously to the gender, the derivational status, the compositional status, the termination, the penultimate (syllable), the beginning, the quantities, the letters, and the transformations of form, and whatever else, or most of these, is difficult and hard to achieve'.

1.10 γένος: 'gender'; apart from masculine, feminine, neuter, which are evidently meant here, paying attention to gender includes, for Herodian and the epitomator, noticing whether a word has only one gender, or is a two-termination or three-termination adjective (μονογενής, διγενής, τριγενής). Cf. Lentz (1867-70), LXIII; Galland (1882a), 28.

1.10 εἶδος: 'derivational status, i.e. underived or derived'. This term

is defined in the *Τέχνη γραμματική* attributed to Dionysius Thrax (I 25.3-5; see also Lallot (1998), 131, 149-50, 170). Cf. Lentz (1867-70), LXIII; Galland (1882a), 28; Dickey (2007), 235.

1.11 σχῆμα: 'compositional status, i.e. whether the word is simple (uncompounded), compound or parasynteton (derived from a compound)'. See D. T. I 1.29.5; Cf. Lentz (1867-70), LXIII; Galland (1882a), 28; Dickey (2007), 261.

1.11 χρόνον: 'quantity'. This refers to the long or short quantity of the vowel in the ultimate and/or penultimate syllables. Cf. Lentz (1867-70), LXIII - LXIV; Galland (1882a), 28.

1.11-12 στοιχεῖον: 'letter'. According to Lentz ((1867-70), LXIV (cf. the discussion in Galland (1882a), 28)), what is meant by στοιχεῖον is the presence or absence of consonant clusters, and/or the writing of a vowel sound either with a single vowel sign or as a diphthong. In my view στοιχεῖον just means that the presence of specific letters is important in many rules. Cf. Lallot (1997), ii 9; (1998), 95-8.

1.12 πάθος: 'transformation/modification in the form (of the words)'. See Dickey (2007), 250, with further literature.

1.13-17 ἐφ'...17 ἀκολουθεῖν: 'For each of these sorts of conditions the failure to cite examples immediately in many instances discourages the mind from following the other conditions easily'.

The epitomator had observed that another feature making the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας* difficult to understand was that the examples exemplifying a specific sub-rule were not placed right after the sub-rule but at the end of the whole Herodianic rule. Therefore, in his epitome, he divided the examples that followed the whole Herodianic rule, so that each sub-rule would be followed by the examples exemplifying it.

1.14 ἐπὶ πολλοῖς: 'in many instances'. I have not deleted this, differently from Schmidt (2.1).

1.14–15 ἅμα...**15** διὰ: Schmidt's suggestion to emend ἅμα διὰ to μὰ Δία (2.1) is weak, because an invocation to Zeus at the time when the epitome was composed would be anachronistic. Unlike Schmidt I have kept ἅμα and deleted only διὰ. It is possible that ἅμα ('together') is employed in order to emphasize εὐθύς ('directly'). διὰ could have been added by a scribe who failed to link τῶν παραδειγμάτων with παρὰθεσις and felt that he needed to supply διὰ to govern τῶν παραδειγμάτων.

1.15–16 ἀπαγορεύει...**16** διάνοιαν: ἀπαγορεύω here means 'exhaust, tire, make weary, discourage'; cf. sch. S. *Tr.* 789 ἀπηγόρευσεν ἑαυτόν.

1.17–21 δεῖ...**21** ὑπάρχει: 'In abbreviating the text of each rule one

should preserve it complete in this way, and gathered together from its particulars, so that there is not only brevity, but also clarity for the readers.’, (this translation is partly due to Mr Nigel Wilson). An example of this method is that often not all the conditions for the rule are mentioned at the very beginning of the rule, but later, when an exception is mentioned (e.g. 30.9–10 καὶ τὸ ... μονοσυλλάβων; 34.3–6 Τὰ ... ἐκτεταμένον; 35.19–20 τὸ ... συστέλλεται; 37.17–18 καὶ τὸ Ποδῆς ... παραλήγει; 80.11–13 τὸ ... ἀρχόμενα; 103.7–8 Πάμμιλος ... σύμφωνα; 107.18 τὸ ... ὄν).

1.17–18 ἐφ’...18 περιτέμνοντας: The manuscripts’ περιτέμνοντας, referring necessarily to readers (‘those awaiting for ...’), is obscure. The epitomator refers to the readers towards the end of the sentence (τοῖς ἐντευχόμενοις), and it is not clear why the readers would have had this specific expectation, i. e. that they would be awaiting for the text of each rule to be ‘complete and gathered from its particulars’. I have printed Schmidt’s emendation of περιτέμνοντας to περιτέμνοντας (2.3 app. crit.) so that the reference is to the task of the epitomator or, more generally, of the epitomators of Herodian’s Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας. If one ought to read (τὸν) ἀφ’ ... παραμένοντα with Götting the meaning will be: ‘The remaining text of each rule ...’, but the text of the sentence becomes very

awkward because of ἔχειν αὐτόν. If one prints O's αὐτόν to go with Götting's conjecture the meaning will be: 'The remaining text of each rule must have itself in this way complete, and gathered from its particulars ...', but again the meaning is less clear than when reading ἐφ' ... περιτέμνοντας.

1.18 λόγον: 'phrasing (of the rule)'. See also Galland (1882a), 30-1.

1.21–2.1 συντομίας...2.1 κρατυνομένων: 'For the sake of brevity, prescribing rules through the examination of words that do not obey the rule is omitted, but through the examination of the words that confirm the rules'. Another technique of the epitomator was that, for the sake of brevity, he did not include the rationale behind the exceptions, thinking that it was enough if one knew the rationale behind the words that obey the rules. Examples of this method are:
29.4 τὸ δὲ γαστήρ ὀξύνεται; 47.1–2 σεσημείωται ταχυτής, βραδυτής, ἀδροτής.

1.22 κανονίζειν: 'prescribing rules'.

2.2–5 ἱκανὸν...5 ἔχειν: 'for it is enough to obey the rule that holds good concerning correct accentuation, so as not to go astray from correct Greek and not be ignorant of the rationale that establishes this'. The epitomator considers it enough to know the rules and their exceptions, without knowing why all the exceptions are exceptions.

2.3 ὥστε: A temporal meaning would be inappropriate here. I have therefore adopted Villoison's emendation of the manuscripts' ὅτε to ὥστε.

2.5–9 ἀλλὰ...9 συγγραφεῖ: 'In addition, the great number of examples, and the explanation of the unknown (words) in these (examples), and the many citations of their use, have been left out by the author (of the epitome).' In order to make his text brief, the author decided also to omit many of the examples, the explanations of little-known words used as examples, and the many citations of their use. The order in which the author of our epitome mentions how he dealt with the rules, the examples, their meanings, and citations of their usage in his text may give us an indication of the order in which this material appeared in the original text. The order in which the treatment of certain terminations appears in the palimpsest and the parchment fragment *P. ANT.* 2.67 coincides with the order in our Epitome, suggesting that our epitomator retained the overall structure of the lost original: the order of the books and of the rules within them. In this respect our Epitome is closer to the palimpsest and the parchment fragment rather than to Johannes Philoponus' epitome (see also the discussion of the palimpsest and the parchment fragment in the Introduction, pp. 47-55).

2.9–11 κακεῖθεν...**11** φιλομαθῶν: 'and the person who not only seeks correctness in accentuation but is also fond of learning the meanings of words and examples of usage (i.e. passages cited) will find these out from there (i.e. from Herodian's original).' Although the epitomator has cut the meanings of words and examples of usage out, he does not want to stop people from learning them, but the people who want to learn these will have to consult the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.

2.11 δυνάμεις: 'meanings of words'. See Dalimier (2001), 291-2 and Dickey (2007), 234.

2.12–16 εὐθὺς...**16** κατεπεΐγοντα: 'So refraining from long-winded discussion in the introduction - laying out the size of the treatise, exposing the deficiency of those written before - we will reach the things that are urgent for the knowledge of regularity.' One of the unfortunate results of our epitomator's abridgement is that he omitted the προοίμιον of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* that was so valuable because it included Herodian's definition of prosody, as we learn from Herodian's *Vita* by Theodosius (see Lentz (1867-70), VI), and also, as we read in our Epitome's preface, because it exposed the deficiency of those who wrote before on prosody.

2.12 τῷ προοιμίῳ: He refers to the προοίμιον of the Περὶ Καθολικῆς Προσφῳδίας.

2.16–19 εἰ... **19** ἐπικρινεῖς: 'And whether we have achieved (not only) greater brevity than the work that was pressing urgently in front of us, as you asked, and (i.e. but also) greater clarity and easier grasping by most people, you yourself will decide.'

On the view that this phrase suggests that our epitome was preceded by another epitome, whose abridgement our epitome is, see Egger (1876), 502. I disagree with this view for the following reasons: (i) If this were the case one would have expected this to have been mentioned more explicitly. Throughout the preface one always gets the impression that the comparison is made between Herodian's original work and the epitome, with no hint at an intermediate stage. (ii) When the author says at the very beginning of this preface ἡ δι' ἐπιτομῆς παράδοσις ὀνήσει πρὸς τὸ βούλημα (1.3–4) and σκοπεῖ οὖν εἴ τι καὶ ἡμῖν ἥνυσται χρήσιμον εἰς συντομίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς σαφήνειαν (1.5–6), it is as if the author is introducing the idea and the genre of an epitome for the first time in the reception of Herodian's Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας. It is, after all, the length of Herodian's treatise that makes people give up in their attempt to arrive at the overall regularity in prosodies (1.2–3 πρὸς δὲ τὸ μῆκος

τῆς Ἡρωδιανοῦ πραγματείας ἀπαγορεύοντας). (iii) Brevity and clarity are the epitomator's two goals in his attempt to abridge Herodian's original work, something which has been laid out already twice in the preface, in the framework of a comparison between the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* and this epitome: a) σκοπεῖ οὖν εἴ τι καὶ ἡμῖν ἥνυσται χρήσιμον εἰς συντομίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς σαφήνειαν (1.5–6), b) ἵνα μὴ συντομία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφήνεια τοῖς ἐντετυχομένοις ὑπάρχη (1.19–21).

2.16 τι: Schmidt (2.21) printed C's τό. MO's τι makes good sense before συντομώτερον ('somewhat briefer'). τὸ is an easy error before a neuter nominative or accusative.

2.17 πρὸ ἡμῶν: If ἐπειγομένου is emended to ἐπικειμένου (see the next note), one may understand πρὸ ἡμῶν to mean 'in front of us'. With ἐπειγομένου, and the suggested by Mr Nigel Wilson προκειμένου (see the next note), the meaning is 'before our time'.

2.17 ἐπειγομένου: If this is the correct reading here, the meaning ought to be 'urgent', cf. Hdt. 4.139.2. The epitomator probably implies that the addressee really seeks to receive (ὥσπερ ἐζήτησας) the Epitome of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*. It is possible that ἐπειγομένου is corrupt, having been influenced by κατεπείγοντα, the last word of the previous sentence. Mr Nigel

Wilson suggested to read προκειμένου ('available'). I have thought about the possibility of emending to ἐπικειμένου ('laid upon us'; in the sense of a duty; cf. ὥσπερ ἐζήτησας). See also the previous note.

2.28 ΟΣ: MO's ως is clearly a mistake. Book 5 deals with the termination -ος.

2.31 <ώς>: I have added ώς in order to indicate the parallelism between the alphabetical order in which the endings -βος, -γος, -δος etc. appear in book six and the alphabetical order in which the endings -βων, -γων, -δων appear in Book 1.

3.2 ΠΟΣ: MO's ω is incorrect. Book 7 deals with the terminations -μος, -νος, -ξος, and -πος. I have thus printed -πος with Schmidt (3.14).

3.8 ΩΣ: MO's ω is a mistake. Book 10 deals, *inter alia*, with the termination -ως. I have printed -ως with Schmidt (4.3).

3.12–13 κατὰ ... 13 Ω: καὶ τὴν εἰς ω μετὰ τῆς τῶν συμφώνων πάλιν τάξεως in the manuscripts' description of Book 12 does not correspond to what one finds in the Epitome's Book 12. Book 12 in the Epitome deals with nominals ending in -η, according to the alphabetical order of the letters preceding -η (e.g. -βη, -γη, -δη etc.) and with nominals ending in -ω. I have thus printed Schmidt's emendation (4.6). The only possible explanation in favour of the

manuscripts' reading is that in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* the termination -ω might have also been dealt with according to the alphabetical order of the letters preceding it, in which case the phrase *μετὰ τῆς τῶν συμφώνων πάλιν τάξεως* (rather *κατὰ τὴν τῶν συμφώνων πάλιν τάξιν*; cf. 2.30–31 *κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τάξιν τῶν στοιχείων ἢ παράθεσις*; the meaning ought to be 'according to ...', not 'together with ...') referred both to the terminations -η and -ω. But if the picture of Book 12 we get from the Epitome represents the arrangement in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* (something which is to a large extent evidenced through the correspondence with the palimpsest and the parchment in the arrangement of the material; see also the discussion of the palimpsest, the parchment, and Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome in the Introduction pp. 47-56), then the emendation in the Table of Contents is necessary. In any case the inversion of the phrase referring to the alphabetical arrangement of the letters preceding -η, and the phrase *καὶ τὴν εἰς -ω*, could have easily occurred, especially if at some point the phrase was omitted by a scribe and then added above the line.

3.25 ἄρθρα ἀντωνυμίας: I have inverted the order in which the two words appear in the manuscripts, so that it corresponds to the order in which the articles and pronouns are dealt with in Book 18.

3.31–4.5 Ἐπὶ...**4.5** ἀναγνώσει: ‘Additionally to these twenty (books) the form to be read (in connected speech) according to the juxtaposition of words is transmitted in another book —following the exposition of the doctrine of the accentuation of individual words—, about separation of vowels and coalescence of vowels and the other things that accompany reading’.

4.3 γινομένης διδασκαλίας: I have adopted Schmidt’s emendation (5.4) of the manuscript’s γινομένην διδασκαλίαν. A genitive is needed after δήλωσιν τῆς. The manuscripts’ accusative could be due to the accusative ἐκάστην.

4.11 οἷ: O’s οἷ is clearly wrong, since the text itself indicates that there should be a circumflex (4.10–11 ἡ δὲ οἷ ἀντωνυμία περισπωμένη ἐν τῷ ...).

4.13 ἐπευχόμενος: The scribal error ἐπευχόμενοι is due to assimilation of the termination -νος to οἷ, which a scribe might have taken to be the article. I have printed ἐπευχόμενος with Schmidt (5.12). καί οἱ ἐπευχόμενος occurs in the *Iliad* (16.829, 21.121).

4.15 ἔνι: I have emended the manuscripts’ ἐνὶ to ἔνι, since this is known to be Herodian’s view on the accentuation of ἔνι in this phrase (see the Herodianic scholion sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.839b1; cf. Probert (2003), 128).

5.6 Δωριάν: This emendation suggested by Lobeck (*PGG* 190, n. 2) is an alternative for Δωριεύς occurring in Stephanus of Byzantium (δ 149). Lobeck's other emendation, Δαρειάν (*PGG* 190, n. 2), an alternative form for Δαρεῖος (cf. sch. A. *Pers.* 651.2 ἔοικε δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ Δαρειάν λέγεσθαι) is less plausible, both because Δωριάν is closer to MO's reading δωρεάν and because Stephanus of Byzantium is known to have derived material from Herodian. For the formation of Δωριάν one may compare the ethnic designation Αἰνιάν (St. Byz. α 134), an alternative for Αἴνιος, designating a person from Αἰνία. On Αἰνιάν see also Fraser (2009), 95, 132. Cf. Ἀγριᾶνες, a variant for the ethnic Ἀγρίαι (St. Byz. α 47).

5.7 ῥητῶν: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (6.7,9,11) of the manuscripts' ῥημάτων to ῥητῶν. Despite the fact that ῥῆμα can mean 'word', which is what the meaning of the sentence requires, it is not likely that a grammarian would use ῥῆμα to indicate 'word', due to its technical meaning 'verb'. A scribe could easily have written ῥημάτων instead of ῥητῶν because it is much more common. I have adopted the same emendation at 5.10 and 5.12.

5.8 Αἰγίπαν: A rare name for the god Pan (see Roscher III, 1404). It occurs mainly in mythographical (e.g. Apollod. 1.42.8) and grammatical texts (e.g. Choerob. *in Theod.* iv. 261.8).

5.8 Ἑρμόπαν: Another rare name for the god Pan (see Roscher III, 1404). It occurs mainly in grammatical texts (e.g. Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.i 261.8).

5.8–9 αἰνοτίταν: This is a *hapax*.

5.9 καρβάν: This rare word occurs again in Lyc. 1387; Hsch. ε 1243; sch. D. T. *Lond.* 540.26-7; *Et. Gen.* β 44.1-2; Choerob. *in Theod.* 261.8, 261.11; Psell. *Poem.* 6.424; Eust. *Il.* I 581.26.

5.10 ῥητῶν: See note on 5.7 ῥητῶν above.

5.12 ῥητῶν: See note on 5.7 ῥητῶν above.

5.13 Ἀρχήν: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA). Schmidt mentioned is his apparatus (6.12) Lobeck's conjecture (*PGG* 191.21-2) ἀχήν, and did not capitalise Ἀρχήν in his text, something which suggests that he was not aware of the fact that Ἀρχήν was an attested personal name, and that he thought it was not the appropriate reading here.

5.13 λειχήν: The manuscripts' αὐχήν is fully acceptable as an example of this rule, but in fact I consider αὐχήν to be the following example (see the next note). Lobeck's correction (*PGG* 191.21-2) seems quite plausible. λειχήν serves well as an example of this rule and is also employed in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (GG iii.ii 923.7), where it immediately precedes κηφήν and αὐχήν. If indeed λειχήν is the right reading here, this suggests that Herodian often repeated

lists of examples in his various works. The case for reading λειχήν here is strengthened by the fact that this word occurs in the vicinity of αὐχήν in some lexicographical sources thought to derive material from Herodian (*Et. Gen.* α 121.5-7, *EM* 22.40-4, *Et. Sym.* I 92.11-4). The scribe could have easily been influenced by the following word, thus writing that one instead of the original word (see the next note).

5.14 αὐχήν: The manuscripts' ναυχήν is a *vox nihili*. Lobeck's emendation (*PGG* 191.21-2) is adopted here because it is very plausible that the scribe repeated the final -ν of the previous word at the beginning of the next word, thus forming ναυχήν.

5.14 Ὀρφήν: This is a proper name (a by-form of Ὀρφεύς; cf. sch. D. T. *Lond.* 540.31), cf. Ibycus *PMG* fr. 25 = *PMGF* ὀνομάκλυτον Ὀρφήν, and therefore I have capitalised it, differently from Schmidt (6.13).

5.17–6.1 εἰ...παρασχηματισμόν: 'if their form does not change for the neuter'.

6.1 Ἀγήν: The name of a satyr play written by the tragedian Python, but sometimes ascribed to Alexander the Great (see Snell (1964), 99-138).

6.1 ἀτμήν: This word is mainly found in grammatical and lexicographical works.

6.2 Αἰζήν: The third letter of this word in M is ambiguous between ζ

and τ, more likely a ζ. The upper part of the letter looks more like that of a ζ, but the lower part should have been slightly more curved for a ζ. Schmidt (6.17) printed A's αἰτήν, which is a *vox nihili*. The shape of the third letter in M is probably responsible for the reading of A (αἰτήν). Many errors found in A (and in other manuscripts) are due to ambiguities in M: see also the chapter on the Manuscript Tradition. O's αἰζήν αἰτήν could be thought to reflect the ambiguity in M (or in M's source); the scribe could have been puzzled about what the third letter was and accidentally written both possible readings. Stephanus of Byzantium (α 72.3-5) mentions that the name Αἰζήν was cited in book 1 of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* and provides us with the information that Αἰζήν was a son of Tantalus (on Αἰζήν see also *Et. Sym.* I 92.21-2, Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 923.7-8 and Roscher (1884-1937), V, 77). Αἰζήν is cited again after a few lines, but this does not create any problem here. It is common in this Epitome (as it might have been in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*) for a word to be cited more than once, if it exemplifies more than one rule (e.g. ἄδην 6.2, 7.1; ἔσσην 6.6, 6.13; εἴσην 7.7, 7.15; βαλλήν 6.9, 6.14; ποιμήν 7.8, 7.11; ἔρωδιός 69.1, 74.5).

6.2 ἄδην...νόσος: For the word ἄδην as referring to a νόσος see Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.i 264.34-5, cf. 264.26-7; Poll. 2.225.1-4,

4.201.5-202.1; *Et. Gen.* α 121.4; *EM.* 22.40; *Et. Sym.* I 92.11-3. Photius (α 335 = *Synagoge* Σb α 351) provides evidence that Herodian considered the word ἀδὴν to have a rough breathing and considered this to be irregular: Ἀδὴν· τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι γεγενημένων ἐστὶ τοῦτο. γίνεται δὲ περὶ βουβῶνας καὶ μασχάλας, καὶ ἔτι ὑπὸ τὰς σιαγόνas. ὀξύνεται δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ δασύνεται παραλόγως, ὥς φησιν Ἡρωδιανός (‘Ἀδὴν· this belongs to the things that happen in the body. And it occurs round the groins and the arm-pits and under the jaws. The word is oxytone and is irregularly aspirated, as Herodian says’). Therefore, I have employed the rough breathing and not the conventional spelling of the word.

6.4–5 μῆ...5 διφθόγγω: I could not find examples to exemplify this condition. Cf. Lentz 15.4 (app. crit.), who says that no such examples have survived.

6.5–6 εἰ...6 γένει: Cf. note on 5.17–6.1 above.

6.6–7 καμασήν...7 ἰχθῦς: The manuscripts’ καμασήν οἰχθήν are *voces nihili*. I have adopted Lobeck’s emendation καμασήν ὁ ἰχθῦς (*PGG* 191.24-5). Καμασήν is an uncommon word meaning ‘fish’ in Empedocles, but otherwise a special kind of fish (see *LSJ* s. v.). See *Ath.* 8.10.1-5 (= Empedocl. fr. 72.1-3); *Epit.* ii.i, 158.26-8; *Hdn.* π.μ.λ. *GG* iii.ii 923.11; *Hsch.* κ 574.

6.7 νασσήν: This word is nowhere else attested and is perhaps a *vox nihili*. Lobeck (*PGG* 191.25-6) proposed the reading *Δαμασήν* from Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (25.453). He also suggested *Βλισσήν* (on the basis of Eust. *Od.* I 128.15), and *Λισσήν* (*PGG* 191, n. 5). The personal names *Ναυσήν* and *Μνασήν* are possible but not supported by parallel passages. Naassenes, a variant name for the Ophites, a Gnostic sect of the second century (see Smith W. - Wace H. (1877-87), s. v.), is close to the transmitted reading, but it is doubtful if such a word would have been employed by Herodian as an example for his accentuation rules (see also below the note on *όσσήν*). Another problem in associating *νασσήν* to the above religious group is that the latter is only attested as a second-declension nominal (e.g. *Ναασσηνοί* *Evang. Thom.* 2, Hippol. *Refut. omn. haeres.* 5.pinax.2.1, 5.6.3.5, 5.9.11.5, 5.11.1.1, 10.9.1.2).

6.7 ξρσήν: This word is nowhere else attested. I have suggested two possible readings in the apparatus, the personal names *Χερσήν* (*LGPN* IIIB) and *Θερσήν* (*LGPN* IIIA). The first letter of a word could easily have been omitted by a scribe.

6.7 Αιζήν: See the relevant note on 6.2 above.

6.7 ἄζήν: Both a common noun and a proper name. As a common noun this was the Phrygian word for *πώγων*; see Hsch. α 1451; Phot.

α 432 Ἀζήν· ὁ πώγων κατὰ Φρύγας λέγεται. ἡ λέξις Ἡρωδιανοῦ;
Synag. Σb, α 420 ἄζήν ὁ πώγων κατὰ Φρύγας λέγεται. ἡ λέξις
 Ἡρωδιανοῦ; cf. also Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.i 264.25-6, 264.32-4,
 Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 395.8-9, *Et. Gen.* α 121.1-2, *EM* 22.36-7.

The proper name Ἀζήν indicates an inhabitant of Ἀζανία, a region in Arcadia (on this see Str. 8.3.1, 8.8.1, sch. A. *Th.* 323h.2-3, sch. E. *Or.* 1646.12-5, St. Byz. α 71, Eust. *Il.* I 466.6-7 and the *DGE* s. v. Ἀζάν). Ἀζᾱνες is also the title of a tragedy by the tragic poet Achaëus (*TrGF* 20, fr. 2).

The fact that some of the above sources say that the word is Herodian's (ἡ λέξις Ἡρωδιανοῦ) suggests either that our knowledge for the existence and meaning of this word is due to Herodian, or at least that later grammatical and lexicographical works derived their information on this word from Herodian.

The sources who say ἡ λέξις Ἡρωδιανοῦ might really have known which sense of the word Herodian meant, and therefore it is likely that the Phrygian word for πώγων is intended here.

6.8 ἀψήν: (< α-ψήν'). Lobeck *PGG* 192.1-2 explains that this equals ἀνερίναστος ('not ripened by caprification', *LSJ* s. v.) in meaning. See *LSJ* s. v. ἀνερίναστος, ψήν, ψηνίζω. I have printed a smooth breathing with Schmidt (7.5).

6.9 βαλλήν: An uncommon, perhaps prehellenic word (on this see Chantraine (1968), 167) meaning 'king'. On the spelling of this word with two and not one λ see LSJ s. v. βαλλήν. In defence of one λ see Lobeck *PGG* 191, n. 3.

6.9–10 Τελλήν: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, IIIB).

6.10 ὠλήν: I have adopted Lobeck's emendation of the manuscripts' ὠλλήν to ὠλήν (*PGG* 192.5-7). ὠλήν is either a common noun or a personal name (cf. Lobeck *PGG* 192.5-7, who hesitated whether this was a common noun or a proper name). For the latter, see e.g. Hdt. 4.35.9-15, Call. *Del.* 304-5, Paus. 10.5.7, 8. See also *RE* 17, 2432-3, s. v. Olen; *DNP* 8, 1161, s. v. Olen, *BNP* 10, 86, s. v. Olen.

6.10 κωλήν: The manuscripts' κελήν seems to be a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Lobeck's (*PGG* 192.7-8) emendation κωλήν. This is either a common noun ('thigh, leg') or a personal name (see Eust. *Il.* IV 824.16-825.1 and *EM* 550.36-8). The meaning ἔντερον provided as a synonym for κωλήν in Zonaras (κ 1273) is unparalleled. Lobeck's Κυλλήν (*PGG* 192.9) is also possible but is attested only at Pausanias 8.4.5, 8.4.6, 8.17.1 and is less economical than κωλήν. κωλήν, on the other hand occurs a few times in grammatical and lexicographical works (e.g. Poll. 6.52.1, 6.52.6, 2.193.6, 5.70.1, Hsch. κ 4812, 4813, *EM* 550.36, 586.40).

6.10 σιπελήν: This word is nowhere else attested and is probably a *vox nihili*. In the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* there is a word στελήν (GG iii.ii 923.8) close to σωλήν (iii.ii 923.7) and βαλλήν (iii.ii 923.8). στελήν and σιπελήν seem to be corrupt forms of the genuine reading at this point. In the critical apparatus, I propose to read Σιπυλήν here, a word which is nowhere attested, but which could be an alternative form for Σιπυληνός, an inhabitant of the city Σίπυλος (the ethnic designation Σιπυληνός is attested at Stephanus of Byzantium 572.2-3). Chantraine (1968, 168) shows that names of peoples may take the termination -ην (e.g. Κηφῆνες), and also that this termination is not to be separated from the ethnic designations in -ανος, -ηνος. Σιπυλήν is close to the reading provided by the manuscripts and υ could have been misread as ε. Schmidt's Πελλήν (7.7.) is nowhere else attested as a nominative.

6.13 ὀσσήν: This word occurs nowhere else. The stem of the word reminds us of the Osseni, a Jewish sect (see Smith W. - Wace H. (1877-87), s. v.), but it is questionable whether Herodian would have employed the names of Jewish religious groups to exemplify his accentuation rules. The Osseni are mentioned by Epiphanius (4th century; *Panarion* I 336.2, I 222.14) and Johannes Damascenus (7-8th century; *De haeres.* 18.1). If one could accept that Herodian quoted

such a word in his work, one would have to assume that Herodian is reconstructing the nominative singular according to the third declension, or that such a nominative singular was also in use (even if it is not otherwise attested), because the Osseni are usually declined in Greek according to the second declension (Ὀσσηνοί, Ὀσσηνοῖς, Ὀσσηνῶν). If indeed the word is meant to designate the Osseni, it is also possible that this word was later added by a scribe.

6.16–18 κατ’...18 Ἐγκτην: If κατ’ ἐπιπλοκὴν δύο συμφώνων strictly meant a cluster of two consonants before the -HN, this would be in favour of the alternative writing of Ἐγκτην, i.e. Ἐκτην. My study of the terminology on syllable division, consonant clusters, and the indication of their place within a word, in the Introduction (the term κατ’ ἐπιπλοκὴν is discussed in pp. 119ff.), has shown that sometimes the terminology is inaccurate. Thus, it is possible that ‘δύο’ here means ‘at least two’. Cf. my discussion of ‘ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ’ in the Introduction (pp. 120-1).

6.16 κατ’ ἐπιπλοκὴν: On the term ἐπιπλοκὴ see the Introduction pp. 119-20.

6.17 Κεβρὴν: I have adopted Schmidt’s emendation (7.14) of the manuscripts’ κερβήν to Κεβρὴν. Κεβρὴν is the name of a river (St.

Byz. 371.5) and of a city in the Troad (St. Byz. 371.4) and also of a river god (Apollod. 3.154.2-3, 3.147.6-7).

6.18 Ἐγκτην: or Ἐκτην. This is an ethnic designation (Paus. 9.5.1.1-8; Theognost. *Can.* II 27.12-3 (= 145.6-7); *Su.* ε 647; Zonar. ε 653.12; *Et. Gud. (Additamenta)* ε 395.21-2; *EM* 311.36-8; sch. Lyc. 433.19-24). There are three issues regarding the spelling and declension of this word. This word is sometimes spelled with a γ before κ and sometimes without in the various editions of works where it occurs. Secondly, it is sometimes written with a rough and sometimes with a smooth breathing. Thirdly, the nominative plural of Ἐ(γ)κτην is sometimes accented on the antepenultimate syllable (as implied here) and sometimes on the penultimate syllable in different editions of texts where the word occurs.

7.1 Ὠγήν: An alternative form for Ὠγενοῦς and Ὠγηνόος ('Ocean') attested again in Hesychius (ω 19; ω 21).

7.1 ταγήν ἀτταγήν: MO's ἀττήν is nowhere else attested, and in any case it is incorrect here, because the rule prescribes that there should be a voiced consonant before the ending -ην. The following example, ἀτταγήν, might have influenced a scribe who combined the beginning ἀττ- from ἀτταγήν with the termination -ην and thus wrote ἀττήν. Ταγήν (the name of a bird: see *Su.* τ 10) and Ἀγήν (on

this see note 6.1 above) are equally possible readings, but I print *ταγήν* with Lobeck (*PGG* 191, n. 4) because it is slightly closer to *ἄτταγήν* and this would facilitate the mistake (*ἄττήν*) that we find in the manuscripts. The stem of *ταγήν* is very close to that of *ταγηνάριον*, which according to LSJ s. v. is the diminutive of *ἄτταγήν*. If *ταγήν* is indeed the name of a bird, like *ἄτταγήν*, this could increase the possibility that these words were cited side by side in Herodian, because generally in the Epitome we find words that belong to the same semantic group (names of cities, rivers etc.) next to each other (e.g. names of rivers: 11.2 *Σαλάγγων*, *Ἐρίγων*; ethnic designations: 31.1–2 *Βέχειο* *Σάπειο*; personal names: 10.1 *Αἶγων* *Μέγων*, 13.8–9 *Φαέθων* *Φαέθοντος*, *Πυριφλεγέθων* *Πυριφλεγέθοντος*, *Κιναίθων*, 15.1–2 *Ἀπόλλων* *Κεφάλων*, 15.8–9 *Ἑρμῶν* *Σάλμων* *Τίμων* *Σίμων*, 17.5 *Ἀρτέμων* *Πολέμων* *Διδύμων*, 18.2 *Κόνων* *Σίνων*; names of birds: 74.4–5 *αἰγυπιός*, *χαραδριός*, *ἐρωδιός*).

One observes that *ἄτταγήν* is the only word exemplifying the specific rule that has more than two syllables. The other words are disyllabic. One could find this suspicious because the number of syllables is usually a significant factor that influences the accentuation of a word, but no condition with regard to the number

of syllables is mentioned in this rule, even though one could take as an indirect hint for the number of syllables of this rule the fact that the following rule contains the phrase 'ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς'. If the word was not intended here, it could be a faulty anticipation of the citation of the word in the following accentuation rule.

Lobeck's emendation of ἀττήν ἀτταγήν to ταγήν (ὁ ἀτταγήν) (*PGG* 191, n. 4) is interesting, but it is doubtful for two reasons. ἀτταγήν is not a common word and one would expect that words used to explain other words would have been easy and common. Moreover, it is suspicious that ἀτταγήν itself has a voiced consonant before the termination -ήν as the rule prescribes.

7.1–2 τριβήν...2 τρίπους: For the meaning and ancient etymology of the word cf. Choerob. in *Theod.* 264.17-8; Eust. *Od.* I 309.6-7; *EM* 758.7-9; cf. also Orion τ 151.14-5.

7.3–4 χαίρουσι...4 ὀξεΐα: 'are usually oxytone'.

7.4 κορδυλήν: This word is nowhere else attested. The stem of this word is close to that of κορδύλη (see *LSJ* s. v., III = σκορδύλη, a kind of fish) and κορδύλος ('water-newt'), and perhaps there is a connection with these words (see Solmsen (1909), 143). The suffix -ήν is used for the formation of the names of animals (see Chantraine (1968), 167). One may compare two uncommon names of animals

that are attested in our Epitome, namely ἀτταγήν (a kind of bird) and καμασήν (a kind of fish). κορδύλη and κορδύλος are kinds of animals, and κορδυλήν could be in some way associated with them (e.g. it could be a variant form of one of these words).

Epiphanius (*Ancoratus* 113.2.6) refers to the Κορδυληνοί. κορδυλήν could perhaps be a variant form for Κορδυληνός. Κορδύλη was a harbour on the coast of the Black sea (see *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 36.13-5; *RE* 11.1386), and Κορδυληνοί were probably the inhabitants of this area.

7.4 μαραθήν: This is nowhere else attested. Solmsen (1909), 143-4 assumes that μαραθήν is derived from μάραθον = μάραθρον ('fennel') and that it is a variant form for Μαραθών. I am inclined to assume, together with Schmidt (7.19, app. crit.), that μαραθήν is a variant form of the ethnic designation Μαραθηνός, the citizen of Μάραθος, a city in Acarnania (St. Byz. 431.18. On the relation between words ending in -ην and -ηνος see Chantraine (1968), 168). It is possible that an ethnic designation in -ηνός had a variant form in -ήν (see also note on 6.10 σιπελήν). But we do not know whether, in the case that μαραθήν had an alternative form is -ηνος, this would have to be oxytone or recessive.

The termination -ην, although not very common, is used for the

formation of names of people, and the accentuation can be either oxytone or recessive, e.g. Κηφήν ('Persian'), Ἑλλήν (on this see Chantraine (1968), 168).

7.4–5 δοθιήν: The manuscripts' δοθήν is a scribal error. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation δοθιήν (*PGG* 192.20-1).

7.5 περπέρην: This word is rare. Solmsen (1909), 144, saw a link between this word and πέρπερος ('vainglorious, braggart'). It is also possible that περπέρην is an inhabitant of a city of Lydia and Maeonia called Περπέρη (or else Περμέρη), mentioned by Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* 5.2.16.1-2. Another possibility would be that this is the inhabitant of the village Περπερηνή, which is an alternative name for the village in Asia called Παρπάρων, mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (508.10-7).

7.6 ῥητῶν: 'words in common use'; see LSJ s. v., I.3

7.6 διαλεγομένων: 'words used in dialects'. For this meaning of διαλέγομαι see LSJ s. v. διαλέγω, B.4.

7.7 εἴρην: An uncommon word used to describe 'a Lacedaemonian youth who had completed his twentieth year' (LSJ, s. v.; see also Bourguet (1927), 119; MacDowell (1986), 164-6).

There is a problem regarding the orthography of this word. In 9.85 of Herodotus' *Histories* we read ἰρένας and ἰρένες in the critical

editions of Hude and of Rosén. In both cases this reading is an emendation by Valckenaer, whereas the manuscripts transmit *ἱερέας/ἱρέας* and *ἱερέες/ἱρέες*. Flower and Marincola (2002), 85-6 keep the readings *ἱρέας* and *ἱρέες* (and argue for this on pages 255-6) in their edition and commentary on Herodotus' Book 9. I see no reason to worry about the spelling of the word with *εῖ-*, both because the word is attested with this orthography in inscriptions (e.g. *IG V, 1* 279) and in grammatical and lexicographical sources (Choerob. *in Theod.* 265.25-6, *Et. Gud. Addit.* ε 427.22-3, *EM* 303.38-9, *Ep. Hom.* 513b).

Regarding the accent of this word, a passage from the *Λέξεις Ἡροδότου* (II, 465) testifies for the oxytone accentuation of this word, but all the other evidence from grammatical works and etymological lexica (the relevant references are cited above) supports the recessive accent.

7.8 *μελλείων*: This rare word occurs again in Plutarch (*Lyc.* 17.2.6), Hesychius (μ 753), *Glossae in Herodotum* (ε 32.4, 32.7; but written with one λ), and the *Suda* (μ 483; but written with one λ).

7.9–10 *εἰ*...10** *MHN*:** An example of this exception is *ἀρχιποίμην*, which is cited in the preceding rule.

7.10 *Δαμήν*: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

7.14 Σειρήν: The interchange between ει and ι is a common iotacistic error in manuscripts. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Σειρήν (8.6).

7.14 Πειρήν: The manuscripts' πιρήν is nowhere attested. Lobeck's (*PGG* 192.30) emendation Πειρήν is reinforced by a passage in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (*GG* iii.ii 923.8), where Πειρήν occurs in the vicinity of σειρήν. πειρήν is either a common noun ('a kind of fish') or a proper name. For mythological figures bearing this name see *RE* 19.1, 105-6; *DNP* 9, 477; *BNP* 10, 679-80.

7.14 †δεπρήν: This word is nowhere else attested and is probably a *vox nihili*. The rule prescribes that the words end in -ρήν καθαρόν ('preceded by a vowel'), and thus the word δεπρήν cannot serve as an example. The reading proposed by Lobeck, πυρήν (*PGG* 192.30-1), would exemplify the specific rule but is not supported by any parallel passage.

7.15 εἶρην: The manuscripts' ἄρην is inappropriate due to καθαρόν ('preceded by a vowel', 7.12). I have adopted Schmidt's emendation εἶρην (8.7).

8.1 παροξύνεται: I have adopted Lobeck's emendation παροξύνεται (*PGG* 192.25). Despite the fact that the transmitted

words in the list of this rule contain scribal errors (see the individual notes on these words), they have the accent on the penultimate.

8.1 γέρην: The manuscripts' ἔρην is nowhere else attested. I have adopted the emendation γέρην that appears in Schmidt's apparatus (8.9). γέρην is attested in Eustathius (*Il.* III 903.20-1) and in Theodosius (*Can. nom.* iv.ii 18.19-20) just before the example τέρην, and in Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 265.16-24) in the vicinity of Ἑλλην and τέρην. τέρην and γέρην are consecutive lemmata in the *Lexicon Artis Grammaticae*, but γέρην comes after τέρην. It should be noted that the *Lexicon Artis Grammaticae* in 429.17-431.11 includes explanations and comments on words that are cited in books one and two of our Epitome, and the material of the Lexicon is arranged according to the terminations as in the Epitome (words that end in -ν as in Book 1 of the Epitome and then words with the terminations -ξ and -ο as the beginning of Book 2).

There is both a common and a proper name γέρην. As a common noun it indicates a female γέρανος ('crane'; cf. Phot. γ 88 and Eust. *Il.* I 352.2). Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 265.20-1), Theognostus (*Can.* II 68.5-6 (= 368.2-3)) and the *Lexicon Artis Grammaticae* (430.2) cite Γέρην as a proper name. Stephanus of Byzantium (γ 59) says more specifically that it is the name of a city or unwalled village in Lesbos.

8.1 τέρην: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation τέρην (8.9) of the manuscripts' τέρρην. The emendation is supported by the attestation of τέρην in Theodos. *Can. nom.* iv.ii 18.19-20, Choerob. *in Theod.* 265.16-24, Eust. *II*. III 903.20-1. See also the note on γέρην above.

8.1 Θέρην: The manuscripts' θέρρην occurs nowhere else, and is in any case unsuitable here due to καθαρόν ('preceded by a vowel'; see also note on πέρρην below). I have printed Θέρην with Schmidt (8.9), although no river with this name is attested. A river called Θήρην is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (5.72.4.4; cf. *RE* V.A. 2367, Bursian (1868-72), II 558, Fick (1905), 25), but it occurs in no other ancient source as the name of a river. Herodian's source might have contained Θέρην, which could have been a corrupt form of Θήρην (the corruption of η to ε would not have been difficult). If Θέρην is a corrupt form of Θήρην, still Θήρην will not be a proper example of the specific accentuation rule, which prescribes that there should be an ε in the penultimate syllable. It is also possible that Θέρην is an otherwise unknown river.

8.2 †πέρρην: The manuscripts' πέρρην occurs nowhere else, and in any case it would not be a suitable example here, because the rule prescribes that the -ρην should be καθαρόν ('preceded by a vowel'). Schmidt (8.9, app. crit.) suggested that the reading here should be

περπέρην. περπέρην could serve as an example, as it satisfies the conditions for the accentuation rule. The fact that περπέρην has more than two syllables, differently from the other examples cited, does not seem to be a problem, because the number of syllables is not given as a condition for the specific accentuation rule. περπέρην is also cited above on 7.5, but words are often quoted as examples of more than one rule in our Epitome, if they satisfy the rules' conditions. On περπέρην see above on 7.5.

8.3–5 Τὰ...5 Σαλαμῖς: On the alternative terminations of δελφίν/δελφίς, τελχίν/τελχίς and Σαλαμίν/Σαλαμῖς, cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.i 267.22-4. It is noteworthy that the three examples above are cited in the same order in Choeroboscus as in our Epitome.

8.6 εὐάκτιν: This rare word occurs again in Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* GG iv.i 267.19-21), the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (κ 300.16-7), and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (491.49-51).

8.6 χρυσάκτιν: This word occurs only in our Epitome and in Sophronius' Excerpts from Johannes Charax' commentary on Theodosius' *Canones* (395.27; see the quotation in the apparatus of parallel passages).

8.7–9.1 ἐξαιρέτως...9.1 Αἰολεῦσι: 'characteristically in the Aeolic'.

9.1 Φόρκυν: The name of a variety of mythological figures. See *RE*

XX.1, 534-6, s. v. Phorkys, *DNP* 9, 951, s. v. Phorkys, *BNP* 11, 180, s. v. Phorcys.

9.1 Πόλτυν: This rare word is sometimes cited as a proper name (Theognost. *Can.* II 27.17 (= 147.2), II 68.10 (369.3)) or as ξυλόκαστρον ('castle made of wood'; *EM* 681.20-1; Zonar. π 1560.14-6). In the *Lexicon Artis Grammaticae* the lemma Πόλτυνος (449.6) is given the explanation 'name of a mountain'. If the meaning of this word is indeed ξυλόκαστρον then it is a synonym for μόσ(σ)υν. It is nevertheless possible that πόλτυν does not mean ξυλόκαστρον but that πόλτυν was confused with μόσ(σ)υν. In any case it seems suspicious that two uncommon words ending in -υν are synonyms.

9.1-2 μόσυν: This word is sometimes attested with double σσ; for double sigma cf. also X. *An.* 5.4.26.3; Lyc. 433, 1432; A. R. 2.381b, 2.1026; Call. *Aet.* fr. 43.68; sch. X. *An.* 5.4.2.2; sch. A. R. 159.17; D. P. *Orb. descr.* 766; Hsch. μ 1702, 1704; St. Byz. β 98.5, Theognost. *Can.* II 68.9 (= 369.2); Phot. μ 544; *Su.* μ 1272). Various meanings are attested for this word: wooden house (*EM* 591.35; Zonar. μ 1368), wooden castle (Zonar. μ 1368), wooden tower (Choerob. *in Theod.* 269.4-5; 270.9-10; *Et. Gud.* κ 322.19-20), tower (Str. 12.3.18.14-5; Eust. *D. P.*

765.9-10), wall (*Lexic. Art. Gramm.* 430.3), wooden walls (sch. Lyc. 433.3-4; cf. 433.17).

9.3–4 εἰ...**4** δηλοῖ: An example of this exception would be βουβῶν, cf. Lentz's reconstruction 23.1.

9.4 Στίβων: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' στείβων to Στίβων (8.18) on the basis of *Su.* σ 1101 and Theognost. *Can.* II 30.32 (= 169.4), which is a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA). The interchange between ι and εἰ is a common iotacistic error in manuscripts.

9.4 τριβῶν: Either a common noun ('garment') or a personal name (*LGPN* I, IIIA, VA).

9.7 Ἀλαβῶν: The name of a city in Sicily and of a river: see Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὦν ὄξυτ. 22.26; St. Byz. α 187; *Et. Sym.* I 270.14-5; D. S. 4.78.1.5-4.78.2.1.

9.7–8 τὸ...περισπᾶται: Theognostus (*Can.* II 30.33-4 (= 169.5-6) says that the reason why Χαρναβῶν is an exception is because it is declined with ντ and maintains the ω in the oblique cases. Χαρναβῶν, mentioned in Sophocles' *Triptolemos* (F 604 (547)), was a ruler of the Getae.

9.10 δύναμιν: 'meaning'.

9.10 ἧ...κλίνοιτο: No example of this type of exception is given, but

Lentz (23.17-9) in his reconstruction cites some possible examples, e.g. πυγών, λαγών, σταγών, τρυγών, γοργών.

9.11–10.1 Πύργων: A personal name (see *LGPN* I, IIIA, IIIB). Schmidt (9.5) printed πύργων, which is found once in Choeroboscus' *Onomaton* (I, 74.28, Gaisford). But the manuscripts' Πύργων is suitable as an example of this accentuation rule and there is no reason why it should not be kept in the text.

10.1 Αἶγων...Φλέγων: Personal names (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA; *LGPN* I, IIIA, IIIB, IV, V; *LGPN* IIIA, IV, V, respectively).

10.1–2 τὸ...ὁξύνεται: φηγών ('oak-grove') and ἄγών ('assembly, course') are exceptions because they are περιεκτικά (they denote a place in which things are situated).

10.1 φηγών: This is very rare. φηγών is glossed by the Latin *aesculetum* ('oak-forest') in the *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* II 525, 29.

11.1 †ἐλέγων: The manuscripts' ἐλέγων is nowhere else attested. Three sources, which are parallel to our Epitome, Theodosius' Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 18.9-14 (Πελάγων), Theognostus' *Can.* II 31.12-23 (= 174; Οὐκαλέγων) and the *Iliad* scholion 21.141.13-7 deriving from Herodian (Οὐκαλέγων, Πελάγων; see the full quotations in the apparatus of parallel passages), suggest that either Πελάγων or Οὐκαλέγων should be restored here. The passage of Theodosius

points towards Πελάγων, while Theognostus (II 31.12-23 (= 174.1-7)) supports the reading Οὐκαλέγων. Οὐκαλέγων appears also in Theodosius' passage, but within a Homeric citation. The Homeric scholion quotes both Οὐκαλέγων and Πελάγων, but Πελάγων is cited just before Σαλάγγων. The text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

11.2 Εὐάγων: A personal name (*LGN* I, II, IV). Schmidt (9.10) printed Πελάγων (see also the previous note). But the manuscripts' Εὐάγων satisfies the conditions for this rule, and thus there is no reason to replace it. The order in which the examples appear in Theodosius' Περί κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν βαρυτόνων (18.10-4; see the quotation in the apparatus of parallel passages) strengthens the view that the word needed here is Εὐάγων. In this passage Πελάγων, Εὐάγων and προάγων appear in the same order as in our Epitome.

11.2 Σαλάγγων: The manuscripts' σαλάγων occurs nowhere else and is probably a scribal error. Schmidt's emendation Σαλάγγων (9.10 e Hdn. *Il. pros.* Φ 141 (= sch. Hom. *Il.* 21.141.14-5)) is the name of a river: see A. R. 4.337; sch. Hom. *Il.* 21.141.13-5; Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ὧν βαρυτ. 18.10. The readings Σαλγῶν in Choeroboscus (*Onomat.* I, 74.34, Gaisford), Σταλάγων in Theognostus (*Can.* II 31.14-5 (=

174.3-4)) and Φαλάγγων in Eustathius (*Il.* IV 474.21) all seem to be different corrupt forms of the word Σαλάγγων.

11.2 Ἐρίγων: The name of a river (Strabo 7a.1.12.1-5; 7a.1.20.1-5; 7a.1.22.6; 7a.1.23.6; cf. also 7.7.8.49-51; Ath. 2.18.24-6; Flav. Arr. *Alex. Anab.* 1.5.5.2).

11.4 τοῦ: This is redundant for the meaning. I have deleted this.

11.5-6 ἄρηγών...σύμμαχος: The word ἄρηγών is usually explained as βοηθός in other passages, except for sch. Hom. *Il.* 21.141.10 deriving from Herodian, where the synonym provided is σύμμαχος as in our Epitome. This perhaps suggests that σύμμαχος was particularly Herodian's gloss for ἄρηγών. For the gloss βοηθός see: D sch. Hom. *Il.* 4.7; Hsch. α 7149; Apollon. *Lex.* 42.4; *Ep. Hom.* 77,2; *Et. Gud.* α 192.4-5; *EM* 141.11; *Et. Sym.* II 188.25.

11.6 πλὴν...καταπύγων: καταπύγων is an exception, because it is derived from κατάπυγος.

11.9 ἀγκύλων: This variant form of ἀγκύλος is uncommon. Given that ἀγκύλος could be either an adjective or a personal name (see *LGPN* II), it is possible that ἀγκύλων could be either of the two as well. Theodosius (Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 20.36) cites this as a proper name.

11.12 ἦ: I have emended the manuscripts' καὶ to ἦ because the words

that are employed to exemplify the rule either keep the ω but do not decline with $\nu\tau$ in the oblique cases (e.g. $\kappa\acute{\omega}\delta\omega\nu$, $\Phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$, $\Phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\lambda}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\nu$), or decline with $\nu\tau$, but do not keep the ω (e.g. $\kappa\nu\acute{\omega}\delta\omega\nu$).

11.14 Φεῖδων: Either a personal name (see *LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA) or a common noun (Poll. 10.179.9-10 εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ φεῖδων τι ἀγγεῖον ἐλαιηρόν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνείων μέτρων ὠνομασμένον).

12.2 Μυγδών: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA; accented Μύγδων).

12.2 Σαρδών: An alternative name for Σαρδῶ, the island Sardinia (St. Byz. 556.19-557.1; Eust. *D. P.* 82.1-2; cf. also 458.20-1).

12.4–5 Κινάδων: A Spartan personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

12.5 Κορύδων: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

12.8 Ἀμυδών: Name of a city (and its eponymous hero; see Theodos. Π. κλίσι. ὧν ὀξύτ. 22.32, Choerob. in *Theod.* 280.34-5) in Paeonia (St. Byz. α 281, Eust. *II.* I 565.19).

12.8 Ἀπιδών: The manuscripts' ἀσπιδών is nowhere else attested. I have adopted Lehrs' emendation Ἀπιδών, which is strengthened by the fact that Ἀπιδών occurs in the same lemma (Ποσειδῶν) as Ἀμυδών and Καλυδών in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (GG iii.ii 914.6-20), and by the fact that Ἀπιδών is cited next to Καλυδών and Ἀμυδών in the treatise *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν ὀξύτόνων* (22.31-2). The *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν ὀξύτόνων* and the *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν*

εἰς ὧν βαρυτόνων usually cite examples that are also found in our Epitome. The *Περὶ κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν ὀξύτόνων* provides us with the information that Ἀπιδών is the name of a hero, but perhaps this is due to a confusion with Ἄπις, the son of Phoroneus, from where the Ἀπιδόνες were thought to have taken their name (St. Byz. α 357). Ἀπιδόνες is a name for the Ἀρκάδες (St. Byz. α 357.7) as well as the people coming from Argos, since Ἀπία was an old name for Argos (St. Byz. α 357.1-2).

12.8 χελιδών: No city with this name is attested. According to sch. Ar. Av. 1680 the word χελιδών was cited in book 1 of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας*: [...] οὕτω δὲ αὐτό φησι βαρβάρως καὶ δυσφράστως, ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες. καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὸ βαρβαρίζειν χελιδονίζειν (φησὶ) καὶ Ἴων ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ τοὺς βαρβάρους, χελιδόνας ἀρσενικῶς φησιν, (ὡς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς καθόλου φησὶν [...]). This evidence for χελιδών in book one of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας* encourages the thought that χελιδών is the correct reading at this point. Nevertheless, there could be something missing before χελιδών, indicating that this word too is oxytone as it has ι in the penultimate syllable, even though it is not the name of a city or an ethnic designation. The fact that Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 317.7-9 Τὰ δὲ εἰς ὧν ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ μὴ

ὄντα ἐπὶ πόλεων τρέπουσι τὸ ὦ εἰς τὸ ο ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον πλαγγών πλαγγόνος, χελιδών χελιδόνος), cites χελιδών among words that are not the name of a city, could suggest that χελιδών in the passage of our Epitome was intended as an exception to the accentuation rule, in the sense that it is neither the name of a city nor an ethnic designation but still it is oxytone. If this is true, then the text needs an addition, e.g. 'τὸ δὲ χελιδών σεσημείωται' or 'σεσημείωται τὸ χελιδών', and the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας might have also included an explanation similar to 'ὀξύτονον οὐκ ὄνομα πόλεως ἢ ἐθνικὸν ὄν'. Another explanation for the citation of χελιδών at this point would be that χελιδών could be employed catachrestically as an ethnic designation in the sense that χελιδών could mean βάρβαρος (sch. Ar. Av. 1680). For χελιδών meaning βάρβαρος see also Hsch. χ 325 and Su. χ 187. Χελιδών is also attested as a personal name (LGPN IIIA, VA), but the rule makes no mention of personal names. It is, however, possible that something is missing from the conditions for the rule, e.g. something like 'ἢ κύρια' before or after 'ἢ ἐθνικά'.

12.11 ἀρσενικά: It is noteworthy that ἀρσενικά here is given as one of the conditions for this accentuation rule, which makes one expect masculine nouns to be cited as examples. Nevertheless, three

adjectives (μείζων, ὀλίζων, ἀλαζών, the latter of which is in any case an exception) are quoted among the examples. Perhaps the use of ἀρσενικός here is meant to distinguish the masculine and feminine form (which is the same for these adjectives) as opposed to neuter ones. It is also possible that one ought to add something like καὶ ἐπιθετικά after ἀρσενικά. This is the only case in our Epitome where the term ἀρσενικά is used with regard to adjectives, when these have the same form and accent in the masculine and feminine.

12.12 καὶ: I have adopted Lentz's emendation since the condition regarding words with more than two syllables has to be combined with one of the two other conditions, the long α (e.g. ἀλαζών) or having the name of a city (e.g. the Thracian ethnic designation Ὀλίζων; on this see the following note). The abbreviation for καὶ is often confused with η in minuscule manuscripts (see also note on 18.1 καί).

12.13 πόλει ὁμωνυμεί: An example of this exception could be the Thracian ethnic designation Ὀλίζων (*Su.* ο 167), which has the same name as the city Ὀλίζων (*Hsch.* ο 562, *St. Byz.* 489.14, *Theognost. Can.* II 38.26 (= 207.9)). See also below on 12.14–15 <.....> ὀξύνεται.

12.14 Ῥίζων: Either the son of Cadmus (see *Theodos.* Π. κλίσ. εἰς ὧν βαρυντ. 19.8) or the name of a city (*St. Byz.* 545.5 and β 140.4-5; cf. *Str.*

7.5.7.2 who reports this word as the name of a city) and a river in Illyria (St. Byz. 545.5 and β 140.4-5).

12.14 Ὀζων: A river name (Theognost. *Can.* II 33.11 (= 182.4).

12.14–15 <> ... 15 ὀξύνηται: In this section there is an example of only one of the two groups of exceptions to the general rule of the accentuation of the words ending in -ζων, which is ἀλαζών, a word that is oxytone because it has more than two syllables and has α in the penultimate syllable. One would expect to get an example of the other type of exception, which occurs when a word ending in -ζων has more than two syllables and has the same form as the name of a city (πόλει ὁμωνυμει). The lacuna could be filled with the addition of the ethnic designation ὀλιζών (see also the critical apparatus), which has more than two syllables and has the same form as the city name ὀλιζών (cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξυτ. 22.34-23.5). Ὀλιζῶνες are according to the *Suda* (ο 167) an ἔθνος Θρακικόν. It is true that ὀλίζων is often used in grammatical texts in contrast to the city Ὀλιζών with regard to its accent (cf. St. Byz. 489.14-7; Eust. // I 513.11-2). This observation probably led Lentz (28.2-4) to reconstruct the text by making the distinction between the city Ὀλιζών and the adjective ὀλίζων. Nevertheless, the city name Ὀλιζών is feminine (on this see Hom. // 2.717; Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξυτ. 23.4-5; St. Byz.

489.15-6; *Su.* μ 501; *Eust. Il.* I 512.2; *Zonar.* ο 1443.16), something which creates problems in adding this word in this accentuation rule which is about the ἀρσενικά ending in ζων.

12.19 μόθων: M's μώθων and O's μύθων are scribal errors. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation μόθων (10.18).

13.1 †ῶθων: The manuscripts' ῶθων occurs nowhere else. Two readings are plausible here: Lobeck's emendation κώθων, on the basis of a parallel passage from Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 274.2-7) and ῥώθων, supported by a passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 33.27-31 (= 184). κώθων could be either a common noun or a personal name (*LGPN* I). I consider κώθων slightly more likely than ῥώθων, because in Theognostus ῥώθων and μόθων are not next to each other, and the only other example common to Theognostus and our Epitome is πίθων, while κώθων in Choeroboscus is right next to μόθων and in vicinity of Πίνθων and αἶθων, two examples which are also cited in the relevant accentuation rule in our Epitome. A passage in Eustathius (*Od.* I 46.40-1) presents the genitives κώθωνος μόθωνος ῥώθωνος in a row, but is not decisive with regard to which of the two possible readings should be printed, partly because of its brevity. The three passages cited above suggest that both κώθων and

ῥώθων were cited in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* close to μόθων.

13.1 †Μάθων...Θηβαῖος†: If indeed Μάθων is the right word here then one would expect that this person was sufficiently well known to be mentioned by Herodian. But we have no information about a Theban figure with this name. The *LGN III B* has no-one of this name. Moreover, even if one assumes that there was such a personal name and that there was a person with this name who was sufficiently well known to be cited in a work, still no other name in this Epitome is given an explanatory gloss like this; we only find such glosses for common nouns and adjectives. In the critical apparatus I have suggested emending Μάθων ὁ Θηβαῖος into μάλθων ὁ θηλαῖος. The emendation of Μάθων into μάλθων is very tempting, both because of the parallel passage from Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 19.24-9 (quoted in the critical apparatus) and because the corruption of μάλθων to μάθων must have been easy as it involves the omission of just one letter. The correction of Μάθων to μάλθων creates problems since there needs to be correspondence between the word cited and the word that the manuscripts transmit as its explanation (i.e. Θηβαῖος). The difficulty is overcome if Θηβαῖος is not a genuine word of the text. In passages where a

meaning is provided for the word μάθων we find μαλακός in Theodosius Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 19.25-6 and γύνανδρος in the *Suda* μ 111. Neither of the two words, nevertheless, is palaeographically close to the transmitted θηβαῖος, thus making it hard to assume the corruption of either μαλακός or γύνανδρος into θηβαῖος. There is a possibility that the explanatory word cited after μάθων was θηλαῖος, a word that is cited in our Epitome (79.11) and is very close to θηβαῖος as it involves only the change of a single letter. Even though this word is rare and is attested only in Byzantine Greek (see *LBG* IV s. v. θήλαιος (see the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* III, 253.28); the accent of the word is different, but it is possible that both accentuations were in use), its stem is related to θῆλυς θήλεια θῆλυ. The fact that the evidence for this word comes from late Byzantine texts could make one wonder about the authenticity of this reading and could point to a later addition by a scribe, but we may be dealing with an early occurrence of this word. It is reasonable that words in colloquial use might be attested particularly early in glosses, since a word used as a gloss really needs to be easily understood.

A name Μέθων is attested (see *LGPN* IIIB), but no famous figure with this name is known, thus making it difficult to understand why Herodian would have cited this name.

13.2 Πίνθων: A personal name (LGPN IIIA).

13.2 Αἶθων: A personal name (LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, VA).

13.3 Πυθών πόλις: Πυθών is oxytone because it is a city, but cities were not announced as exceptions to this rule. See also below on 13.3 κιθών ... ὀξύνεται.

13.3 Σιθών: This is oxytone, because it is an ethnic designation (cf. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 23.9).

13.3–4 κιθών ... **4** ὀξύνεται: In the statement of the general rule for disyllabic masculine words in -θων two types of exceptions are mentioned: ethnic designations and words denoting a place in which things are situated. κιθών is either thought of as a 'περικεκτικόν' (ὡς περικεκτικόν; cf. Choerob. in Theod. 280.3-29) because the person is situated in it, or the phrasing of another type of exception has been left out (either due to a scribal error or by the epitomator for the sake of brevity; cf. also the case of Πυθών, which is said to be oxytone because it is a city, while cities are not prescribed as exceptions to this rule), or the citation of κιθών (ὁ χιτών) here is a mistaken interpolation. Alternatively, it is possible that after a list of exceptions which are taken care of in the rule, the list went on to include some general exceptions.

13.9 Κιναίθων: A personal name (LGPN IIIA).

13.10 Ἀργανθών: The name of a mountain in Mysia (St. Byz. α 394, Theognost. *Can.* II 34.2 (= 185.4)), and therefore as the rule allows, it is exceptionally oxytone.

14.5 Χάλκων: A personal name (*LGPN* I, IV).

14.5 Κίκων: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA) and an ethnic designation (*RE* 11.1, 381, s. v. Kikon, *DNP* 6, 454, s. v. Kikones, *BNP* 3, 327, s. v. Cicones).

14.6 κροκών: This word occurs nowhere else. It probably means a saffron meadow ('*parterre de crocus*', *DELG*). It has the ending -ών, which is characteristic of περιεκτικά and it has the stem of κρόκος ('saffron').

14.6 πευκών: This rare word occurs again in Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὄξυτ. 23.11 and sch. Hom. *Il.* 18.576a1.4.

14.6 χαλκών: 'forge, smithy', see *DELG* s. v. χαλκός. This word occurs only in our Epitome and in Theodosius' Π. κλίσ. ων ὄξυτ. 23.11.

14.8 Ἀγκών πόλις: The Greek form of the Italian city Ancona.

14.12 μὴ οὕτως: i.e. μὴ διὰ τοῦ NT κλινόμενα.

14.13 τοπικώτερα: 'rather place-like, more or less indicative of place'. It should be noted that the terms τοπικός and περιεκτικός overlap in their use. περιεκτικά denotes a subset of τοπικά,

something which, apart from being semantically sensible, is shown in our Epitome by the use of the two terms next to each other, the one referring to the other: τοπικὰ περιεκτικά (25.11–12) and περιεκτικὴν τοπικὴν ἔννοιαν δηλοῖ (113.9 Schmidt). τοπικὰ περιεκτικά equals περιεκτικά, as is shown in the Epitome e.g. by the fact that ἀνδρῶν is once included in a list of τοπικὰ περιεκτικά (25.11–12), and once in a list of περιεκτικά (18.15–16). Furthermore, τοπικὰ περιεκτικά may be referred to in the Epitome simply as τοπικά, or as περιεκτικά, so that in some instances the terms are interchangeable. Thus, κοιτῶν is once called τοπικόν (23.7) and once περιεκτικόν (20.3–4), and ἀχυρῶν is once referred to as τοπικόν (19.2–3) and once as περιεκτικόν (136.7–8); γυναικῶν, μυλῶν, ἀχυρῶν are called τοπικά (14.15–16, 14.21, 19.2–3 respectively), although the term περιεκτικά would also have been appropriate (cf. the use of περιεκτικόν to describe ἀνδρῶν at 18.15–16). Conversely, τρασιά, αἱμασιά, σκηνή and ἰστών are called περιεκτικά in the Epitome (113.3–4 Schmidt, 113.4 Schmidt, 128.1–2 Schmidt, 17.7, respectively), although they could also have been called τοπικά.

14.14 χαρακῶν: This word is very rare: it occurs only in our Epitome and in the papyri *P. Ryl.* II 427, fr. 19; *P. NYU* II, 40^v.16; *SB* XXII 15747.3, 15750.3.

14.14 ἀνθρακῶν: This word is attested only in our Epitome and in an ostrakon (*O. Claud.* IV 742.5).

14.14–15 φαρμακῶν...15 βαφεῖον: The word φαρμακῶν ('dye-house') is uncommon. Other sources also give us the synonym βαφεῖα ('dyer's house or workshop') for φαρμακῶνες: sch. *Hom. Il.* 4.191a.2; Hsch. φ 184, α 8565; *Et. Gud.* φ 549.12-3; Eust. *Il.* I 734.21-2, IV 648.20-1, *Od.* I 56.27-8, 352.2-3. Cf. Poll. 7.169.6-7.

14.16 Τριάκων: A (mythological) personal name. See *RE* 6A 2354-5.

15.2 καμηλῶν: The manuscripts' μηλῶν is not suitable at this point because the rule is about words with more than two syllables. It is significant for the history of transmission of grammatical and lexicographical works thought to derive material from Herodian that we find traces of the reading μηλῶν in the manuscript tradition of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (α 174.5) and the *Epimerismi Homeric* (21,b2a.4). This suggests an early corruption in the common source for all these works and our Epitome. καμηλῶν is rare; it occurs again in Theognost. *Can.* II 36.6-7 (= 196.4-5), *Et. Gud.* (α 174.5), and *Epim. Hom.* (21,b2a.4).

15.3–4 τὸ...4 πόλις: Βαβυλῶν as founder and eponymous hero of the city is also mentioned in Stephanus of Byzantium (β 5) and in Eustathius (*D. P.* 1005.18-22).

15.6–8 ἡ...8 ἐκτεταμένον: This phrase does not fit grammatically, and I have deleted it with Schmidt (12.6-8), but perhaps something with this sense may be thought to have been present in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* at least, given the occurrence of ἡ ἐπὶ καιροῦ ... ἔχει το Ὑ ἐκτεταμένον further on. Nevertheless, it is not unusual in our Epitome to be given more exceptions or more information on an exception, which was not anticipated at the beginning of the rule. It is reasonable that for the sake of brevity the epitomator would have often avoided repeating certain parts of rules. It is therefore possible that this phrase was added at the beginning by a scribe, on the basis of what follows.

15.8 Ἑρμων: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, V) and also the name of a river (Zonar. ε 860.19).

15.8 Σάλμων: Probably a personal name. It is attested in the inscription *SEG* 2 718 (Pisidia). The genitive Ἀλμωνος mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (α 222 Ἄλμος· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος· καὶ Σάλμον αὐτήν φησι κακῶς. τὸ ἐθνικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλμωνος γενικῆς Ἀλμώνιος καὶ Ἀλμωνία) presupposes a nominative Ἄλμων (attested at *Etymologicum Symeonis* I 294.20-1). A parallel nominative Σάλμων may have existed (alongside Σάλμος

and Σαλμώνιος (see St. Byz. 551.19-20), parallel to Ἄλμος and Ἀλμώνιος).

15.9–16.1 τὰ...16.1 ἐστίν: λειμών ('meadow') and κευθμών ('hiding place') are included in Lentz's reconstruction of the text (32.10) as possible examples for this part of the rule. λειμών and κευθμών are cited in grammatical and lexicographical works that are generally thought to derive material from Herodianic sources, in connection with disyllabic words in -μων that are τοπικά. λειμών: Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 23.18-21, *Et. Gud.* κ 317.42-6, λ 364.50-2; κευθμών: Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 23.18-21, Theognost. *Can.* II 39.7-11 (= 210) and *Et. Gud.* κ 317.42-6.

16.1 ἐπὶ...λαμβάνεται: For example, χειμών. χειμών is quoted in grammatical and lexicographical sources with material thought to derive from Herodian in some form, in connection with disyllabic words in -μων that indicate time: Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 23.18-21, Theognost. *Can.* II 39.7-11 (= 210) and *Et. Gud.* κ 317.42-6, λ 364.50-2; see also Lentz's reconstruction, 32.11.

16.1–2 ἔχει...ἐκτεταμένον: Στρυμών and δρυμών could have been used to exemplify this exception. This is supported by parallel passages. On Στρυμών see Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 23.18-21, Theognost. *Can.* II 39.7-11 (= 210); on δρυμών see Theodos. Π. κλίσ.

ων ὀξύτ. 23.18-21. Lentz (32.12-3) adds these words as examples of this part of the rule.

16.2 κρεμών: An uncommon synonym for ἀκρεμών ('bough, branch'). It should be noted that this word does not designate a place, and does not have long υ: it is just a genuine exception.

16.10 κεράμων: This rare word occurs again in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (200).

16.11 Κεράμων...Ποτάμων: Personal names: *LGPN* II; *LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, respectively.

16.12 †ἀσσάμων: The manuscripts' ἀσσάμων occurs nowhere else. A personal name Ἀσάμων is attested (see *LGPN* IIIA). A possible reading might be Νασάμων, as suggested by Lobeck (*PSGP* 157.9), which left its traces in later texts (e.g. Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 21.9-11, St. Byz. 470.8-9) thought to have derived material from Herodian in some form. In fact, the reading Νασάμων appears in Theodosius' Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 21.9-13 close to Ποτάμων, Κεράμων and τεράμων, suggesting that this passage and the passage from our Epitome share a common source. It is possible that the passage from Theodosius has preserved the genuine reading. Νασάμων could be either a personal name or an ethnic designation (see the sources cited above).

16.12 τεράμων: There are two words τεράμων. τεράμων, -ονος means 'becoming soft by boiling', and τεράμων, -ωνος/-οντος equals 'κάλαμος' in meaning. There are two pieces of evidence suggesting that the word meant here is the second one. First of all, the manuscripts transmit 'ὥς διὰ τοῦ NT κλινόμενον'. The second τεράμων is the one that has an alternative declension with -ντ-. Secondly, Theodosius' Περί κλίσεως τῶν εἰς ὧν βαρυτόνων 21.9-14 (see the apparatus of parallel passages) is parallel to this accentuation rule and cites Ποτάμων, Νασάμων and Κεράμων just before τεράμων. Theodosius tells us that Anacreon declined τεράμων with -ντ- and that it means 'κάλαμος'. Thus, the parallel passage from Theodosius is at least evidence for the text of our Epitome here, at an early date.

17.2 μὲν κλίνοιτο: The manuscripts' μὴ ἐγκλίνοιτο is inappropriate; διὰ τοῦ ΝΟΣ indicates the inflection. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation μὲν κλίνοιτο (13.1).

17.5 Ἀρτέμων: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA). There is also a common noun ἀρτέμων, but that has its genitive in -ονος (see *LSJ* s. v.).

17.6 ἰτυμών: The manuscripts' ἰτυμών is not attested anywhere else. Both suggested emendations of G. Dindorf, δαιτυμών and Ἰτυμών (a

reconstructed variant form of Ἰτυμονεύς, on the analogy of δαιτυμονεύς, which is a variant for δαιτυμών) are reasonable. Ἰταμών, an emendation by Lehrs (see the critical apparatus) could perhaps be taken as a variant form (παρώνυμον) of ἰταμός ('headlong, hasty'). If it can be proved that δαιτυμών needs to be reconstructed here, then the emendation of the previous word written in the manuscripts, τυμών, into δαιτυμών will be affected. The reason for this is that δαιτυμών and Ἰτυμών are both plausible emendations for τυμών, but I print δαιτυμών in order to keep Ἰτυμών, which is transmitted after τυμών, as the following example. It is, however, possible that the right readings were Ἰτυμών δαιτυμών. Nevertheless, a single emendation is more economical.

17.7 ἔθνυμών: This is a *hapax*. Its meaning is doubtful (*DELG* s. v. ἔθνος calls it enigmatic and points out that its termination reminds one of δαιτυμών). Our Epitome cites the meaning ἔθνος. The *DGE* s. v. gives two possible meanings: 'member of a nation' and 'leader of a nation'.

17.8–9 αἶμων: Either an adjective or a personal name. If an adjective, the meaning is doubtful, perhaps 'eager, passionate, expert, knowledgeable'. On the meanings see *DGE* and *LSJ* s. v. I have employed a rough breathing with Schmidt (13.6).

17.10–11 ἐν... 11 διάστασιν: For a discussion of the terms ἐπιπλοκή and διάστασις see the Introduction pp. 119ff.

17.12 Δάφνων: The manuscripts' ἄφνων is nowhere else attested. Lobeck's conjecture Δάφνων (see the critical apparatus), which is very close to the transmitted reading and is a personal name (see *LGPN* IIIB, IV), seems very plausible.

17.13 Κραννών: The manuscripts' καρνών occurs nowhere else. I have adopted the emendation Κραννών suggested by Schmidt (13.10) in his apparatus. The rule prescribes that there should be a consonant before the termination -νων, and therefore I print Κραννών and not Κρανών, as this city name is spelled in the manuscript traditions of some other texts.

18.1–2 <>... 2 ΩΝΟΣ: There must be a lacuna before καὶ ... ΩΝΟΣ. Lentz (33.24-34.6: Τὰ εἰς νων ἔχοντα τὴν πρὸ τέλους εἰς φωνῆεν ἢ φωνήεντα λήγοντα, εἰ μὴ τοπικὰ εἶη, βαρύνεται καὶ τὰ διὰ τοῦ ονος ὡς ἀμείνων ἀμείνονος ἢ διὰ τοῦ οντος κλινόμενα ὡς Ὑγιαίνων ὄνομα ἱατροῦ, Αὐξάνων κύριον ἰσοδυναμεῖ τοῖς διὰ τοῦ ωνος οἶον Κόνων, Σίνων, Ζήνων, Φαίνων, Μόνων ὃς ἔκτισε Μακτώριον πόλιν Σικελίας, Σήνων ὁ κατοικῶν Σήνην πόλιν Κελτικὴν, Φλάνων πόλις καὶ λιμὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἀψυρτον νῆσον. Ἀρτεμίδωρος. τὸ δὲ κανών ὀξύνεται,

προσέτι πλατανῶν καὶ ξενῶν καὶ παρθενῶν) reconstructed his text on the basis of a passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 37.13-7 (= 201): Τὰ εἰς νων ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς βαρύνοντα, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μετοχικά ἐστιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν μετοχῶν κλίσιν ἀναδέχονται· οἶον, Ὑγιαίνων Ὑγιαίνοντος ὄνομα ἱατροῦ· Αὐξάνων Αὐξάνοντος ὄνομα κύριον· τὸ ἀμείνων ἀμείνονος οὐ μετοχικὸν ἀλλὰ συγκριτικόν, καὶ τὴν τῶν συγκριτικῶν κλίσιν ἐφύλαξεν.). The part missing was probably about the words in νων that are declined with ονος and οντος, as the passage from Theognostus suggests.

18.1 καὶ: I print καὶ and not ἥ, because καὶ is required to link ἰσοδυναμεῖ τοῖς διὰ τοῦ ΩΝΟΣ with the text of the lacuna, as this may be reconstructed on the basis of the passage from Theognostus cited in the note above. On the confusion between καὶ and ἥ in minuscule manuscripts see also note on 12.12 καί.

18.6 Πράξων: The manuscripts transmit the reading πράξων. This is attested as a personal name (see *LGN* I, II, IIIB, IV). Theodosius' passage Π. κλίσ. ὦν βαρυτ. 19.9 supports Schmidt's suggestion (13.19-20, app. crit.) that the reading should be Πρήξων and not πράξων here. Theodosius presents Ἀξων right after Πρήξων, while our Epitome quotes πράξων after ἄξων. Nevertheless, there is no reason to change Πράξων to Πρήξων, since Πράξων satisfies the

rule. Πρηξων could either be a misreading of Πράξων or its Ionic form. If, however, the reading here ought to be Πρηξων, the corruption of πρηξων to πράξων may be easily excused, since the two words differ only with regard to one vowel and it would have been easy for the η to become an α under the influence of the previous word, ἄξων.

18.6 δρᾱξών: This rare word occurs again in Hesychius (δ 2322), Sophronius (*Char. Theodos.* 398.11; accented δρᾱξων), and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (286.33-7; accented δρᾱξων). In the *Etymologicum Magnum* we find two meanings, thief and πορνοβοσκός ('brothel-keeper'). These meanings are more relevant than the one given by Hesychius (a temple in Sicily), since the rule prescribes that δρᾱξών is oxytone because it is an adjective.

18.9 δρᾱπων...δραπέτης: The word δρᾱπων is rare. Our Epitome, Theognostus (*Can.* II 34.12 (= 186.7)), and Zonaras (δ 570.19) provide the meaning δραπέτης ('runaway'), while the *Suda* (δ 1506) cites Δράπων as a proper name. No other evidence supports the information provided by the *Suda*.

18.9 Δούπων: This proper name is rare. It is cited in Theognostus (*Can.* II 34.12-3 (= 186.7-8) and in the *Suda* (δ 1427); Theodosius (II.

κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 20, 1) and Choeroboscus (*Onomat.* I, 78.23, Gaisford) tell us that this was the name of one of the centaurs.

18.11 πεπώνιον: This word probably dates back only as early as the beginning of the Byzantine period. See *LBG* s. v. *πεπόνιον*. *πεπώνιον* (= *πεπόνιον*) means 'melon', like *πέπων*, even though the former has a diminutive termination. The occurrence of this word could provide us with some evidence on the date that our Epitome was composed, but we may be dealing with an early attestation of this word here.

18.11 πεπών: This word occurs nowhere else. It denotes the place where *πέπονες* grow. This word, even if not otherwise attested as such, may be easily recognised as a *περιεκτικόν*, as its termination follows the usual pattern of the *περιεκτικά*, which end in *-ών*. This suffix has the descendant *-ώνας* in modern Greek and is easily recognisable as signifying a place where something is placed or grows.

18.12 μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς: On the term *ἐπιπλοκή* see the Introduction pp. 119ff.

18.14 Μάκρων: Either an ethnic designation (see Hecat. *FGrHist* fr. 206); sch. A. R. 90.7-22, 161.7-8; St. Byz. 429.5-6, 428.20-1; *Su.* μ 85; *RE* 14, 815; *DNP* 7, 761; *BNP* 8, 105), or a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA,

IIIB, IV, VA), or an adjective ('longhead'). See also note on Μάκρως 55.6.

18.15–16 τὸ...16 ὁξύνεται: λουτρῶν and ἀνδρῶν are περιεκτικά, while Ἀντρῶν is the name of a city. The way this sentence is phrased suggests that Ἀντρῶν is included among the περιεκτικά. It is possible that the phrase ἐπὶ πόλεων (or a similar expression indicating that Ἀντρῶν is the name of a city) given at the beginning of the rule was not repeated afterwards, for the sake of brevity. Otherwise, one may assume that there is a lacuna here.

18.15 Ἀντρῶν: The name of a city in Thessaly: Hsch. α 5541, St. Byz. α 341 (there is evidence in α 341 and α 36 that Stephanus of Byzantium accented the word on the penultimate syllable), *Et. Gen.* α 939, *EM* 114.55, *Et. Sym.* II 11.7, II 86.22; cf. Harp. 41.3, Phot. α 2144, *Su.* α 2768.

18.16 Δεξικρῶν: The manuscripts' ἐξικρῶν is nowhere attested and is probably a scribal error. I have printed Schmidt's Δεξικρῶν (14.7), which is attested at the Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως in the vicinity of Ἐρμοκρῶν (*GG* iii.ii 915.9-10). Δεξικρῶν is a personal name (*LGPN* I).

18.16–17 Ἐρμοκρῶν: A personal name (*LGPN* I).

18.20 τήρων: This word is the Greek form either of the Roman

common noun tiro ('recruit', see Ps.-Macarius *Sermones* 64 50.4.12.1-3, Jo. Laur. Lyd. *De mens.* 4.157.1-3, *Su.* τ 535, Zonar. τ 1727.20; cf. *TGL* VII 2153C-D; sometimes written as τίρων, τείρων or τύρων) or of the Roman proper name Tiro (Johannes Zonaras *Epitome Historiarum* I, 390.13; I, 390.27; I, 391.4; cf. *TGL* VII 2153C-D; the personal names Τίρων (*LGPN* IIIB) and Τύρων (*LGPN* I, II, VA) are also attested); the reconstructed genitive Τήρωνος in the inscription *IG* XII, 3 656 from Thera, could provide evidence for the personal name Τήρων.

19.1 οἰρών: Hesychius (ο 389) cites the word with a rough breathing (but the reliability of the Hesychius manuscript about breathings may be doubted, given the unreliability of its accents (Latte (1953), vol. 1, XXVII)) and gives the definition οἰρών· ἡ ἐκ τῆς καταμετρήσεως τῆς γῆς εὐθυωρία ('the straight course/direction of the measuring out of the earth'). A word οἰρών (meaning something like 'district') is attested on a 5th-century Cyprian inscription (the Idalion bronze = no. 217 in Masson (1983)). In the manuscripts of Theodosius (Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 23.15-6) and Theognostus (*Can.* II 38.31-2 (= 208.3-4) this word occurs as οἰορών. These two sources provide us with the meaning 'ἡ χάραξις τῶν ἀρότρων/τοῦ ἀρότρου' (respectively). This word is rare and is attested only in the above-mentioned sources and in a fragment of Eratosthenes (line 1).

19.1 †σχαιρών: The manuscripts' σχαιρών is nowhere else attested. Two possible conjectures, σφαιρών and Χαιρών, are suggested in the critical apparatus. The corruption of either of the two proposed readings to the manuscripts' reading would have been quite easy and equally possible.

19.3 Πλευρών: A mythological personal name (see *RE* 21.1 s. v.). This name is an exception to the main accentuation rule for words ending in -ρων, because it has the same form as the name of a city; the rule as stated therefore allows it to be oxytone.

19.3 ὁμώνυμα: Lentz (35.20) added πόλει before ὁμώνυμα, because the beginning of the rule says ἢ πόλει ὁμωνυμεῖ, but it seems to me that the addition of πόλει is not necessary because it can be easily implied from the mention of πόλει a few lines above. Thus, the epitomator may be thought to have left πόλει out for the sake of brevity. Cf. the phrase ἀπὸ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου (33.7), which does not repeat σύνθετα (33.4) from the phrasing at the beginning of the rule (33.3–4).

19.4 ἔθνικα: No example for this type of exception is cited. It is possible that there is a lacuna, as Schmidt assumed (14.16 app. crit.), and that an ethnic designation (or ethnic designations) was cited as example after Ὀλοσσών πόλις. The reason for thinking this is that

Ὀλοσσών refers back to ἀρσενικά and κισσών back to περιεκτικά, and the ἔθνικά in the phrasing of the rule are preceded by the ἀρσενικά and followed by the περιεκτικά. An ethnic designation that could exemplify this rule might have been Αὔσών (see also Lentz's reconstruction 36.5).

19.5 Θράσων: A personal name: *LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA.

19.6 Ὀλοσσών...<>: The name of the city is sometimes cited as Ὀλοσσών (Str. 9.5.19.53, Theodos. *Can.* GG iv.ii 28.12, Π. κλίσ. ων ὀξύτ. 24.3, sch. Lyc. 905.5-6, Theognost. *Can.* II 32.6 (= 177.3), 212.7, *Lex. Art. Gramm.* 432.4) and sometimes as Ὀλοοσσών (Hom. *Il.* 2.739, sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.739c, 2.739e, Str. 9.5.19.3, Hsch. ο 622, St. Byz. 490.11, Choerob. *in Theod.* 317.14-5, Eust. *Il.* I 519.18, 520.25). This is a city in Magnesia (St. Byz. 490.11) or a city in Thessaly (Hsch. ο 622; cf. sch. Lyc. 905.5-6). The fact that this feminine city name (see the critical apparatus for references regarding the gender) is cited in an accentuation rule about masculines does not give cause for concern, because in any case this word is cited as an exception to the rule. In fact, there must have been a comment about the reason behind this exception (i.e. the gender of this word; see the critical apparatus, where the presumed meaning of the lacuna is given).

19.8 <ἢ ἔθνικα>: The lacuna is filled on the basis of a parallel

passage from Stephanus of Byzantium (β 106; see the full citation in the apparatus of parallel passages).

19.8–9 ἔθνικὰ>...9 κλινόμενα: An example of this exception would be Βιστών (see also St. Byz. β 106).

20.1 Χίτων ποταμός: Stephanus of Byzantium (β 106) mentions that χιτών is oxytone so that there is a distinction between the common noun and the homonymous river name. But with the exception of our Epitome and Stephanus of Byzantium this river name is nowhere else attested. Johannes Philoponus in his Περὶ τῶν διαφόρως τονουμένων καὶ διάφορα σημαίνοντων (recensio a χ 7.1, recensio b χ 3.1, recensio c χ 7.1, recensio d χ 7.1, recensio e χ 9.1) cites Χίτων as the name of a city by contrast to the oxytone χιτών.

20.4 προβατών: This word is rare and occurs mainly in inscriptions (*ID* 356bis; *ID* 373; *ID* 374; *ID* 403; *ID* 445; *IG* XI,2 153; *IG* XI,2 287, *SEG* 40 655) and papyri (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59068.2, *An. Pap.* 14/15, p. 174, l. 14 (*PSI* X 1170 *recto*)).

20.8–9 τὸ...9 ὀξύνεται: σικυών is oxytone because although it is declined with ω it coincides in form with the city Sicyon.

20.14–15 τὸ...15 ὀξύνεται: κολοφών and κατηφών are oxytone, because they are not declined with -ντ-.

20.17 Βρύχων: This is attested as: (i) a river name (Heraclid. *Perieg.*

Descr. Graec. fr. 2.7.1-2, *Hsch.* β 1271, *Theognost. Can.* II 33.30 (= 184.4); Hesychius provides us with the information that the river was close to Pallene), and (ii) as a personal name (*LGPN* I, IIIB).

20.17–21.1 Τύχων ... 21.1 Σπέρχων: Personal names (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA and *LGPN* IIIB respectively).

21.1–2 γλήχων ... 2 ὀξύνηται: The alternative forms of γλήχων are βλήχων and βληχώ. Our Epitome mentions that if the word γλήχων is feminine and written with a β it is oxytone. Bearing in mind that this section is about the accentuation of words ending in -χων and since there are no further comments as to the variant form of γλήχων, one would expect that the comment about the oxytone accent would be about ΒΛΗΧΩΝ. However, the word appears to be transmitted as oxytone when it has the ending without the -ν (i.e. βληχώ), otherwise normally as βλήχων (βλήχων: *Trypho Pass.* 2.30.2, *Hsch.* β 734, *Su.* β 338.1, *Et. Gud.* β 274.3, *Zonar.* β 392.30; βληχών: *Phryn. PS* 53.16; the accents here just reflect what I have found in printed texts). This suggests either that there should be a clarification that the comment about the oxytone variant is about βληχώ, or that Herodian had the view that ΒΛΗΧΩΝ as well as βληχώ should be oxytone. The statement of the rule suggests that γλήχων is masculine, while βληχώ/ΒΛΗΧΩΝ feminine. γλήχων is

cited as masculine in sch. Ar. *Pac.* 1169b, sch. Nic. *Alex.* 128a.3, Plu. *De garrulit.* 511C3, Gal. *De compos. medicament. secund. loc. libri x* 12.950.16, Ps.-Gal. *De remed. parabil.* 14.398.17, Orib. *Syn.* 5.33.5.2-6.1, 9.43.33.6, *Coll. Med.* 11.delta.7.4, Aët. *Iatric. lib. xvi* 25.11; *Iatric. lib. viii* 24.8, Jo. Laur. Lyd. *De ostent.* 7.29, Paul. *Med. epit. medic. libr. sept.* 1.56.1.15, 7.3.2.37-8 (but feminine in 5.8.2.11) and Zonar. (β 391.10). On the other hand, Hp. *Int.* 44.26, Dsc. 3.32.1.5, *Eup.* 1.116.1.6, 2.9.3.3, Philum. *Ven.* 14.6.3-4, and *Su.* γ 287 cite this noun as feminine, and Phryn. *PS* 53.16-8, says that γληχών (Ionic form) and γλαχών (Doric form) are feminine. γλήχων appears both as masculine and feminine in ancient sources. βληχώ is always mentioned with regard to being the feminine and Attic equivalent to γληχώ/γλήχων (see Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 19.28-9, *Su.* γ 287, Zonar. γ 440.8-9). These three last passages create the impression that this noun is feminine only in Attic, but the above-mentioned passage from Phrynichus informs us that in Ionic and Doric too the word is feminine.

21.4 Πολυσπερχών: In the various printed editions where this name occurs, the accent is on the penultimate syllable, cf. Paus. 5.6.1.4-5, sch. Lyc. 801.4, 801.10, Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 19.31, Ath. 4.42.13, Phot. *Bibl.* 92.72a.15-6, *Su.* δ 333.6, Eust. *II.* III 547.6, IV 734.6, *Od.* I 10.30. According to the *RE* 21.2 s. v. Polyperchon, the correct

form of the name is Πολυπέρχων, but the manuscripts mostly transmit the name with a σ. See also *DNP* 10.74-5, *BNP* 11.529-30.

21.8–10 σεσημειώται...10 κλινόμενα: This comment is a bit unusual. Normally we are not told that certain words follow a rule even though they should be exceptions, because clauses excepting certain groups of words from a rule do not guarantee that those words have any particular accent, they just exempt them from the main rule.

21.9 ταῶν: This word has the following variants: ταῶς, ταῶς and ταῶν.

22.1–2 μὴ...κατηγορούμενα: 'that do not signify (names of) cities'. This condition is given in order to exclude from the rule the feminine names of cities that end in -ων and are oxytone (e.g. Σιδῶν, Πυθῶν, Καλυδῶν, Ἡϊῶν, Πλευρῶν, Βαβυλῶν, Ἀμυδῶν) and are declined with ω. The feminine common nouns in -ων that are dealt with here are oxytone, but are declined with ο.

22.3 γοργῶν: A variant form for Γοργῶ 'the Gorgon'.

23.2–3 εἰ...3 σημαίνοντος: If an example is recessive, it either falls under a rule applying to a different word shape (ἐτέρῳ χαρακτηριστῶ) or is recessive to distinguish one meaning from another (διαστολῇ σημαίνοντος; this condition concerns words that have the same

form, but are accented differently to distinguish different meanings). An example of the first type of exception is Ἰτων, which even though it is a disyllabic name for a city ending in -ων, follows the accent rule applying to words ending in long vowel plus -των, such as Πλούτων, γείτων, Τρίτων. Ἰτων has the ι short (see LSJ s. v.). This probably causes no problem; Ἰτων falls into this group, because it has the termination -των and the same number of syllables, and does not denote a place, even if it does not have the same vowel length as the rest of the group in the penultimate syllable.

23.3 Ἡίων: The manuscripts' ἰών is not a city name. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Ἡίων on the basis of a passage from Stephanus of Byzantium (α 144.11).

23.8 <>: Σούλμων πόλις Σικελίας seems abrupt right after the explanation of Ἰτων. It is possible that there is a lacuna before Σούλμων. A plausible solution would be to add 'σεσημείωται (τὸ)' before Σούλμων, on the basis of Stephanus of Byzantium α 144.8-12 (see the apparatus of parallel passages). Σούλμων is recessive although it does not fall into either of the two cases that are predicted to be exempted from this accentuation rule (i.e. ἑτέρω χαρακτηῖρι and διαστολῇ σημαινομένου), and thus could well have been preceded by σεσημείωται. Another suggestion would be to add

something like '(ὥσπερ) καὶ τὸ' before Σούλων, in order to link the barytone Σούλων with 'τὸ Ἰτων βαρύνεται' (for this suggested addition cf. κρεμών (16.2), which is a genuine exception and is linked with the part of the rule describing the systematically exempted words with 'καὶ τὸ').

23.8–9 Σούλων...9 Σικελίας: Σούλων is the Greek form of the Italian city Sulmona. The manuscripts transmit 'πόλις Σικελίας', while Stephanus of Byzantium (α 144.11-2 σεσημείωται τὸ Σούλων. ἔστι πόλις Ἰταλίας) preserves the right information. Lentz (39.17-8) as well as Schmidt (16.15) maintain the reading Σικελίας. Lentz agrees with Meineke (St. Byz. 55.6 (app. crit.)), who suggested that Σικελίας should not be emended to Ἰταλίας, because Herodian appears to be using Sicily catachrestically to refer to the lower part of Italy, as when he calls Λωμεντός and Λαυρεντός Sicilian cities (Ps.-Arcad. 153.15).

23.9 πλὴν...κροτών: The logic of the transition from 'Σούλων πόλις Σικελίας' to 'πλὴν τοῦ κροτών' is unclear in the text as transmitted. There is evidence from ancient sources that are known to have derived material from Herodian (e.g. St. Byz. α 144.8-12, β 106.6-7) that κροτών was cited close to Κρότων, so that a distinction is made between their different meanings. In fact, Κρότων is an

example of a city name that is excluded from the oxytone accentuation 'διαστολῇ σημαινομένου'. It is not accidental that in the above-cited passages from Stephanus of Byzantium the phrasing is similar to 'διαστολῇ σημαινομένου' ('εἰ μὴ διαστολὴν ἔχοι σημαινομένου' and 'πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὀνόματος' respectively). The above evidence suggests that Κρότων would have been cited in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς Προσωδίας* close to κροτῶν as an example of a city name whose accent is recessive διαστολῇ σημαινομένου.

23.12 Ἐλεών: The manuscripts' ἐλαιών ('olive-yard') is not the name of a city. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Ἐλεών (16.18). At a time when both ε and αι were pronounced [e], such a mistake must have been easy.

23.13 Μεδεών: The manuscripts' μηδεών is not a city name. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Μεδεών (16.18).

23.14 †ἀσσάλων: This reading occurs nowhere else. Two corrections have been suggested: Νασσάλων and Καστάλων. Νασσάλων, which is very close to the transmitted reading, is cited in the vicinity of Ἀσκάλων and Βαβυλών in Theognostus' *Canones* (II 36.5-6 (= 196.3-4)), but is nowhere else attested, and we cannot be sure that this is indeed the word intended here. Καστάλων is a reading we

find in Stephanus of Byzantium (710.8 and 366.8 (but in the latter case manuscript R has *Κασταλών*, while A has *Καστάλων*)) close to the ethnic designation *Ἀσκαλωνίτης* (in 366.8-10; cf. the citation of *Ἀσκάλων* just before *ἄσσάλων* in our Epitome). *Νασσάλων* seems palaeographically more plausible than *Καστάλων*, but the text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

23.18 *φιλοξενοφῶν*: This rare compound occurs again in Choeroboscus' *Dictata in Theodosii Canones* (Gaisford I 74.22, but wrongly accented *φιλοξενόφων*).

23.18 *φιλοκτησιφῶν*: This compound is a *hapax*.

24.1–2 *ὥς...2 συνήθειαν*: 'as happens in customary usage'.

24.2 *προπυλών*: This compound word is very rare. It occurs again in the scholia to Aeschines (2.105.2) and in the papyrus SB XX, 14166.9-10.

24.7–9 *Καὶ...9 θηλυκῶν*: This sentence marks the end of book one, but instead of having it at the very end of the book, the manuscripts transmit it here, where it is followed by further treatment of masculine and feminine nominals in -ν.

24.10–12 *Τὰ...12 ἔενοφῶν*: One would expect to find this introductory sentence, which presents an overview of the possibilities for the accentuation of words ending in -ων, at the very

beginning of the treatment of the -ων ending, more specifically right before the termination -βων. It is difficult to know why such a transposition occurred. The place of this opening and general sentence right after the sentence which points to the end of the book on the ending -ων is in any case suspicious.

24.13–15 Τὰ...15 Ἡφαιστίων: The examples cited for this accentuation rule are patronymics (Ἀτρείων, Κρονίων) and hypocoristics (μωρίων, Ἡφαιστίων (on Ἡφαιστίων as hypocoristic see Eust. *Od.* I 375.12-4, *EM* 420.52-3)). No examples of comparatives (συγκριτικά) are given, while the term πατρωνυμικά is not used. Some possible explanations are (i) that there were originally examples of συγκριτικά, which the epitomator or a scribe left out despite including the term συγκριτικά, and at the same time the epitomator or scribe mistakenly left out the term πατρωνυμικά although he cited examples of πατρωνυμικά, or (ii) a scribe mistakenly wrote συγκριτικά in the place of πατρωνυμικά, and no συγκριτικά were intended at this point in original Herodian.

24.14 μωρίων: diminutive for μωρός (see sch. D. T. *Vat.* 227.8-9, *Marc.* 376.8, *Lond.* 539.6). Schmidt (17.18) printed the *vox nihili* μωτίων, which manuscripts ABC transmit due to the τ-like shape of

letter ϙ in M, which was their source (on the ambiguous shapes of letters in M see the chapter on the Manuscript Tradition).

25.2 Κάων: MO's *κάκων* is not attested. Schmidt's emendation *Κάων* (17.21) is supported by a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* 164.1-3). *Κάων* in manuscript B, before the addition of *κ supra lineam*, may be thought as a felicitous error. *Κάων* appears close to *Φάων* and *Κρέων* in two other grammatical works (Theodos. Π. κλίσ. ων βαρυτ. 16.31-2, Theognost. *Can.* II 30.11-2 (= 164.2-3)) that are thought to derive material from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.

26.3 Ἀκταίων: A personal name (*LGPN* VA).

26.9 καὶ¹... ῥήματος: That a nominal derived from a verb maintains one syllable of the verb it is derived from, might seem somewhat self-evident from the point of view of modern scholarship. *μίαν συλλαβήν* should probably be taken to mean 'at least one syllable', not simply 'one syllable', on the basis of two pieces of evidence. On the one hand, the ancient grammarians' view (see sch. D. T. *Marc.* 377.31-378.2, *Lond.* 543.7-13) that nominals derived from verbs usually maintain the last consonants (but not necessarily a whole syllable) of the verb they are derived explains why *μίαν συλλαβήν* here is used to indicate that at least one syllable of the verb should be maintained, as opposed to single letters. On the other hand, the fact

that *μίαν συλλαβήν* does not simply mean ‘one syllable’ is suggested by the fact that in this rule there are also examples that maintain two syllables of the verb (*λιτροβαστάξ*, *νεκροβαστάξ*). see also note on 26.12 *τὰ ... νεκροβαστάξ* below), because in this rule there are also compound words that maintain two syllables of the verb (e.g. *λιτροβαστάξ*, *νεκροβαστάξ* (*βα - στά* from *βαστάζω*); see also note on 26.12–27.1 *τὰ ... νεκροβαστάξ*).

26.10 ἐπιθετικὸν ... ἔθνικόν: The second exemption from recessive accentuation of the words in -ξ with more than one syllable regards adjectives, but not ethnic designations. The fact that ethnic designations are excluded from adjectives suggests that the ethnic designations are regarded as adjectives, not proper names (see also the discussion of whether *ἔθνικά* are included among proper names or adjectives in the Introduction, pp. 127-30).

26.11 κλίμαξ αὔλαξ: The words need to have a circumflex since the *α* is short, and therefore I have followed Schmidt (18.19-20) in emending the manuscripts’ *κλίμαξ* and *αὔλαξ*.

26.11–12 τὸ ... 12 ὀξύτονου: The fact that *διασφάξ* can be also derived from the oxytone *σφάξ* as well as from the verb *διασφάζω* explains why *διασφάξ* is mentioned separately from the other three

compound examples, βλεφαροσπάξ, λιτροβαστάξ and νεκροβαστάξ, which are clearly derived from verbs.

26.11–12 <ἀπὸ ... 12 ῥήματος>: I have added this phrase on the basis of two parallel passages: *Ep. Hom.* 7,b.4-7 and *Et. Gud.* α 132.5-7 (see the apparatus of parallel passages). ἀπὸ ῥήματος at the beginning of the following sentence could have facilitated the omission of this phrase here.

26.12 ἢ...ὀξύτονου: This phrase is absent from the previous two editions. I consider its presence here both genuine and required. It explains why διασφάξ, which is a compound word as well as βλεφαροσπάξ, λιτροβαστάξ and νεκροβαστάξ, is mentioned separately in the framework of this accentuation rule (see also the note on 26.11–12 τὸ ... ὀξύτονου). The absence of this phrase from Barker's edition is natural, because neither B nor C has it. A transmits it, but since Bloch's collation of A (Dindorf (1823), I 51), which Schmidt employed failed to make a note of this, the phrase is also missing from Schmidt's edition.

26.12–27.1 τὰ ... 27.1 νεκροβαστάξ: On the explanation of why the citation of λιτροβαστάξ and νεκροβαστάξ in this rule does not cause any problems, although the condition says μίαν συλλαβὴν

φυλάττοι τοῦ ῥήματος, see the interpretation of μίαν συλλαβὴν in the note on 26.9 καὶ ... ῥήματος.

26.13 βλεφαροσπάξ: The manuscripts' readings are nowhere else attested and are probably *voces nihili*. βλεφαροσπάξ ('arching the eyebrows') is a conjecture by Hermann ((1801), 434 (regul. de prosod. 63)). Even though according to MO the second constituent part of this compound word is -πάξ, the fact that there are parallel passages (EM 270.30-2, Zonar. δ 515.1-3) where σπάξ is dealt with in the vicinity of βαστάξ and σφάξ suggests that one should reconstruct σπάξ as the second part of this word.

26.13–27.1 λιτροβαστάξ: This compound is a *hapax*. This could mean the person carrying, holding, or taking away (stealing) the λίτρον (measure of capacity; see LSJ s. v.) or the λίτρα (1. a silver coin of Sicily, 2. a pound (weight), 3. measure of capacity; see LSJ s. v.).

27.1 Ἀσφαξ: An ethnic designation (St. Byz. α 508).

27.4–5 κῆρυξ: With regard to the issue of whether ΚΗΡΥΞ should be paroxytone or properispomenon, this rule is not helpful, because it is not explicitly mentioned which of the two possibilities is meant. But in the Περί διχρόνων (GG iii.ii 9.19-27) Herodian mentions that the υ in the nominative is short. In favour of κῆρυξ see also the

argumentation in Probert (2003), 84. On the paroxytone accent see the argument in West (1998), XLVIII.

27.9 βουπλήξ: The paroxytone adjective βούπληξ is the passive counterpart of βουπλήξ (see sch. A. *Pr.* 681b.2-4 καὶ «βουπλήξ» ὁ τὸν βοῦν πλήσσω· «βούπληξ» δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοὸς πλησσοόμενος; *Et. Gud.* β 283.17-9 Βουπλήξ καὶ βούπληξ· διαφορεῖται κατὰ τὴν τάσιν πρὸς διάφορον σημαίνόμενον· ὀξυτόνως μὲν τὸ ἐνεργοῦν ὄργανον, βαρυτόνως δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ πλησσοόμενον. cf. also the *Et. Parv.* β 15).

27.9 κυμοπλήξ: A variant form of κυματοπλήξ ('wave-beaten'). This variant form occurs only in our Epitome and the *Anthologia Graeca* (10.7.1).

27.9–10 μεθυπλήξ: This is a rare compound occurs again in sch. Hom. *Il.* 6.135a.4, Call. *Fr. inc. sed.* 544, Greg. Nazianz. *Carm. Mor.* 846.12, Eust. *Il.* II 262.2, and *Anth. Gr.* 16.306.5.

27.10 ἀντίπηξ: MO's ἀντίσπηξ is nowhere else attested and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation ἀντίπηξ (19.7 e sch. Hom. *Il.* 18.413b.1).

27.12 χαμαιοσκώληξ: 'earthworm'. This compound is a *hapax*.

27.12–13 λεοντομύρμηξ: This compound is very rare. This is the oldest attestation of this word. For its Byzantine attestation see *LBG*.

27.14 μίαν συλλαβήν: One should understand τοῦ ῥήματος. Cf. note on 26.9 καὶ ... ῥήματος.

27.16 θυλακοτρώξ: This rare compound is also attested in sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.755b.1, Hsch. θ 850, Theognost. *Can.* II 41.11 (= 222.3), Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 401.7. Hesychius attaches both 'μῦς' and 'ἄκρίς' to this lemma.

27.16 κυμορρώξ: This is a *hapax*.

27.16–17 θηροδίωξ: This rare word occurs again in Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 296.2) and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (451.22).

27.17 αἰγοδίωξ: This rare word is attested only in our Epitome, Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 296.2) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (451.22).

27.19 Τὰ...P: I have printed τὰ εἰς ρ, not the manuscripts' τὰ εἰς αρ, so that this sub-heading corresponds to the whole section on words ending in -ρ.

27.22 οὐ̐θαρ: I have emended the manuscripts' οὐ̐θαρ to οὐ̐̑θαρ with Schmidt (19.17).

28.1–3 Ἐτι...3 Λίγυρ: Schmidt (19.18-20 app. crit.) transposed this section after Εἴρ (31.4). Schmidt's idea is reasonable, but it is possible that a special reason resulted in the mention of this section here.

28.1 κέλωρ: MO's κάλλωρ, is nowhere else attested, although

Κάλωρ is mentioned by Appian (*Hann.* 156.3) as a river name. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (19.19) κέλωρ, which is cited in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* in the vicinity of ῥήτωρ (GG iii.ii 937.26).

28.1 ἄπωρ: The manuscripts' ἄπωρ is nowhere attested and is probably a *vox nihili*. Many conjectures are possible. I am not in favour of Lobeck's ἄχωρ (see the critical apparatus), because the word ἄχωρ is cited a bit after this point of the text (31.6) accompanied by the meaning of the word. One would have expected the meaning of a word to be given the first time the word occurred in the text, not the second. I consider the most plausible readings here to be ἄκτωρ, suggested by Schmidt (19.18 app. crit.), and πέλωρ. Both these readings are transmitted in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (GG iii.ii 937.26-7) in the vicinity of ῥήτωρ (and of κέλωρ, which we reconstructed above, on the basis of the same passage from the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*). The reading ἄκτωρ can be also defended on palaeographical grounds, since the ligature κτ could give the impression of a π in minuscule. πάτωρ, also suggested by Schmidt (19.18 app. crit.), and ἄτωρ, a rare word in Hesychius (α 8213), are both very close to ἄπωρ, and are also possible.

28.3 Λίγυρ: A river name and an ethnic designation (St Byz. 416.10-1, Eust. *D. P.* 76.16-7).

28.5 ὁ...λόγος: 'And the reason is that T precedes H'.

28.7 Ἐξάυτηρ: This word is nowhere else attested. I have kept this reading in the text with some reserve. A proper name ἐξάπτηρ is mentioned by Choeroboscus (*De Orthogr.* 250.16), but is nowhere else attested. It is possible that both Ἐξάυτηρ and ἐξάπτηρ preserve traces of the right reading. Another reading that is close to the transmitted one is εὐπάτηρ.

28.8 ἀμάτηρ: Perhaps 'of the same mother, brother/sister', see *DGE* s. v. A dative ἀματήρεσσι is attested in Theocritus (*Idyll.* 7.29), but we are probably not dealing with the Doric form of ἀμητήρ here. Herodian does cite words from dialects other than Attic (e.g. παιδοπίπας 35.21, εὐφარέτρως 35.22), but usually not when the corresponding Attic form is allowed by the conditions for the rule. παιδοπίπας and εὐφάρετρες, for example, were cited in their Doric forms because the accentuation rule for which they were cited dealt with compound words in -ας.

28.8 ἄντηρ: The manuscripts' ἄντηρ is nowhere else attested. An attested name Πάντηρ (*LGPN* II) is very close to the manuscripts' reading. Corruption from Πάντηρ to ἄντηρ could easily have occurred.

28.8 Ἄστηρ: This is the name of a city (see the apparatus of parallel

passages). A common noun ἄσθηρ meaning 'ὅ φαρέτρα ἡγουν βελοθήκη' is mentioned by Hesychius (α 7855), but this is not the word referred to here, because the example needs to be a proper name. See also note on 29.8 Ἀστήρ below.

29.1–3 καὶ ... 3 γένος: Sometimes a word is attested with a particular gender only in poetry: (1) ῥαιστήρ is feminine in the *Iliad* (18.477), but it is masculine in the other sources: Pancrates *Epigramm.* 6.117, Apollon. *Lex.* 40.20, Nonn. *D.* 28.202, Philaret. *Med. De puls. scient.* 237, Eust. *Il.* I 181.3, II 664.12, *Od.* I 181.3 (but feminine in *Il.* IV 218.9-10), *Su.* ρ 81.2; (2) ἀήρ is feminine in the *Iliad* (3.381, 11.752, 16.790, 17.269, 20.444, 20.446, 21.549, 21.597 and the *Odyssey* 7.15, 7.140); (3) αἰθήρ is feminine in the *Iliad* (16.365) and the *Odyssey* (19.540). On the use of masculines in the feminine in poetry cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 322.6-13; see the apparatus of parallel passages). This condition for the rule is intended to exclude forms that are feminine only in poetry.

29.4 τὸ ... ὀξύνεται: An example of the epitomator's practice not to mention explicitly the reason why a word is an exception. See the discussion of the relevant section of the epitomator's Preface (1.21–2.1).

29.6 Ἰβηρ: This is cited among the examples of ethnic and proper

names that are recessive as they do not coincide with common names, but in fact ἰβηρ is the name of an animal (Hsch. ι 126 ἰβηρ· χερσαῖόν τι θηρίον· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰβηρ εἰς; see also LSJ s. v.). The fact that it is not taken into account that Ἰβηρ can be a common noun as well suggests either that this word for the animal was not well known (and therefore the grammarian did not know that this word should have been registered as an exception), or even that the name of the animal is a later invention, perhaps in an attempt to provide an etymology for the name of the ethnic Ἰβηρ εἰς.

29.6 Ἀννίβηρ: Neither the manuscripts' Ἀννίβηρ nor Schmidt's Ἀνίβηρ, which he thought to be a compound name from the river names Ἀναξ and Ἰβηρ (20.10 app. crit.), is anywhere else attested.

29.7 Δόβηρ: The manuscripts' δόμηρ occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation Δόβηρ (PGG 211, n. 5), which is the ethnic designation for a citizen of Δόβηρος, a city in Paeonia (St. Byz. δ 102).

29.7 Πίηρ: The ethnic designation for the people living in Pieria and in the area around mount Olympus (see Str. 7a.1.11.7-8, 9.2.25.34-8). Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 300.8) provides us only with the information that this is a proper name. The *Etymologicum Gudianum* (π 467.22) gives the information ἐθνικὸς Μακεδόνιος. This information makes

sense in the light of the fact that the Macedonians inhabited the place after the Pieres (Str. 9.2.25.34-9). The *Lexicon Artis Grammaticae* (431.5) says that Πίηρ is the name of a mountain.

29.7–8 τὸ ... 8 Ἀστήρ: One infers from the phrasing of the rule that the reason why Ἐλευθήρ and Ἀστήρ are exceptions is because they coincide with προσηγορικά. There is indeed a προσηγορικὸν ἔλευθήρ: *Lexicon Artis Grammaticae* 431.4 Ἐλευθήρ: ὁ ἀπὸ ξένης παραγεγονώς ('descended from a foreign country'). The proper name Ἀστήρ coincides with the common noun meaning 'star'.

29.7 Ἐλευθήρ: This is either: (a) a city in Boeotia (sch. Hes. *Th.* 54b1; cf. also 54b2; *EM* 329.25), or (b) the name of a king, son of Apollo (sch. Hes. *Th.* 54b1; cf. also 54b2), or (c) the name of one of the Curetes (St. Byz. *ε* 46.1-2), or (d) a mountain which was named after king Ἐλευθήρ (sch. Hes. *Th.* 54b2).

29.8 Ἀστήρ: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IV, VA). The citation of Ἀστήρ a few lines after the city name Ἀστηρ, puzzled Schmidt (he put a question mark after Ἀστηρ in 20.4), who must have thought that there was a contradiction between the two consecutive accentuation rules. It is indeed a bit odd that no indication of the different meanings is given, and of why the city name should not be oxytone as it too coincides with a common noun. It is possible that

the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* included this information, but that the material was then cut down by the epitomator, or that such an omission was due to a scribal error. One should not be suspicious about the accentuation of Ἄστηρ, since there are enough sources that testify that there was a city name Ἄστηρ accented on the penultimate syllable.

30.3 τὸ...βαρύνεται: ἐρίηρ is compounded from ἐρι- and the root of ἦρα (see *DELG* s. v.).

30.6–7 ὀβολοστατήρ: This word occurs only in our Epitome and Sophronius (*Char. Theodos.* 401.25).

30.7 λιπάνηρ: The manuscripts' διπάνηρ occurs nowhere else. Lobeck's emendation λιπάνηρ (*PGG* 215.24-6) is nowhere else attested, but one can back-form λιπάνηρ to e.g. λιπανδρία. Furthermore, λιπάνηρ can be defended on palaeographical grounds since the confusion of λ and δ is very common.

30.7–8 πολυδάηρ: This word occurs only in our Epitome and Sophronius (*Char. Theodos.* 401.25).

30.8 αἰνοπάτηρ: This word occurs only in our Epitome, Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* 315 and the ancient scholion to this line.

30.9–10 καὶ¹...10 μονοσυλλάβων: It was not mentioned at the beginning of the rule that if the second part of the compound is a

monosyllable, then the word cannot be oxytone. See the discussion of this principle in the epitomator's Preface (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει).

30.9 σατυρόφην: This compound is a *hapax*.

31.1 Βέχειο: The manuscripts' βλέχειο occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox hihili*. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Βέχειο (21.2), which is the name of a Scythian nation (St. Byz. β 82, *EM* 195.43-4, *Et. Sym.* II 428.21-4, Zonar. β 383.7).

31.1–2 Σάπειο: A Scythian ethnic designation (sch. A. R. 161.19; cf. also Choerob. in *Theod.* 321.9 who mentions only that this is an ethnic designation). Stephanus of Byzantium at 555.12-3 tells us that Σάπειοι were a nation in the interior of Pontus.

31.2 Ἐλεάζειο: All the manuscripts of this Epitome, Stephanus of Byzantium (β 82.1-2), and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (107.38) have the reading ἐλεάζειο, while the text of Theognostus transmits Ἀλάζειο. Herodotus (4.164.4) tells us that Ἀλάζειο was the name of a king of the Barcaeans (cf. also Theognost. *Can.* II 41.25 (= 225.3) who mentions that Ἀλάζειο is a proper name). According to Stephanus of Byzantium (β 82), Ἐλεάζειο is the name of a barbarian people, while in Choeroboscus' *Epimerismi in Psalmos* (4.10-1) we read that this was the name of a king of the Libyans. That Ἐλεάζειο indeed indicates an ethnic designation, and not the personal name mentioned by

Choeroboscus, is suggested by the fact that both in Pseudo-Arcadius and in Stephanus of Byzantium this word appears close to two other ethnic designations, Βέχειο and Σάπειο. The passage from Choeroboscus, which explains Ἐλεάζειο in a way that would suit Ἀλάζειο, suggests that there was some confusion between the words Ἐλεάζειο and Ἀλάζειο in the manuscript tradition of certain texts, as for example in Theognostus: his passage is parallel to ours and one would have thought that he derived his material from a Herodianic source, but nevertheless Ἀλάζειο appears in his text. The intermingling of the information about Ἀλάζειο and Ἐλεάζειο in Choeroboscus as well as the presence of Ἀλάζειο in Theognostus, could suggest that Ἐλεάζειο and Ἀλάζειο were mentioned side by side in the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας. The reading Ἀλάζειο, with the exception of its appearance in Theognostus' text, does not seem to have left traces in the transmission of the grammarians and etymological lexica. Lobeck (*PGG* 209.2-5) proposed to read Ἀλάζειο in Theognostus (II 41.25 (= 225.3)), but Cramer did print Ἀλάζειο, and there is no indication whether the tradition actually has Ἀλάζειο or Ἐλεάζειο, as Lobeck's proposed emendation suggests. Schneidewin's view ((1848), 384) that Ἐλεάζειο in Choeroboscus and the *Etymologicum Magnum* is a scribal error for Ἀλάζειο, a king of the

Barcaeans, who is mentioned by Herodotus (4.164.4), on the basis of the thought that Christian scribes would be inclined to write Ἐλεά - ζειο thinking at Ἐλεαζάο, does not seem to me sufficient and decisive for reconstructing Ἀλάζειο in Pseudo-Arcadius. Thus, the reading transmitted by the manuscripts of this text is retained here.

31.2 Λίγειο: The name of a river close to Galatia (St. Byz. β 82; cf. also Theognost. *Can.* II 41.25-6 (= 225.3-4), Zonar. λ 1308.2).

31.2 Ἐλάτειο: The name of a Celtic river (Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 4.9; cf. also Theognost. *Can.* II 41.26 (= 225.4), *EM* 107.38).

31.3–4 ἔτι...4 Εἶο: It would be odd if ‘ἔτι καί’ were used to add the list of the three monosyllables in -ειο to the list of the words in -ειο that have more than one syllable and are βαρυνόμενα. Normally ‘βαρύνεται’ refers to words not accented on the final syllable, but monosyllables are either oxytone or perispomenon (cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.i 204.13-5, iv.ii 24.22-3, 283.20-1). A passage from Theognostus’ *Canones* (II 134.10-7 = 806.8-15; cf. also Choerob. *in Theod.* 204.15-20), which names Herodian’s Περί μονοσυλλάβων as a source, suggests that monosyllables that are perispomena were thought to be recessive: ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ εἷς εἶχεν οὐδέτερον τὸ ἔν, ἐχρῆν βαρύνεσθαι· οὐκ ἦν δὲ τοῦτο πῶς διὰ τὴν μονοσυλλαβίαν· ἀναγκαίως περισπᾶται, ἵνα δυνάμει βαρύνηται· ἀμέλει εἰς

δισυλλαβίαν μετελθὼν βαρύνεται ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ εἰς ἐπέκειτο μετώπῳ (Hes. *Th.* 145.) ἵνα τὴν ὀνομαστικὴν σημασίαν ἀποφάναι οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων. ('Therefore since εἰς had the neuter ἐν, it should have been recessive; but I suppose this was not possible due to its being a monosyllable. It is necessarily perispomenon, so that it is recessive in force. And indeed when it goes over to being disyllabic it is recessive, as in ὀφθαλμῷ εἰς ἐπέκειτο μετώπῳ, in order to show the nominal meaning. Thus Herodian in the Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων.'). If this idea underlies here, then 'ἔτι καί' might have originally linked the recessive words that have more than one syllable with monosyllables that are perispomena, and therefore recessive in force. The original rule might have included perispomena monosyllables (e.g. εἴς is accented εἶς at Theognostus *Can.* II 133.18 (= 802.6)), which the epitomator cut down, or a scribe omitted by mistake, thus leaving 'ἔτι καί' without any clear link with the previous sentence. If the 'ἔτι καί' is not meant to add the three monosyllables to the previous list of the βαρυνόμενα, then it should be taken with 'ἄσυνήθη', so that the meaning is that the monosyllabic words in -εἶς as well as the words in -εἴς that have more than one syllable are not usual (not in use). But, of course, this would be an odd observation to make in this

work, if there is no information about the accent to go with it, and also because χείρ, a very common word, is included in this list. It is possible that something, perhaps a list of oxytone words with more than one syllable, has dropped out before ‘ἔτι καὶ τὰ μονοσύλλαβα’, and ‘ἔτι καὶ’ was supposed to link the section on the monosyllables with that list. There are two oxytone words in Hesychius that end in -εῖρ and have more than one syllable: τουσοῖρ (τ 1211), which according to Locker’s *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* should have been τουσεῖρ, and διαβουλευεῖρ (διαβολεύρ Latte δ 956). τουσοῖρ (τουσεῖρ) and διαβουλευεῖρ are nowhere else attested.

31.4 Εἶρ: Three meanings are provided in grammatical and lexicographical works for this word. We have the information that this is the name of a river (Choerob. *in Theod.* 321.7-8, *Ep. Ps.* 4.8, *De Orthogr.* 274.1; Zonar. ε 626.4, ε 627.12), or that it means λαῖλαψ (‘furious storm, hurricane’; Hsch. ε 998; Σα ε 126; Phot. ε 251; *Su.* εἰ 176; Zonar. ε 626.4), or that it means λαμπηδών (‘lustre, brilliance’; Σα ε 126; Phot. ε 251; *Su.* εἰ 176; Zonar. ε 626.4).

31.6–7 τὸ ... 7 κεφαλῆς: Contrary to Schmidt (21.6), I did not choose the word order of manuscript C (τῆς κεφαλῆς πιτύρισμα). The scribe of C usually alters the word order, trying to create *hyperbata*, in order to give the text a rather ‘classical/rhetorical’ aspect.

31.6 ἀποπιτύρισμα: 'dandruff', see *DGE*, *TGL* I.ii 1611C and *LBG*.

The word occurs later, in a Byzantine author (Psellus *Poem.* 6.301; the edition by Westerink has ἀποπιθύρισμα, but Boissonade's *Anecdota Graeca* (III, Psellus, p. 216, l. 297) have ἀποπιτύρισμα), but it is possible that we are dealing with an early occurrence of this word. Schmidt (21.6) wrongly printed the reading of C as opposed to the reading of A.

31.7 τὸ...ὀξύνεται: No reason is mentioned why ἰχώρ is exceptionally oxytone (see the discussion of the relevant section in the epitomator's Introduction 1.21–2.1 συντομίας ... κρατυνομένων).

33.2 ἀλλᾱς: The manuscripts' ἀρκᾱς (which should have been ἀρκάς, since the α is short) is not a proper example for this section of the accentuation rule on words in -ας. A perispomenon word is needed at this point and since Ἀρκάς is oxytone, it is not a suitable example. There are three parallels, Jo. Alex. 8.14-24, *EM* 470*.233-40 and Choerob. in *Theod.* 385.14-7 (see the apparatus of parallel passages) that support the reading ἀλλᾱς in the place of the manuscripts' reading ἀρκᾱς. In Philoponus' passage ἀλλᾱς comes right after πελεκᾱς, while in the other two passages the word ἀλλᾱς comes immediately before πελεκᾱς. Moreover, in Philoponus'

passage, after ἀλλᾱς we read χαλκοκράς, ἰμάς and ἀνδριάς, as in Pseudo-Arcadius, while in the *Etymologicum Magnum* ἀλλᾱς is quoted after Αἶας and Θόας and before ἰμάς and ἀνδριάς, as in Pseudo-Arcadius. The transition from ἀλλᾱς to ἀρκᾱς could easily have occurred either at a stage of manuscript transmission (by means of a scribe assimilating the termination of the word to the termination of the following word πελεκᾱς), or even at the phase of epitomising. The words ἀλλᾱς and ἀρκᾱς are palaeographically close to each other, especially in minuscule. There are traces of the appearance of ἀρκᾱς near ἀλλᾱς and πελεκᾱς in the etymological lexica (see *EM* 470*. 233-40 and *Et. Gud.* ι 277.50-6: Τὰ εἰς ας ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν μακρὸν ἔχοντα τὸ α, ἢ βαρύνεται, ἢ περισπᾶται. οἷον, βοναλλᾱς, ἔστι δὲ εἶδος πλακοῦντος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ βαλλαντοπῶλαι, καὶ πελεκᾱς. τὸ δὲ ἰμάς καὶ ἀνδριάς, ὡς διαλλάξαντα κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἡγουν τοῦ ἀρκᾱς, διήλλαξαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν κλίσιν.). These two passages from the etymological lexica, which share common examples and have similar structure with our Epitome, could suggest that ἀρκᾱς appeared close to ἀλλᾱς and πελεκᾱς in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*. Moreover, a passage from Choeroboscus' in *Theod.* 348.24-6 τὰ γὰρ εἰς ας ὀξύτονα ἐπ' ὀνομάτων οὐ ποιοῦσιν οὐδετέρου παρασχηματισμόν, οἷον Ἀρκᾱς

φυγᾶς χαλκοκράς γαλακτοκράς· testifies to the appearance of Ἀρκᾶς close to χαλκοκράς and γαλακτοκράς, two examples that are close to ἰμάς, ἀνδριάς and πελεκᾶς in our Epitome, and therefore reinforces the idea that Ἀρκᾶς was quoted near ἀλλᾶς in a grammatical tradition that probably goes back to Herodian. It is interesting that in the passage cited from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* a compound of ἀλλᾶς (i.e. βοναλλᾶς) is cited before πελεκᾶς and close to ἰμάς and ἀνδριάς.

33.3–7 οὐδέποτε...7 παρακειμένων: The wording of the rule about the two types of exceptions consisting of polysyllabic oxytone words in -ας is somewhat concise and elliptical. The main rule states that polysyllabic words in -ας are never oxytone if they have long α. If a word is considered compounded from a perfect passive it is an exception: so χαλκοκράς and γαλακτοκράς. -κρας was thought by grammarians to derive from κέκραμαι as parallel passages show (see the apparatus of parallel passages). Even though ἰμάς and ἀνδριάς have long α, they are not recessive or perispomenon as the rule prescribes, but oxytone. Therefore, while χαλκοκράς and γαλακτοκράς are oxytone because they have a feature that stands in the way of their following the general rule, ἰμάς and ἀνδριάς, which could well have followed the general rule as they fulfil all the

conditions, are nevertheless exceptionally oxytone. Two passages from Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 125.28-30, 325.5-11; see the apparatus of parallel passages) provide evidence that Herodian in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας* commented on the accent of *ίμάς* and *ἀνδριάς* and said that they are oxytone 'παραλόγως'. Choeroboscus' *παραλόγως ὀξύνονται* is equivalent to Pseudo-Arcadius' *σημειούμεθα ὀξυνόμενα*. The fact that *παραλόγως* is rarely used in our Epitome, while *σεσημειώται* occurs very often, suggests either the epitomator's or Herodian's preference for using *σημειόω* instead of *παράλογος/παραλόγως* to express genuine exceptions (ones that cannot be brought under a sub-rule of their own).

34.1 βίβας: This word is attested in the inscription *SEG* 36 813, 1 from Crete (the word is capitalised in the edition, in order to indicate that a proper name is meant, but it is not accented). The edition says that *Βιβας* is equivalent to *Βιβίας*. If this is not the correct reading, then many readings are possible: e. g. *Ῥήβας*, *Ἄβας*, *Χάλβας*, *Σάμβας*, *Ἀβίβας*.

34.1 Φόρβας: The name of a hero of different mythic cycles in Thessaly, Rhodes, Elis and Argos. See *RE* 20.1. 527, s. v. Phorbas.

34.2 Ἄββας ποταμός: Ἄββας occurs again in Sophronius' *Excerpts*

from Johannes Charax' commentary on Theodosius' *Canones* (380.20), but no information about this word is given.

34.2 ἀκριβᾶς: This word is nowhere else attested. If it ought to be ὀκριβᾶς, which equals ἀκριβᾶς, as is stated in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ο 424.43-6) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (620.55-6), then the accentuation rule is ill formed, since it prescribes that there should be a perispomenon word at this point, or the rule contains a lacuna. No explanation is given for the fact that this word is perispomenon.

34.3–6 Τὰ...6 ἐκτεταμένον: One reads that φυγᾶς is oxytone although it does not have long α. That is to say, although the quantity of the α does not stand in the way of recessive accentuation, φυγᾶς is oxytone. This makes one understand that short α is a condition for recessive accentuation. Nevertheless, when the recessive words (γίγας, μέγας) were cited, nothing was said about their α being short. See the discussion of the relevant epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian in the epitomator's Preface (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχῃ).

34.5–6 μέγας...6 ἐκτεταμένον: The α is short in μέγας, as well as in φυγᾶς. Later on in the Epitome we read: τὸ μέντοι μέγας καὶ λαᾶς ὥς συστελλόμενα βαρύνονται (36.6–7). Here, the fact that the

α is short is presented as the reason why μέγας and λαῖας are recessive. So, the meaning of the phrase about φυγάς should be that φυγάς is oxytone although it does not have long α , not that φυγάς is oxytone because it does not have long α . This interpretation is confirmed by a passage from Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 122.7-9).

34.13–14 ἔχοντά...**14** διπλῶν: I have emended the manuscripts' ἔχοντα τι πρὸ τῶν τοῦ ἔχοντά τι πρὸ τοῦ α τῶν διπλῶν. A number of similar emendations are also possible (see the critical apparatus).

34.14 Ἐλίξας: No such common noun or proper name is anywhere else attested.

34.14–15 ἀλείψας: This word, which coincides with the aorist participle of the verb ἀλείφω, is not attested as a common noun or a proper name. Various emendations that have been suggested would have been possible (see also the critical apparatus). I have retained the manuscripts' ἀλείψας with some reserve.

34.15–16 τοῖ...**16** ὄν: The reason why Ὑψᾶς does not follow the rule is not mentioned. See the relevant discussion of the epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian (1.21–2.1 συντομίας ... κρατυνομένων).

34.15 Ὑψᾶς: This proper name is attested in Callimachus' *Iambi* (fr. 201, in the accusative Ὑψᾶν). The manuscripts' Ὑψᾶς cannot be

identified, as *TGL* VIII 547 D suggests, with the Greek form of the river Hypsa that is mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 3.8.(14).90.), because the Greek name for this river is Ὑψας (see *Plb.* 9.27.6.).

34.15 ἑξᾶς: The Greek form for the Latin coin *sextans* occurs again in Hesychius (ε 3613) and in the *Fragmenta Varia* of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* (8.44.510.2, 8).

35.1 Γέλας: A river name (*St. Byz.* γ 45.2).

35.2 ἰλᾶς: I have printed a rough breathing with Schmidt (22.14). This contracted form of ἰλάεις occurs nowhere else.

35.2 ἰλάεις: The manuscripts' ἰλέας is not the uncontracted form of ἰλᾶς. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation ἰλάεις (22.15).

35.3 <> βαρύνεται: The manuscripts' ἐκτείνεται (ἐκτείνονται O) seems to be taking the place of a verb that would normally indicate the accentuation of the words listed in this rule. Even if the rule meant to comment on the lengthening of a vowel (e.g. of the α in the penultimate syllable), and therefore even if the rule ought to include the verb ἐκτείνω (in some grammatical form) we are still missing the verb that prescribes the accentuation. Schmidt indicated that there is a lacuna after ΛΔ; he did not fill it, but mentioned in his apparatus that the verb βαρύνεται must have originally prescribed the accentuation in this rule. Lentz supplied ἐκτεινόμενον ἔχοντα το α.

Although something with this meaning must have been present in this rule I have not printed Lentz's exact addition in my text, to allow for the possibility of slight variation.

35.3 κύλλας: I have printed MO's κύλλας. According to Hesychius (κ 4505) κύλλας is used by the Ἡλεῖοι for 'σκούλαξ'. The name Κίλλας occurs very close to Πάλλας in Eustathius (*Il.* I 55.6), which could suggest that the two names were cited close to each other in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας*, but I do not consider appropriate the change of the manuscripts' κύλλας to Κίλλας here.

35.4 Πάλλας: The name of divine and heroic figures: see *RE* 18.3, 234-7; *DNP* 9, 197-8; *BNP* 10, 396.

35.4 Βάλλας: A personal name (*LGPN* VA).

35.5 ἢ...ἐντελέστερον: 'if there is a more basic form, i.e. a form before πάθος'. I could not find any examples of this exception.

35.8 Τόλμας: This seems to be a proper name. It occurs only in our Epitome and Choeroboscus' *Dictata* (I 37.16-7 Gaisford) with the information that it is a proper name.

35.13 ἀρτύνας: MO's ἐρπύνας occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation ἀρτύνας (*PSGP* 247, n. 22). ἀρτύνας is very close to the reading transmitted by the manuscripts.

35.13 **Ἐένας**: A personal name (LGPN I).

35.14–15 **δακνᾱς...15** **τάσσεται**: The manuscripts' δεκᾱς occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. δεκᾱς cannot be a corrupt form of δεκάς, because the rule prescribes a circumflex, and also because after the mention of the diminutives Μηνᾱς and Ζηνᾱς, one would expect an example of the other type of exception, i.e. something said as a σκώμμα. This leads us to the second problem about this phrase, which is that the manuscripts' ἐπιτάσσεται does not make sense. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of δεκᾱς to δακνᾱς (Schmidt 23.6 e Choerob. *Dict. Theod. can.* I 43.2), and Lobeck's emendation of ἐπιτάσσεται to ἐπὶ σκώμματος τάσσεται (PSGP 247, n. 22). δακνᾱς 'biter' (DGE s. v.) occurs again in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* (64.10), where it is used as an adjective qualifying ὄνος and ἵππος, and in Choeroboscus *Dictata* (I 43.2 Gaisford).

35.17 **Θήρας**: This personal name is attested in Herodotus (4.147.1, 3, 6, 8, 4.148.1,6).

35.17–18 **Ἀθύρας**: This is the name of: (a) a sea-port near Byzantium (St. Byz. α 84.1-2, Eust. *Od.* I 339.27-8, Zonar. α 58.18), (b) a river near Byzantium (St. Byz. α 84.1-2; cf. Str. 7a.1.56.21-2), (c) a gulf (St. Byz. α

84.1-2), (d) a river in Μελαντιάς, a village in Thrace (Agath. 181.21-3, *Su.* μ 463.1-3).

35.18 Ἡρᾱς: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IV, V).

35.19 τετράς: This rare coin name occurs again in Hesychius (τ 630).

35.19–20 τὸ...**20** συστέλλεται: We are told that τετράς is an exception because it has short α, but having long α was not mentioned earlier as a condition for the recessive accentuation. See the discussion of the relevant section on the epitomator's methods of excerpting Herodian (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει).

35.21–22 παιδοπίπας: The Doric form of παιδοπίπης. In all the other sources where this word occurs, apart from Hesychius (π 77), it has its Attic form. This suggests that this word was not mainly known in its Doric form. Thus, Herodian may be thought to have reconstructed the Doric form, in order to have it exemplify the accentuation rule for compound words in -ας, or he may have derived this example from a Doric source which does not survive today (On the use of the Doric form instead of the Attic cf. εὐφარέτρας 35.22).

35.22 εὐφარέτρας: The Doric form of εὐφάρετρος. This rare word occurs again in *S Tr.* 208, in sch. *D. T. Vat.* 148.7, *Lond.* 544.1, *Maced. Pae.* 1 = *Anth. Gr. App., Epigr. exhort. et suppl.* 53.1, always in the Doric

form. On the use of the Doric form instead of the Attic see also the note on παιδοπίπας 35.21. Herodian might have derived this word from a source where the Doric form occurred.

35.22–36.1 Τὸ ... **36.1** συντεθέν: χαλκοκράς exemplifies another accentuation rule at 33.6.

36.1 φιλοπελλᾶς: This is a *hapax*, probably meaning 'lover or admirer of old men' (the second member of the compound being πελλᾶς). The rule prescribes that φιλοπελλᾶς and φιλοβορρᾶς maintain the accent of the uncompounded words, i.e. πελλᾶς and βορρᾶς. πελλᾶς and βορρᾶς are attested earlier (35.5 and 35.19 respectively) in the text, quite close to φιλοπελλᾶς and φιλοβορρᾶς, and the phrase τὸν τῶν ἀπλῶν ἐφύλαξε τόνον could be seen as referring back to the accent of the uncompounded words which have been mentioned recently. In support of φιλοπελλᾶς Dr Probert had the following view: 'One might imagine that φιλαπελλᾶς and φιλοβορρᾶς were explained as not following the rule for compounds in -ας because they are derived via πάθη from φιλαπελλῆς and φιλοβορρέας (the latter if -έας is allowed to count as a different termination from -ας). However, in that case one would not expect the sentence to end with a reference to the accent of the uncompounded forms: the crucial data would be the πρωτότυπα,

φιλαπελλῆς and φιλοβορέας, rather than the uncompounded forms'. Dr Somolinos from the *DGE* raised the issue that compounds beginning with φιλο- are not used ἐπὶ σκώμματος (as a jibe), but it seems to me that one cannot exclude the possibility that such a word could have existed and could have been used ἐπὶ σκώμματος e.g. in Attic comedy, especially since the uncompounded πελλᾶς was used ἐπὶ σκώμματος. Lobeck's conjecture φιλαπελλᾶς as the Doric form of φιλαπελλῆς is clever, but I find no serious objection to the transmitted φιλοπελλᾶς. Ἀπελλῆς and φιλαπελλῆς appear later on (46.3).

36.1 φιλοβορῶς: This is a *hapax*.

36.6–7 τὸ...7 βαρύνονται: The words μέγας and λᾶας are recessive, by contrast with the words mentioned just before them, which end in -ας συνεσταλμένον and are declined with -δος, because μέγας and λᾶας only have the -ας συνεσταλμένον but are not declined with -δος.

36.6 λᾶας: The manuscripts' λάας coincides with the proper name Λάας, which is a Doric name with nominative ending in -ας with long α, contracted from -αος (Choerob. *in Theod.* 120.31-4, 121.15-6). But the word here cannot be the proper name because the rule says that the α is short. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation λᾶας (24.2).

36.7 συστέλλοντα...α>: I have adopted the addition of τὸ α suggested by Schmidt (24.2 app. crit.), because the meaning of συστέλλοντα remains incomplete. If συστελλόμενα ought to be in the place of συστέλλοντα τὸ α (this hypothesis is based on the use of the passive participle συνεσταλμένον at the beginning of the rule), then a possible omission of a phrase similar to the one cited in the critical apparatus (ἀλλὰ (vel καὶ) μὴ διὰ τοῦ δος κλινόμενα) would be easily explained as a *saut du même au même* (-μενα ... -μενα). Even if συστέλλοντα τὸ α is the right reading here, a phrase like the one suggested above would seem to be needed for the sense and might have originally existed in the text, but it is possible that the epitomator left it out for the sake of brevity.

36.14 τὸ Υ: Schmidt (24.8 app. crit.) thought that there was a lacuna after Υ. It is true that a complete form of the rule should have included something like καὶ ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνοιτο ἢ σύνθετα εὔη as Schmidt indicates, but I have treated Schmidt's suggested addition with some reserve, given one of the features of the epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian: the reason why certain words do not satisfy a rule is not always announced at the beginning of the rule as a condition for the rule, but later when the actual exception is cited. Schmidt's filling of the lacuna is useful in terms of the understanding

of the rule as a whole, and could even be thought to work as a reconstruction of the original Herodianic rule.

36.14 Ναίης: A proper name (Choerob. *in Theod.* 160.25).

36.14 Δάης: The name of a Scythian nation (see St. Byz. δ 1).

36.14 Κλεύης: The manuscripts' κλέης is nowhere else attested. I have adopted *TGL*'s emendation Κλεύης, which is a personal name (*LGPN* IIIB).

36.15 Βρύης: A personal name (*LGPN* II). It is cited again in 39.24.

36.15 Ὑῆς: This word is transmitted as Ὑης in the manuscript tradition of some texts (e.g. Paus. Gr. υ 3; Eust. *II.* IV 225.20-1. Some sources provide us with the information that this was an epithet of Dionysus (Plu. *De Is. et Osir.* 364.D.7, sch. Arat. 172.10, Paus. Gr. υ 3.1, Phot. υ 616.11, *Su.* υ 82, *EM* 775.3, Eust. *II.* IV 225.20), some others that it was an epithet of Zeus (Hsch. υ 112, Theognost. *Can.* II 18.30 (= 104.8; accented Ὑης) and others that this was an invocation for Sabazius (Paus. Gr. υ 3.4-5, Phot. υ 616.19, Eust. *II.* IV 225.21). He is sometimes regarded as a foreign god (Phot. υ 616.15, *Su.* υ 82.4, *EM* 775.6).

36.15 ἔχον ... Ὑ: One should understand μόνον as indicated at 36.14.

36.17 τὰ ... βαρύνονται: The plural used in the phrase τὰ ... κλινόμενα βαρύνονται leads one to expect more than one example,

but conceivably the epitomator maintained the phrasing of the rule in its original form (thus maintaining the plural because more than one example was cited), but kept only one example. It is also possible that Herodian used the plural because he had more than one example in mind, although he only thought it necessary to give one. Thus I do not consider Schmidt's assumption (24.11-2 app. crit.) that there is a lacuna after βαρύνονται necessary.

37.1 Κέβης: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIB, VA).

37.1 Χάβης: The manuscripts' κάβης is a *vox nihili*. I have chosen to read Χάβης here suggested already in Schmidt's apparatus (24.14 e sch. Ar. V. 234a) on the basis of sch. Ar. V. 234a: Χάβης: οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Καθόλου παρατίθεται τὸ ὄνομα διὰ τοῦ β· Χάβης. The emendation involves only the alteration of a single letter. The name Κάβας occurs in Argos (*LGPN* IIIA), but it would be a bit odd for Herodian to have cited the name in its Attic form if this name was not found in Attic or koiné sources.

37.1 Θίβης: The manuscripts' θήβης, is nowhere attested as a nominative. I have printed Θίβης, attested in Stephanus of Byzantium (θ 45.4). The confusion between η and ι could be due to the similarity with the city name Θῆβαι. Moreover, the η - ι confusion is one of the common itacistic errors, and in any case, at a

time when distinction of vowel length was no longer made, such a mistake could have easily occurred. Θίβης seems to be an alternative form of the ethnic designation Θίβιος, referring to a person from Θίβα (see St. Byz. θ 45.4), otherwise called Θιβᾶς (see St. Byz. θ 45.1-4) near the Pontus (cf. Flav. Arr. *Bithyn. fragm.* 49.6-7 (=FGH 2b 156F 84.2-3); Eust. *D. P.* 828.6-7).

37.2 κιβῆς: This word occurs nowhere else. A name Κιβᾶς is attested (*LGPN* I, IV).

37.6 καὶ: The manuscripts' καὶ is required here, not the ἦ printed by Schmidt (24.19), because the short penultimate and the parasyllabic declension are conditions for the circumflex that need to be satisfied together, as in μογῆς and δογῆς. On the contrary, the συναληλιμμένα φθογῆς and Αὐγῆς are declined imparisyllabically.

37.8 Γάγγης: The manuscripts' σάγγης is nowhere else attested. A name Σάγγας occurs in ancient sources (sch. A. R. 183.15, *EM* 707.20, Zonar. σ 1625.22), but there is no evidence that Σάγγης is a variant form of this name. I have adopted L. Dindorf's (and later Lobeck's; Dindorf *TGL* VII 14A-B, Lobeck *PGSE*² 51, n. 3) emendation of σάγγης to Γάγγης, considering this emendation as the palaeographically closest to the transmitted reading.

37.8 Μόργης: An ethnic designation according to Choerob. *in Theod.* 160.20-1, Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 385.6, *Lex. Art. Gramm.* 428.9.

37.9 ἀπὸ συνθέτου: The manuscripts' σύνθετον ἀπὸ does not make sense here, because ἀγής is not a compound word. In order for the construction ἀπὸ συνθέτου to be possible here the compound word would have to come before its constituent parts (e.g. τὸ ἀγής σύνθετον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀ καὶ ἀγής), but this possibility is less economical. Moreover, ἀπὸ συνθέτου corresponds to ἐκ συνθέτου at the beginning of the rule. Furthermore, since one set of exceptions to the rule consists of the words that are καταλελειμμένα ἐκ συνθέτου (e.g. ἀγής), one expects the interest to fall primarily on these καταλελειμμένα rather than on the compound words themselves. Lentz's addition of καταλελειμμένον after συνθέτου has not been adopted here, since for the sake of brevity the epitomator, or perhaps even Herodian, did not always repeat words given at the beginning of the rule, if they could easily be taken as implied later on. An example of this principle is the phrase τὸ μέντοι ἀργής ἐπιθετικόν (37.8–9), which refers back to the section ἡ παρώνυμον ἐπιθετικόν (37.4–5) at the beginning of the rule and does not repeat παρώνυμον that is given at the beginning of the rule (cf. also 86.1–2 τὸ ... θηλυκά).

37.9–10 τοῦ...10 κλώμενος: I have adopted Lentz's emendation of the manuscripts' τῆς γῆς to τοῦ ἀαγῆς. Schmidt's emendation τῆς ἀγῆς (25.3) is inappropriate because ἀγή, differently from ἀαγῆς, is not a compound word as the rule prescribes. Moreover, ὁ μὴ κλώμενος is a suitable gloss for ἀαγῆς but not for ἀγή. I have also rejected the idea of emending the manuscripts' τῆς γῆς to either τοῦ εὐαγῆς ('free from pollution, pure' or 'καλῶς κεκλασμένος' or 'bright, clear') or παναγῆς ('all-hallowed') as in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* (I 337.13-4), because neither of these corrections would fit the meaning ὁ μὴ κλώμενος.

37.10 μογῆς: This word occurs nowhere else. It is probably an adjective derived from μογέω, equivalent to μοχθήεις (μοχθέω - μοχθήεις, μογέω - μογήεις) (see *TGL* V 1128A). However, the problem with this reading is that adjectives derived from adjectives in -ήεις are not known to be declined parasyllabically as would be required here (see *TGL* V 1128A). Schmidt's suggestion to read Βογῆς (25.3 app. crit.) is not plausible because the name is in fact accented Βόγης at Herodotus 7.107.

37.10–11 δρογῆς: This word is nowhere else attested.

37.14–16 Τὰ...16 Μένδης: The mention of τὸ μέντοι ψευδῆς καὶ φραδῆς ἐπιθετικά (37.16–17) could suggest that this initial sentence

of the accentuation rule should have included something like κύρια ὄντα ἢ προσηγορικά after δισύλλαβα. Furthermore, the mention of the fact that Ποδῆς and ῥοδῆς are perispomena because they have the ο in their penultimate could suggest that the beginning of the rule should have indicated that having the ο in the penultimate is an exception to recessive accentuation. But the epitomator probably omitted these conditions at the beginning of the rule considering that their mention later was sufficient (see also below the note on 37.16–17 τὸ ... ἐπιθετικά). I have therefore not considered Lentz's addition ἢ τὸ ο παραληγόμενα necessary. Cf. the discussion of the epitomator's principle 1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει.

37.15 Πύδης: The name of a city (St. Byz. 538.14) and a river (St. Byz. 538.14; cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 157.33–4) in Pisidia.

37.15 ἄδης: I have printed C's ἄδης. The other manuscripts' ἔδης occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. ἄδης is reinforced by a parallel passage from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (see the apparatus of parallel passages).

37.15 Γράδης: This patronymic refers to the son of Γράς, cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 156.2–3, 156.11–3.

37.16 Μένδης: The manuscripts' μέδης occurs nowhere else and is probably a scribal error. I have adopted Lentz's emendation Μένδης,

which according to the testimony of Herodotus (2.46.13-4) is the word for 'he-goat' (τράγος) and the name of the god Pan in Egyptian. Stephanus of Byzantium (444.17-9) informs us that this was the name of a city in Egypt, near Lycopolis, where the he-goat and Pan were worshipped.

37.16–17 τὸ...17 ἐπιθετικά: Here we read that the reason why ψευδής and φραδής are exceptions is because they are adjectives, but in fact they do not satisfy the condition for recessive accentuation, which is that the words should not be declined with -ους in the genitive. This suggests either that the beginning of the rule should have said μὴ ἐπιθετικά διὰ τοῦ ΟΥΣ κλινόμενα, in which case the presence of ἐπιθετικά here is justified, or that the beginning of the rule should have said δισύλλαβα κύρια ὄντα ἢ προσηγορικά, so that adjectives would be excluded from the recessive accentuation (this again would indirectly justify the presence of ἐπιθετικά here). In the latter case μὴ διὰ τοῦ ΟΥΣ κλινόμενα should not by itself be considered to be the reason why ψευδής and φραδής are not recessive, but the genitive in -ους together with the fact that these words are adjectives, or one may even consider that μὴ διὰ τοῦ ΟΥΣ κλινόμενα was meant to exclude common and proper names that

are declined with -ους. On the fact that not all the exceptions to the rule appear at the beginning see the note on 37.14–16 Τὰ ... μένδης.

37.17–18 καὶ¹...18 παραλήγει: In a later accentuation rule (40.2) we find Ποδῆς cited in a list of examples that are proper names ending in -ης that have a more basic form (e.g. Ἑρμῆς (Ἑρμέας), Θαλῆς (Θαλέας)). Taking into consideration that both Ποδῆς and ῥοδῆς could have exemplified this other rule, one could wonder how decisive the fact that these words have ο in their penultimate syllable is with regard to their accentuation. See also the general discussion of this in the chapter ‘The present edition’.

37.17 Ποδῆς: The name of the son of Eetion (Ἡετίων): Hom. *Il.* 17.575, 17.590, cf. Eust. *Il.* IV 93.19.

37.17 ῥοδῆς: This seems to be a personal name but it is nowhere attested (see *TGL* VI 2406D).

38.2–3 τὸ²...3 θηλυκόν: I have adopted Lentz's emendation (63.1–32) of the manuscripts' δεσπότης ... δεσποτίς to πότης ... ποτής. Since the text deals with the accentuation of words on the basis of their terminations, there is no reason for a comment about the accent of a masculine and the corresponding feminine with a different termination. This appears to be a comment on the orthography of the two words more than on the accent, which in any

case falls on the same syllable in the masculine and feminine forms. A parallel passage from Choeroboscus' commentary on Theodosius' *Canones* (187.15-23; see the apparatus of parallel passages) reinforces the emendations πότης ... ποτής. It is noteworthy that all the other examples cited and commented on in this accentuation rule of our Epitome are disyllabic, even if this is not explicitly mentioned as one of the conditions for the rule. This strengthens the thought that δεσπότης and δεσπότις are not the appropriate examples here. The manuscripts' δεσπότης and δεσπότις may be explained palaeographically because of the δὲ immediately before πότης and ποτής. A scribe seeing δε ποτης could easily have thought of δεσπότης. Confusion between η (ποτής) and ι (-ποτις) would have been an easy phonetic mistake.

38.6 κάσης: This word is very rare. LSJ s. v. gives the meaning ήλικιώτης on the basis of Hesychius (κ 966), where the manuscript has κασης but Latte prints κάσις. Perhaps the manuscripts' κάσης in Pseudo-Arcadius should encourage one to read κάσης in Hesychius rather than emending to κάσις. For the meaning of κάσις as ἀδελφός see sch. A. *Th.* 674h, Phot. κ 221, *Et. Gud.* κ 302.26, *EM* 493.15, Zonar. κ 1148.13-5, *Su.* κ 456, Σα κ 91, and as ἀδελφή see sch. E. *Hec.* 943. The genitive κάσου (which is a suitable genitive for

κάσης, but not for κάσις) is explained as ἀδελφός in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (κ 302.3-4). The *Etymologicum Gudianum* κ 302.28 gives the meaning ἀνηλικιώτης ἀδελφός to κάσις. It is interesting that this lemma combines the two pieces of information about κάσης/κάσις, the one having to do with age and the other with kinship. It is not clear whether the combination of the two explanations in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* results from some kind of contamination, or if it means to give a meaning to κάσις which distinguishes this word from κάσης. With regard to ἀνηλικιώτης in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, we observe that there is contradiction with ἡλικιώτης in Hesychius. Alternatively, Κάσης may be a personal name: the genitive Κάσου is attested in the inscriptions *OGIS* 200 and *SEG* 32 1601, from Egypt and Nubia respectively, and the accusative Κάσαν is attested in Bacchylides' *Epinician Ode* 11.118-9.

38.6–7 κασῆς...7 ἱμάτιον: κασῆς is a rare word. Our passage informs us that this was a garment of felt. This is a variant form for κάσσος (κάσος), which is cited later on in the *Epitome* with the explanation ἔστι δὲ εἶδος ἱματίου (141.14–16). I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' πηλώτιον to πλωτόν (25.18).

38.7–8 τὸ...8 ἐπίθετον: This seems to suggest that the rule excluded adjectives as well as τοπικά and the συναληλιμμένα, but possibly the epitomator omitted the exclusion of adjectives from the phrasing at the beginning of the rule. Cf. the omission of certain exceptions from the beginning of the rule at 37.16–17 τὸ ... ἐπιθετικά, 37.17–18 καὶ τὸ Ποδῆς ... παραλήγει.

38.7 Κισσῆς: I have followed Schmidt in emending the manuscripts' κισσῆς to Κισσῆς.

39.2 ἐπιπλοκὴν: See the discussion of this grammatical term in the Introduction, pp. 119-20.

39.10–11 ἀμετάβολον: 'liquid or nasal consonant'.

39.11 ἐπιπλοκῆς: See note on 39.2 ἐπιπλοκὴν.

39.13 Πίγρης: The manuscripts' πῆγρης occurs nowhere else. Schmidt's emendation Πίγρης (26.9) is a personal name (*LGPN* I, IV, VA).

39.13–14 Πέτρης...14 τις: A μέγας Πέτρας and a μικρὸς Πέτρας are mentioned by Scylax (108.5, 108.9-11 respectively). The *Periplus Maris Magni* (*Stadiasmus*) mentions a Πέτρας (30.1, 33.1, 33.3, 34.1) and a μικρὸς Πέτρας (40.1). Claudius Ptolemaeus' Πέτρας μεγάλης λιμῆν (4.5.3.5.) and Πέτρας μικρᾶς λιμῆν (4.5.2.9) seem to be

corrupt forms of Πέτρας μέγας and Πέτρας μικρὸς λιμὴν respectively. On this see *RE* 19.1181-2.

39.14–15 εἰ...γέγονε: Examples of this sub-rule could be τεχνῆς, λαχνῆς and ζαχνῆς, which were cited earlier under the section on words ending in -νης and -ρης (39.7–8). These three examples result from a πάθος, from contraction (τεχνήεις, λαχνήεις, ζαχρηής) as was explicitly mentioned in the relevant section above. Cf. Lentz's reconstruction (64.32-3).

39.14 δέ τι: I have inverted the manuscripts' τι δὲ to δέ τι in order to restore the normal order for these two words.

39.19–20 τὸ...**20** γάρ: πλήρης is said to be barytone because it is subject to syncope from πληήρης to πλήρης. The supposed syncope in πλήρης is justified differently in Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 162.10-2), Theognostus (*Can.* II 44.16-20 (= 243), the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (π 470.43-4), the *Etymologicum Magnum* (676.53-5) and Zonaras (π 1552.15-7).

39.21 ὀλιγήρης: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' λιγήρης to ὀλιγήρης. λιγήρης is a scribal error. ὀλιγήρης appears next to ξιφήρης in two *Iliad* scholia (3.316a1, 9.336c) deriving from Herodian.

39.23 Μυῆς: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, accented Μύης).

39.23 Θυῆς Κυῆς: These proper names are nowhere else attested.

40.1 ἀπὸ ἐντελεστέρου: 'that have a more complete form'.

40.2 Πυλῆς: The contracted form (cf. 40.1 ἀπὸ ἐντελεστέρου) of the name Πυλέας occurring at the *Etymologicum Magnum* (210.15). *LGPN* II, IIIB, IV records a name Πύλης, but the inscriptions cited by *LGPN* (*LGPN* II: *ABV* p. 367 no. 89, for the inscription see *AJA* 1929, 363 n. 5; *LGPN* IIIB: *Syll.*³ 419, 3; *LGPN* IV: *SEG* 24 579, 6) suggest that there are two different names: (i) Πύλης, -ητος (Πύλητος *Syll.*³ 419, 3) and (ii) Πυλῆς, -ου, which could either be Πύλης, -ου, -η or Πυλῆς, -οῦ, -ῆ (Πυλη *SEG* 24 579, 6), but *LGPN* lists these occurrences under the entry Πύλης. *LGPN* IV reports wrongly that Πυλη in *SEG* 24 579, 6 is a genitive while it is a dative. The dative Πυλη would be an appropriate dative for either Πύλης, -ου or Πυλῆς, -οῦ.

40.7 Ἀρτεμῆς: A personal name (*LGPN* I, IV).

40.9 τεχνῆς δαφνῆς: These two words exemplify another two rules (τεχνῆς is also cited as an example at 39.7), one about words in -νης that are the result of contraction (39.1–8) and the other about words ending in ΗΣ that have a liquid or nasal consonant before the Η in combination with another consonant in the same syllable and are subject to a change (39.10–15). The phrase ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ΗΕΙΣ in this

rule corresponds to ἀπὸ συναλοιφῆς (39.8) in the first of the above-mentioned rules and to κατὰ πάθος (39.14) in the second.

40.10 ὡς πατρωνυμικά: I. e. words that have the characteristic termination of a patronymic, but are not patronymics: e.g. Εὐριπίδης, Θουκυδίδης.

41.7 Ὀζόλης: A Locrian ethnic designation (Hsch. ο 131, Choerob. *in Theod.* 160.8, *Su.* ο 70, Zonar. ο 1428.7).

41.8 ἀκλινής: I have kept the manuscripts' reading despite the fact that this word does not end in -ονης or -ολης. It is possible that this accentuation rule originally dealt with words ending in -λης and -νης more generally, rather than specifically with words ending in -ολης and -ονης. An alternative solution to this problem is to assume that some material of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* has been cut out by the epitomator, thus resulting in the mention of ἀκλινής right after the words in -ολης and -ονης. ἀολλής, which was suggested by Götting, is not an appropriate example of this rule as it stands, because ἀολλής has double λ. The word νεακονής would be suitable here, but is not supported by any parallel text.

41.12 Ἀρταφέρνης: M's ἀρτιφέρνης and O's ἀρτιφέρης are not attested Persian names. I have adopted Lentz's Ἀρταφέρνης (70.17).

41.13–14 τευχιστής...**14** ὀρχιστής: I have followed Schmidt

(27.19-20) in emending the manuscripts' τευχιστής and ὀρχιστής to τευχηστής and ὀρχηστής respectively. The interchange between η and ι is a common iotacistic error.

41.15 Ἔτι... APHΣ: Ἔτι should have been used to link the statement about the accent of the words of this sentence with that of the previous sentence so that the verb indicating the accent would not be repeated. But the previous sentence gives words that are oxytone, while this sentence gives recessive words. Thus, the sentence ἔτι τὰ εἰς APHΣ ... Σωχάρης should have been linked with the section on the words in -ANHΣ, which in its turn is linked (with the use of ἔτι) to the βαρύνεται of the section on the patronymics (40.10–12), as well as the three sections between them (41.1–2, 41.3–6, 41.7–9), which begin with ἔτι. The ἔτι at the beginning of our sentence could suggest that the section Τὰ εἰς ΣΤΗΣ ... ἀλφηστής (41.13–14) originally appeared at a different point, perhaps after Τὰ εἰς ΤΗΣ ἀπλᾶ ἀρσενικὰ ... τριετής σύνθετα (41.21–42.5). This view is reinforced by the fact that the treatment of the ending ΣΤΗΣ gets in the way between the sections on ANHΣ and APHΣ and spoils the alphabetical order according to the ending.

41.19–20 Λυκώρης...20 ὀξύνει: The genitive Λυκωρέος that we find in Callimachus' hymn to Apollo (l. 19) is based on the

nominative Λυκωρεύς, cf. Theognost. *Can.* II 45.32-3 (= 248.3-4). See also Ahrens (1859), II xli-xlii.

42.9 Τεγεάτης Γενεάτης: I have printed both M's Τεγεάτης and O's Γενεάτης. It is not possible to know in which order these two words were originally written, but I consider that they were cited in our Epitome next to each other. The fact that both words end in -εάτης and their second letter is ε facilitated the omission of Τεγεάτης in one and Γενεάτης in the other manuscript. Γενεάτης is rare. It occurs again in Stephanus of Byzantium (γ 47) and is the inhabitant of the Corinthian village Γενέα.

43.6–7 κηδεστής: κηδεστής ('son-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law'), which could well have been called προσηγορικόν (cf. Orion κ 89 21-2, *Et. Gud.* κ 319.4, *EM* 510.1-2), since it is almost never used to qualify another noun (but see ἄνδρα κηδεστήν Plu. *Demetr.* 32.7.8, *Ant.* 78.2.2), is included among the adjectives in this passage. For a discussion of the term προσηγορικόν see the Introduction, pp. 124-6.

43.7 ἀργεστής: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (28.23) of the manuscripts' ἀρχεστής to ἀργεστής. This emendation is supported by a parallel passage from Eustathius (*Il.* II 176.5-10; see the apparatus of parallel passages).

43.9 ὁλῶ: I have followed Schmidt (29.1) in emending the manuscripts' ὅλλω to ὁλῶ.

43.12 αὐτοσφαγής: This word usually occurs in tragedy.

43.13 πολυδευκής: A rather uncommon word. It occurs again in Hom. *Od.* 19.521, Nic. *Ther.* 209, 605, Claud. Ael. *De nat. animal.* 5.38.13, Hsch. π 2843, sch. Nic. *Ther.* 209d, 625b.

44.3 <ἐπίθετα>: Both the fact that the examples given in the rest of rule are adjectives, and the phrase τὰ δὲ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπίθετα (44.4–5), suggest that ἐπίθετα should be added here.

44.6 εὐτειχής: The manuscripts' reading εὐτυχής does not qualify as an example of this section of the rule. The rest of the examples are compound adjectives whose second member is based on a neuter noun ending in -ος and which do not have η in the penultimate syllable. Thus, εὐγενής and ἀγενής are compounds of γένος and εὐμενής is a compound of μένος. It seems necessary to follow Lentz (81.4) and read εὐτειχής ('well-walled') here, in which case the second part of the compound adjective is based on τεῖχος. This emendation is supported by a passage in Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 167.24-30).

44.8 καὶ λεπτουργής: The manuscripts' κλεπτουργής is a *vox nihili*. I have adopted G. Dindorf's emendation καὶ λεπτουργής. The

manuscripts' κλεπτουργής is probably due to the a scribe who did not recognise the abbreviation for καὶ and thought it was the first letter of the word λεπτουργής that was following. The existence of καὶ between τριετής and λεπτουργής makes sense because it links the two different groups of compounds, those whose second member is ἔτος and those whose second member is ἔργον.

46.3–4 σεσημείωται...4 δικαιοκρίτης: An explanation for the accent of φιλαλήθης and δικαιοκρίτης is given by Choeroboscus in his Commentary to Theodosius' *Canones* (187.27-35, 187.23-5 respectively; see the full citations in the apparatus of parallel passages). According to him the compounds of ἀληθής are recessive because they follow the accentuation rule which applies to words ending in -ηθης, as for example εὐήθης, συνήθης, κακοήθης (cf. *EM* 435.53-6). The compound words that have -κριτής as their second part are recessive, because the accent of κριτής was exceptionally oxytone and should have been recessive as a rule prescribes for masculine disyllabic words in -της (Choerob. *in Theod.* 187.15-6). It is possible that Herodian had included some more of the same information as Choeroboscus, and in fact Choeroboscus may well have derived some of the material from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, given the close verbal similarities and the use of

common examples between our Epitome and this passage from Choeroboscus.

47.4 ⇔ ἐσθής: Schmidt (30.5) and Lentz (83.13) thought that there must be a lacuna here (see the critical apparatus for the proposed additions). The two scholars noticed that ἐσθής was cited in a list of examples relating to an accentuation rule on words ending in -της, and thought that they should add ἐστής, making ἐσθής a gloss for ἐστής. A passage from Choeroboscus shows that θ was considered to correspond to τ: *in Theod.* 325.33 ἐσθής ἐσθητός (τὸ γὰρ θ δυνάμει τ ἐστὶν τουτέστιν ἀντιστοιχεῖ τῷ τ). This passage suggests that the ending -θης was regarded as equivalent to -της and could be dealt with in the same way. The termination -θης is not dealt with separately in this book. The concept of the corresponding letter (ἀντίστοιχον) in ancient grammar is employed (*inter alia*) in relation to the unaspirated consonants (π, τ, κ) and the aspirated consonants (φ, θ, χ). The two letters belonging to each of the three pairs π - φ, τ - θ, and κ - χ, are said to be ἀντίστοιχα in the three classes of labial, dental, and palatal consonants respectively. See also sch. D. T. *Vat.* 117.38-9, 125.24-5, *Marc.* 372.33-5, 339.7-9, 407.20-1, 407.34-5, 408.5-6, A. D. *Adv.* 147.18-23, Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.i 295.1-3, iv.ii 75.28-9, 78.31-2, 80.4-5, 103.28-9, 146.17-8, 146.27-8, 147.32-2, 180.20-1,

191.27-9, 191.32-4, 192.31-2, 198.30-1, 199.21-3, 201.4-5, 225.17-8, 327.17-9, 327.25-6, 360.22-3, *Sophr. Char. Theodos.* 420.26-7 (cf. *Choerob. in Theod.* 77.14-5), 423.31-2, 427.2-3. The correspondence of ἐσθής to ἐσθής must have been mentioned in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. The incoherence here is probably the fault of the transmission of the Epitome, but the possibility that it is the fault of the epitomator cannot be excluded. The sign of the lacuna in my text shows at least that in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* one ought to expect that the correspondence of ἐσθής with ἐσθής was indicated.

47.9 κοινὰ: This refers to words that can be both masculine and feminine according to the sex of the referent, such as οἷς and πάϊς. See also the discussion of the term κοινός in my Introduction, pp. 123-4, 130 and Dickey (2007), 237 s. v. ἐπίκοινος, 244 s. v. κοινός. The *Τέχνη γραμματική* attributed to Dionysius Thrax calls this κοινὸν γένος (I 25.1-2).

48.3 πῆ: I have printed the word with an iota subscript as required.

48.6 σκελῖς: Both a synonym for ἄγλις ('clove, head of garlic') and a later form for σχελῖς ('rib of beef').

48.6 νυχίς: This word occurs only in our Epitome and in *Et. Gud.* κ 327.7-8, *EM* 333.26, 518.37. In all four passages it is quoted next to παννυχίς.

48.12–49.1 Τὰ...**49.1** ὀξύνεται: That is to say, the diminutives ending in -ις that have the same number of syllables as their base words.

49.2 λυρίς: This diminutive of λύρα occurs only in our Epitome and sch. D. T. Vat. 227.17, Marc. 376.14-5, Lond. 539.10.

49.2 Ἰφίς...Ἰφι: The words have a long penultimate syllable, and therefore I have followed Schmidt (31.3) in printing them with a circumflex.

49.2 Ἰφίς: A personal name (LGPN I, II, VA).

49.3 γενόμενον: I have printed Schmidt's emendation (31.3) of the manuscripts' γινόμενον to γενόμενον.

49.4–5 Τὰ...**5** μελλόντων: This section of the rule appears again in 53.19–20, but with reference to the termination -ξις.

49.8–9 τὸ...**9** Ἰ: ἀψίς appears as an example of another accentuation rule at 59.7–60.2, and is cited again as an exception at 53.21.

50.1 <προ>παροξύνεται: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' παροξύνεται to προπαροξύνεται. Later on (50.4) we read βαρύνεται before Ἀθάραβις and κάνναβις.

50.2 Νιοβίς: This derivative occurs again at sch. Hom. II. 24.604a.3.

50.2 Λυκαμβίς: A word derived from the name Λυκάμβης. The majority of attestations of Λυκαμβίς occur in the phrase Λυκαμβίς

ἀρχή (Hsch. λ 1371, Phot. λ 444), a *periphrasis* which Cratinus employed in his *Νόμοι* (PCG fr. 138 (130)), for the 'polemarch' Lycambes. See also *OCD*³ s. v. Archilochus.

50.2 Περραιβίς: One of the possible female ethnic designations (together with Περραιβός and Περραιβή) for a person coming from Περραιβός, a city in Thessaly (St. Byz. 518.5-7).

50.3 σεσημείωται...καλλαβίς: καλλαβίς is an exception, because although it is neither a παρώνυμον nor an ἐπιθετικόν it is oxytone. Unlike Schmidt (31.11) I have not printed Lobeck's emendation κάνναβις (*PSGP* 288). κάνναβις is not suitable here, because it is cited in the following sentence among the προσηγορικά that are recessive. Therefore, it is not exception and one cannot expect it to be cited as such. The appearance of σημείωσαι τὸ κολλαβίς so close to σεσημείωται τὸ καλλαβίς seems a bit suspicious.

50.4 Ἀθάρραβις: The testimony of Stephanus of Byzantium (α 79.1-2) that Ἀθάρραβις was cited in book 4 of the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας is significant for two reasons. Firstly, because Stephanus' text (α 79.1-2) enabled Schmidt (31.12-3) to emend the manuscripts' ἀθαράβις, and secondly because his testimony reveals that the form in which he consulted the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας had the same

arrangement of the material in certain books as our Epitome.

Ἀθάραβις is a city in Egypt (St. Byz. α 79.1-2 and *Et. Sym.* I 104.18).

50.5 σημείωσαι...κολλαβίς: κολλαβίς is an exception because although it is a common noun it does not have a recessive accent. I have kept the reading of MO, although it occurs nowhere else. The meaning of κολλαβίς is doubtful; words that seem to have the same stem with κολλαβίς mean different things. In sch. Ar. *Pac.* 1196 κεκολλαβισμένοι is linked to κόλλαβος ('a kind of cake or roll'). ἐνεκολάβισε in Hesychius (ε 2884) and Eustathius (*Od.* II 142.3-4) is glossed by κατέπιεν ('swallowed'). κολλαβίζεσθαι in Photius (κ 873) is a synonym for περαίνεσθαι ('being fulfilled, accomplished'). κολλαβίζειν is explained by Pollux (9.129.1-3) as a kind of game.

50.8 Γέργις: Either the name of a city in Troy (St. Byz. γ 58.1) or the name of a Persian general in Xerxes' army (Hdt. 7.82.6 - 83.2, 7.121.10-2).

50.9 γέγγις: This word is nowhere else attested and is perhaps a *vox nihili*. Many other conjectures can be suggested, e.g. Γίγις, Βέργις (*LGPN* I), Γόργις (*LGPN* II, IIIA), Σέργις (*LGPN* IV, VA). Schmidt noted in his apparatus (31.17) the reading Γέτις from Stephanus of Byzantium (γ 67.2), but this could not have been cited here, because it does not end in -γις.

50.11 ἄμοργις...ὑποστάθμη: ἄμοργις is an uncommon word. It occurs again in Ar. *Lys.* 737; sch. Ar. *Lys.* 735.1-2; sch. Pl. *Ep.* 363a,ter (the gloss ὑποστάθμη is given); Hsch. β 1273; *Lex. de Att. Nomin.* (22; (the gloss ὑποστάθμη is given)).

50.13–14 εἰ...14 γένος: No example of this exception is provided and I have not been able to find any examples.

50.14 πληθίς: This word occurs nowhere else and is perhaps a vox *nihili*. I suggest πλινθίς, because of its similarity with the transmitted reading, but there are no parallel passages to support this. A scribe could easily have written πληθίς in the place of πλινθίς, under the influence of πληθύς (cf. M's reading a.c.).

50.15 τηθίς: I have adopted Lobeck's emendation (*PENVA* 134) of the manuscripts' τιθίς to τηθίς. The interchange between η and ι is a common iotacistic error.

50.15 <πατρὸς...μητρὸς>: I have added this phrase because it is required for the complete meaning of τηθίς.

50.16 αἶθις: This word occurs nowhere else. Schmidt's conjecture Δένθις (32.1 app. crit.) is possible, but there are no parallel passages to support it, and therefore the text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

50.16 κόρθις: The manuscripts' κρόθις is nowhere else attested and

is probably a scribal error for the rare κρόθις, which is attested in Hesychius (κ 3613) and Photius (κ 965.2) and is explained as σωρός, συστροφή. I have thus followed Schmidt's suggestion (adopted later by Lentz) to emend κρόθις to κρόθις.

50.17 Κρᾶθις: The name of a river (Hdt. 1.145.6, Scyl. 13.26, Str. 8.7.4.32, Paus. 7.25.11.5).

50.20 Ταμίαθις: The manuscripts' ταμίσις occurs nowhere else, and is probably a scribal error for Ταμίαθις, the name of a city in Egypt (St. Byz. 599.14, Choerob. *in Theod.* 196.12-3, 344.18, Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 388.2, 405.1). I have thus printed Lobeck's emendation Ταμίαθις (PSGP 366, n. 3).

50.20 Μένουθις: I have adopted Lobeck's emendation of the manuscripts' μενούθις to Μένουθις (PSGP 366, n. 3; St. Byz. ε 124.1). Μένουθις is the name of an Egyptian village close to the Canopic mouth of the Nile (St. Byz. 445.7).

50.21 Τερενούθις: The manuscripts' τερενούθις is emended according to Stephanus of Byzantium (ε 124.1).

51.2 φίκις: This word occurs nowhere else. A number of emendations have been suggested (see also the critical apparatus), but none of them is supported by parallel passages. I consider it more likely that the intended reading here was Κίκις or φύκις (the

word is normally transmitted as φυκίς, but perhaps Herodian had a different view about the accent), or that there is something missing from the text. In the latter case, it is possible that φυκίς was included in the list of oxytone words in -κίς, and that another word was given as an example of a recessive word, but that a scribe accidentally transposed φυκίς to the place where we now read φύκίς. The accent could then have been changed (perhaps even by another scribe) to fit the verb βαρύνεται. The change of υ to ι would have been easy in either case.

51.8 κιγκλίσ: M's κυγκλίσ and O's κυγκίς occur nowhere else. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation κιγκλίσ (32.12).

51.8 θυλλίς...θύλακος: θυλλίς is rare; it occurs also in Hesychius (θ 855; cf. θ 853), who gives the synonym θύλακος ('sack') as in our Epitome, but also γωρυτός ('quiver') and ἔλυτρον ('covering, case').

51.9 δέλλις...σφηκίον: δέλλις occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical sources. The following passages provide us with the meaning ζῶον ὅμοιον μελίσση: Hsch. δ 596, Choerob. *in Theod.* 224.11, 292.18, 328.30, *Et. Parv.* ο 2.6-8, *Et. Gud.* ο 435.46-7, *EM* 632.4-5, *Ep. Hom.* 1,a1 48, while Hsch. δ 596 gives also the synonym σφηῆκες and Zonar. δ 478.22 gives the synonym σφηκίον (written with one λ in Zonar.).

51.10–11 βάλλις...11 νεκρόν: βάλλις is a rare word that occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical sources: Theodos. Π. γραμμ. 94.17-8, *Et. Gen.* β 21.3, *Et. Sym.* II 390.21-3, *EM* 186.35-6. The wording of this phrase does not make it clear whether Herodian thought that βάλλις is recessive because it is declined with θ, or whether he cited this word as a genuine exception. The ancient sources provide us with the genitive βάλλιθος (*EM* 186.36, Theodos. Π. γραμμ. 94.17), but LSJ gives the genitive βάλλεως.

51.14 πυλῖς ὑποκοριστικόν: πυλῖς is mentioned as an example even though diminutives and words that begin with π are exempted from the rule prescribing oxytone accentuation. Perhaps something has fallen out here. On the other hand, the exemption ‘unless they begin with π or are diminutives’ does not necessarily mean that words falling into these two exempted groups cannot be oxytone. Rather, the exemption indicates that the accent of the exempted words cannot be predicted by the main rule given. Thus, words that are exempted from a rule do not necessarily have a different accentuation from the words that follow the rule. Still, it seems slightly odd that after ὑποκοριστικά are exempted, πυλῖς is then listed as an example with the specification ὑποκοριστικόν.

51.20 μαῦλις...μάχαιρα: The manuscripts’ μάλβυδις occurs

nowhere else. I have adopted *TGL*'s emendation μαῦλις. μαῦλις is uncommon, occurring mainly in grammatical and lexicographical sources. The meaning μάχαιρα is given also in sch. Nic. *Ther.* 706a, Hesychius μ 417, 415 (in 415 the meaning λαοτομείον is given), *Et. Gud.* μ 380.5, *EM* 574*.270-3, Eust. *Il.* II 501.7 and sch. Theoc. *Bom. bes.* 4a. μαῦλις is also attested in Call. *Aet. fr.* 75.9, Nic. *Ther.* 706.

51.21 τᾱλις...μελλόγαμος: τᾱλις is an uncommon word occurring mainly in grammatical and lexicographical sources, which provide us with the synonyms μελλόγαμος (Poll. 3.45.5-6; Hsch. τ 85a (μελλόγαμος παρθένος); Phot. τ 567.17; Eust. *Il.* II 531.9 (μελλόνυμφος), III 563.4 (μελλόγαμος παρθένος)), or νύμφη (Hsch. τ 85a, sch. S. *Ant.* 629, Zonar. τ 1711.20), or γυνή γαμετή (Hsch. τ 85a). It also occurs in S. *Ant.* 629, Call. *Aet. fr.* 75.3, Poll. 3.45.8.

51.22–24 Ἦτι...24 ἔπαυλις: The mention of the examples Βᾱλις, μᾱλις, ἦλις, ὕλις and αὔλις in the same sentence is a bit clumsy, because Βᾱλις and μᾱλις have long α, like τᾱλις, and could have been mentioned in the same section as τᾱλις rather than in the same section as ἦλις, ὕλις and αὔλις. The epitomator might have had second thoughts and made a clumsy addition.

51.22 Βᾱλις: The manuscripts of Pseudo-Arcadius and Stephanus of

Byzantium have βάλις. Meineke emended to Βᾱλις, the name of a city in Libya (St. Byz. β 28).

51.22 μᾱλις: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' μάλις to μᾱλις, an alternative form for μηλῖς, -ίδος ('a distemper of asses, prob. glanders').

51.23 ὕλις...ὕλία: I have followed Schmidt in emending the manuscripts' ὕλις to ὕλις. The word ὕλία cited as a synonym for ὕλις occurs nowhere else.

52.1–2 Πανθαλίς...2 Ἑλένης: I have adopted Lobeck's addition of Ἑλένης after θεράπεινα (*PSGP* 97.3-5 coll. Paus. 10.25.4). Pausanias (10.25.4.5-7) mentions Πανθαλίς as one of the two handmaids of Helen of Troy (the other one is called Electra). The addition of Ἑλένης is necessary here, because the information θεράπεινα would not have been sufficient for the designation of Πανθαλίς. The fact that Homer (*Il.* 3.144) does not cite the same names for Helen's handmaids as Pausanias, but provides us with the names Aethra and Clymene, reinforces the idea that the addition of Ἑλένης is necessary here: if Πανθαλίς was well and generally known from being cited in Homer, one could have thought that the addition of Ἑλένης would be unnecessary.

52.2 ἀγκαλῖς: The manuscripts' ἐγκαλῖς occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation ἀγκαλῖς.

52.3 †πενταλῖς: The manuscripts' πενταλῖς is nowhere else attested. I have thought about emending to πεταλῖς which is very close to the manuscripts' πενταλῖς. Although indirect sources provide no evidence for the appearance of πεταλῖς in our text, it satisfies the conditions for the rule; it follows the rule prescribing oxytone accentuation because it is an adjective ('full-grown'). The ν before the τ in the reading of the majority of the manuscripts, πενταλῖς, could easily have been added by a scribe under the influence of the second of the two conditions for oxytone accentuation, 'ἢ ἔχει τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν καταλήγουσαν εἰς ν ἀφώνου ἐπιφερομένου', and also under the influence of the fact that all three preceding examples have ν before the stop consonant. Furthermore, a scribe could have added ν under the influence of the numeral πέντε. Lobeck's δενδαλῖς is also possible, but it is not supported by any parallel passages.

52.5 βάυκαλις: This rare word occurs again in Sopat. fr. 24, Ath. 11.28.3 and *Anth. Gr.* 1.244.4. The two ancient sources that provide us with a synonym for βάυκαλις (Sopat. fr. 24, Ath. 11.28.3) give this as τετράκυκλος, which should be read τετρακότυλος, as Mau points out in the *RE* (3.153) lemma.

52.7 κάπηλις: In the manuscripts of some other sources (e.g. Ar. *Th.* 347, *Pl.* 435) the word is accented *καπηλῖς* in the nominative. The Scholia to Aristophanes' *Plutus* (635, 1120) make a distinction between *κάπηλις* and *καπηλῖς*, according to which *κάπηλις* is a woman who sells wine, while *καπηλῖς* is the daughter of a *κάπηλις*.

52.7 κύβηλις...πέλυξ: Apart from the synonym *πέλεκυς* (Hsch. κ 4377, α 461.3, Phot. α 146.2, κ 1148, *Su.* κ 2595, *Et. Sym.* I 24.14-5, *EM* 543.1, Zonar. κ 1262.25), other passages provide the synonyms *μάχαιρα* (Hsch. κ 4376, Phot. κ 1149), *ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν ὡς πυξίς* (Phot. κ 1150), *τυρόκνηστις* (Phot. κ 1151), and *ὁ πέλεκυς ὁ μαντικός* (*Et. Gen.* α 22, *EM* 8.9).

52.8 ἔπηλις...λάρνακος: *ἔπηλις* occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical works (Ael. Dion. *Ἀττ. ὀνόμ.* ε 48, α 157; Phryn. *PS* fr. 249*, Hsch. ε 4560; Orus fr. 30, Phot. ε 1468, α 2407; *Su.* α 2646, 3155, ε 2173; Eust. *Od.* I 253.13-4). The meaning 'πῶμα τῆς λάρνακος' is also cited in Aelius Dionysius (*Ἀττ. ὀνόμ.* ε 48), Hesychius, Photius (ε 1468), Eustathius.

52.8 πῶμα: This emendation is written in C's margin in pencil. This could be a rather recent emendation.

52.8-9 τρόπηλις...9 σκορόδων: Aristophanes' *τροπαλίδος* (*Ach.* 813) suggests an oxytone nominative *τροπαλῖς* (cf. *τροπαλλίς* and

τροπαλλίδος in sch. Ar. *Ach.* 813a). The word appears to be oxytone in the majority of the other sources (Phot. τ 606.13, Zonar. τ 1747.32, τ 1748.1, τ 1748.3; cf. *Su.* π 2117, Eust. *Od.* I 216.4), but in the sch. Nic. *Alex.* 432a.3-4 and the *EM* (769.1) the word is recessive. The meaning δέσμη τῶν σκορόδων occurs also in the scholia to Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* (432a.3-4), Photius (τ 606.13), *Etymologicum Magnum* (769.1), Zonaras (τ 1747.32); cf. sch. Ar. *Ach.* 813a.3.

52.9 Φάσηλις: The name of a harbour (Scyl. 100.12-3) and a city in Pamphylia (*Su.* κ 1620.5-6 (but in *Su.* φ 121 Φάσηλις is the name of an island), Scyl. 100.12; but accented on the antepenultimate in Hdt. 2.178.10, sch. Th. 2.69.1, Str. 14.3.9, D. S. 20.27.1.6, D. P. *Orb. descr.* 855, St. Byz. 660.5 and Eust. *Il.* II 285.10-1, cf. I 501.29-30, D. P. 855.1-2, 855.7-8 (here we are also given the information that there was also a lake with the name Φάσηλις), 855.15-6).

52.12 κορυδαλλίς: κορυδαλλίς is one of the many variant forms of this bird.

52.12 ἀναβαλλίς...σφαῖρα: ἀναβαλλίς is a rare word; it occurs again in Hsch. α 4188, Phot. α 1395, *EM* 95.42-3, which provide us with the meanings ταινία and σφαῖρα.

52.13 συκαλλίς: or συκαλίς.

52.13 μοιχαλλίς: usually spelled with one λ.

52.13–14 τὸ ... 14 βαρύνεται: I have printed B's κάβαλλις. κάβαλλις is derived from a word ending in -ης (καβάλλης) and thus it is not oxytone. κάβαλλις is a *hapax*.

52.17 Ἀζιλις: The name of a city (St. Byz. α 75, sch. Call. *Hymn.* 2 89) or a mountain (sch. Call. *Hymn.* 2 89) in Libya.

52.21 Ἀδουλις: The name of a city in Aethiopia (St. Byz. α 59, *Et. Sym.* I 60.17). No reason for the word's exceptional recessive accentuation is given here or in any other source.

52.24 σησαμίς: M's σισαμίς and O's σιγαμίς are scribal errors. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation σησαμίς (34.11), an alternative form for σησαμη.

52.26–27 καὶ ... 27 ὀξύνεται: Σαλαμίς was cited earlier under another accentuation rule (8.3–5).

52.27 Σαλαμίς: I have printed Lobeck's emendation (*PSGP* 157.21-2) of the manuscripts' σεμίς δὲ to Σαλαμίς.

52.30–53.1 κονίς ... 53.1 χῶμα: κονίς is used mainly in the plural. It is cited in contrast to κόνις also in Ammonius (*Diff.* 280), Johannes Philoponus (π. διαφ. τον. διαφ. σημαίν. ε κ 22; cf. addit. 170.3) and Sophronius (*Char. Theodos.* 405.5-7).

53.3 Κρίνις: MO's reading allows us to replace A's *vox nihili* κέρνις printed by Schmidt.

53.6 ὄρνις Θῶνις: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (34.21 (app. crit.)) of the manuscripts' ὀρθῶνις to ὄρνις Θῶνις.

53.6 νῆνις: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' νῖνις to νῆνις (34.21), the contracted epic and Ionic form of νεᾶνις. The interchange between ι and η is a common iotacistic error.

53.7 φωνίς: This diminutive of φωνή occurs once again in the *Epimerismi Homerici* (1,a1 69).

53.9 δαυνίς: This is a *hapax*. Its meaning is doubtful (see LSJ and *DGE* s. v.). Perhaps it is linked with δαυνός = δανός (see *DGE* s. v.).

53.10 λεαινίς: This word is a *hapax*. It is probably a diminutive of λέαινα.

53.10–11 τὸ...11 χλοῦνις: The reason for these exceptions is not indicated.

53.11 βοῦνις: This rare word occurs again in A. *Supp.* 117, 129, 776, sch. A. *Supp.* 117b, Hsch. β 941, *Et. Gen.* β 216.1, *EM* 208.5, *Et. Sym.* I 482.18, Zonar. β 400.13.

53.11 χλοῦνις: This rare word occurs again in A. *Eu.* 188, sch. A. *Eu.* 188a, 188b, 188c, Orion (exc. e cod. Darmst. 2773) χ 617.18.

53.13–14 τὸ...14 προπερισπᾶται: Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 327.17–8) says that νεᾶνις is properispomenon because it has the α long. It is

true that Ὀκεανίς and στεφανίς, which are oxytone, have short α , but Τιτανίς has long α and yet is still oxytone. Moreover, Θήβανις has short α like Ὀκεανίς and στεφανίς, but is recessive. Therefore, the length of α does not seem to be a real condition for the oxytone accentuation of words ending in -ανίς.

53.14–15 τὸ ...15 Θήβανις: Stephanus of Byzantium (α 55.11-3) is a witness to the citation of Ἀδανίς and Θήβανις in the fourth book of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας*.

53.14 Ἀδανίς: The feminine ethnic for a citizen of Ἀδανα (St. Byz. α 55).

53.15 Θήβανις: The name of a wind that took its name from Cilician (or Hypoplacian) Thebe(s), where Andromache's father Eetion was king (St. Byz. α 55).

53.16–18 ΟΝΙΣ...18 Ἀμαζονίς: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' ω νις to ονις (35.9), and L. Dindorf's emendation *Λυκαονίς Ἀμαζονίς* of the manuscripts' *λυκαωνίς ἀμαξωνίς* (TGL V 421D (see also Iii 9D)). The interchange between $\omicron$ and ω is common in manuscripts after the loss of vowel quantity distinction. The fact that *Λυκάων* and *Ἀμαζών* are written with an ω might have also contributed to the manuscripts' error.

53.17 ἐνμηνίς: This adjective is attested in the singular only in our

Epitome and sch. A. *Th.* 887c. The plural Εὐμενίδες always refers to the Ἑρινύες or Furies.

53.17 εὐγενίς: An alternative feminine form of εὐγενής. εὐγενίς is less common than εὐγενής.

53.17 Λυκαονίς: This word is nowhere else attested. It means '(of Lycaon) (feminine) or 'daughter of Lycaon'.

54.11 τράμπις: This uncommon word occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical works, where it is explained as 'βαρβαρικὸν πλοῖον' (sch. *Lyc.* 97.1, 1299.1, *Hsch.* τ 1244, *Et. Gud.* α 216.12-3, *θ* 258.41) or 'βαρβαρικὸν ὄπλον' (*Choerob. Ep. Ps.* 150.31-2, *EM* 157.23-4).

54.11 Σάλπις: Perhaps an alternative form for Σάλπη, a city and a lake in Italy (see sch. *Lyc.* 1128; cf. *Lyc.* 1129), although a personal name Σάλπις is attested (*LGPN* IIIA), and there is no evidence that Σάλπις is an alternative form for Σάλπη. *Stephanus of Byzantium* (631.1) mentions the city name Τράμπη, but there is no evidence that this city name had the alternative form Τράμπις, in which case one could argue that one should invert τράμπις with Σάλπις and consider that πόλις was intended as a gloss for τράμπις.

54.11 πόλις: Since πόλις does not end in -πις, it is certainly not intended to be an example of this accentuation rule. I have put πόλις

in brackets, in order to indicate that this was probably meant to be an explanation for Σάλπεις (see also the note above), although Σάλπεις is nowhere else attested as a city name. It is also possible that another example was intended at the place where we now read πόλις.

54.12 πόρπις: This paroxytone nominative, which is an alternative for πόρπη, is a *hapax*. In Hesychius (α 3139) we read πορπίδα, whose nominative would be πορπίς.

54.12–13 ὀξύνεται...13 λεγόμενα: Schmidt (35.22-36.1) thought that there was something wrong with the expression μὴ πληθυντικῶς λεγόμενα and agreed with Götting's correction of μὴ πληθυντικῶς λεγόμενα to μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα. The rule prescribes that the disyllabic words in -πις that have a 'long by position' penultimate are recessive if they begin with a consonant and oxytone if they begin with a vowel. It is often the case in the Epitome that for the sake of brevity certain conditions for a rule are not repeated at the point where exceptions due to these conditions are mentioned. It is therefore possible that the epitomator wrote βαρύνεται δὲ ταῦτα ... ὀξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα without repeating the conditions about the word having to begin with a consonant and a vowel respectively. In the section on the words beginning with a vowel, the phrase μὴ πληθυντικῶς λεγόμενα is added in order to

distinguish ἑλπίς, ἄσπις and ἐμπίς from Ἄλπις which is mostly used in the plural (see Eust. *D. P.* 294.8-9, 338.5-7, 340.26-8) and is therefore recessive despite the fact that it begins with a vowel. If after ὁξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα the condition prescribing a word-initial vowel was repeated either in the form μὴ ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα or ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχόμενα, the omission of this part could be easily explained because of the *homoeoteleuton* (ἀρχόμενα ... λεγόμενα).

55.1 Δρυοπίς: An alternative form for Δρυοπία and Δρυοπηίς, the city of the Δρύοπες that is close to Trachis (St. Byz. δ 137.4-6).

55.1 φύλοπις: I have printed φύλοπις with Schmidt (36.5). The manuscripts' mistake φύλωπις must have been easy at a time when both ο and ω were pronounced [o].

55.3 <>: Lentz's addition (98.16) seems very plausible. Τευκρίς is not a diminutive. This suggests that there is a lacuna after ὑποκοριστικά and that the omitted part was linked to ἐννοίας. One would rather have ἢ τύπου πατρωνυμικοῦ ὄντα or τύπον πατρωνυμικῶν/-οῦ ἔχοντα, because strictly speaking Τευκρίς does not have the meaning of a πατρωνυμικόν, but it is formed according to the pattern of the πατρωνυμικά. It seems, nevertheless, that the phrase ἢ πατρωνυμικῆς is as likely as the other suggestions just made, and that to a certain extent the use of ἐννοια in the text reveals that

Τευκρίς is not really considered to be a πατρωνυμικόν, because if it were the rule could have simply said ἡ πατρωνυμικά. The expression πατρωνυμική ἔννοια is rare. It occurs again in Apollonius Dyscolus (*Synt.* GG ii.ii. 326.4).

55.6 Μάκρως: A name for Euboea (St. Byz. ε 149.1, 428.20; Hsch. μ 131, *EM* 389.2). See also the note on Μάκρων (18.14).

55.6 Ἀκρίς: The name of a city (Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. α α 25, b α 25, c α 36, d α 20, e α 27, Eust. *Il.* III 398.7). A personal name is also attested (*LGPN* IIIA, but accented Ἀκρίς).

55.7 Λοκρίς: An adjective qualifying an implied noun γῆ/χώρα or γυνή (see St. Byz. 684.4-5).

55.9 παλαιστρίς: This feminine form for παλαιστής is a *hapax*.

55.9 αὐληστρίς: A *hapax* variant form for αὐλητής; cf. αὐληστής for αὐλητής.

55.11–12 Τὰ ... 12 βαρύνεται: Possible examples, especially with the rest of the voiced consonants and the aspirated consonants could have been e.g. τίγρις, ἄφρις, δίφρις, ἴθρις, ἴδρις.

55.14 ὀξύνεται ... κεδρίς: νεβρίς and κεδρίς are genuine exceptions, because although they satisfy the conditions for recessive accentuation, they are exceptionally oxytone.

55.14–15 τὸ² ... 15 δεδιπλασίσσται: ἄγγρις is a rare word; it occurs

again in the *Etymologicum Symeonis* (I 28.20) and the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (α 31.4), but is accented on the final syllable (ἀγγρίς), while in Zonaras (α 26.16) we read ἄγρις. In the *Etymologicum Symeonis* and Zonaras the word is explained as ὀδύνη. It seems that both ἀγγρίς and ἄγρις are corrupt forms of ἄγγρις. That the word should be written with two γ is made clear through the verb δεδιπλασίασται in our Epitome. The variant accent of the word in some sources could be due to scribal error.

55.17 εὖμαρις: sch. E. Or. 1370 testifies to the citation of this word in the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆας.

55.21 ἔαρίς: This rare word occurs only in our Epitome and Hesychius (ε 34), where ἔαρίδας is glossed by κανθαρίδας.

55.23 Ἀστερίς: An island, variously located (see Hom. *Od.* 4.845-6, Str. 10.2.16.1-2, sch. Hom. *Od.* 4.846; Apollon. *Lex.* 45.26, Hsch. α 7837, 7839), and a city in Syria (St. Byz. α 501.1-2, Eust. *II.* I 518.23-5), an alternative for Ἀστερία (Str. 10.2.16.1-2, St. Byz. α 501.1-2, Eust. *II.* I 518.23-5).

55.23–24 τὸ ... **24** βαρύνεται: Πάστερις and Κελένδερις seem to be genuine exceptions, because although they fulfil the conditions for the accentuation rule they are not oxytone.

55.23 Πάστερις: The manuscripts' πάτερις occurs nowhere else, and

is probably a scribal error. I have adopted Meineke's emendation of Stephanus' manuscripts *παστερίς* to *Πάστερις*, which is the name of an Egyptian city (St. Byz. 510.9). It occurs only in our Epitome and Stephanus of Byzantium.

55.24 Κελένδερις: The manuscripts' *κέλερις* occurs nowhere else, and is probably a scribal error. *Κελένδερις* is the name of a city in Cilicia Trachea (Scyl. 102.5, Str. 14.5.3, Hdn. π.μ.λ. GG iii.ii 925.7; cf. *RE* 11.137-8, *DNP* 6.384, *BNP* 3.67-8).

55.27 τὸ¹...προπαροξύνεται: *Θάμυρις* is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule it is not oxytone.

55.27–28 τὸ²...28 ἐγένετο: The following grammatical and lexicographical sources consider that *ἄγυρις* was formed from *ἄγορις* with a change of ο to υ: sch. Hom. *Il.* 9.647, Orion α 27.4-7, Eust. *Od.* I 77.19-22, *Et. Gen.* α 44, α 1327.12, *Et. Gud.* α 221.15, *EM* 14.28-30, Zonar. α 315.20-1, π 1507.16-7.

56.2 Βούσιρις: The name of an Egyptian king and the city named after him (St. Byz. β 154, *Et. Gen.* β 222.1-2, *EM* 209.25-6).

56.2 Ψένυρις: The name of an Egyptian village (St. Byz. 374.17, 701.9).

56.3–6 Τὰ...6 κρίσις: Cf. also the rule cited earlier in 49.9–50.4.

56.8–9 σεσημείωται...9 γεγονός: ἄσις is an exception because although it is derivative of ἄση, it is not oxytone.

56.8 ἀπὸ...ἄση: The meaning here ought to be ‘that derives from (the noun) ἄση’. This can be either expressed by ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄση or ἀπὸ τῆς ἄσης (usually when the phrase ‘ἀπὸ τοῦ’ is followed by a feminine noun, the noun is in the nominative, otherwise we get ἀπὸ τῆς and the feminine noun is in the genitive). In having to decide between either changing ἄσης into ἄση or τοῦ into τῆς I have chosen the first, with Schmidt (37.12), thinking that ἄση was more prone to be written in the genitive (ἄσης) in the manuscripts both under the influence of ἀπὸ and of the final sigma of ἄσις, whereas it would have been more difficult for τῆς to have been mistakenly written as τοῦ in front of a feminine noun.

56.10 <>: Among the examples cited we find οὐτίς. As the rule stands it does not include the case of ου- in the penultimate syllable. We therefore assume either that there is a lacuna after Ο μικρόν that could be filled with a phrase like ἦτοι μόνον ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ φωνήεντι or that οὐτίς is wrongly cited at that point (see the note on οὐτίς, where the possibility that the right reading is ὀτίς is taken into consideration). The assumption that there is a lacuna is reinforced by sch. Hom. // 17.40b (see the apparatus of parallel passages), which

has the phrase παραληγόμενα δὲ τῷ ο ἥτοι μόνῳ ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ φωνήεντι and includes οὐτίς among the examples.

56.11 <μὴ ὄντα>: The examples provided in this rule are all common nouns and proper names. No adjectives are cited. This makes one think that before ἐπιθετικά we are missing the words μὴ ὄντα (cf. Schmidt 37.14 app. crit.). A passage from the *Iliad* scholia (17.40b) deriving from Herodian, is a witness to the citation of μὴ ὄντα before ἐπιθετικά (see the apparatus of parallel passages).

56.11–12 εἰ...12 ΤΗΣ: Sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.40b exemplifies this condition with the case of πότις derived from πότης (see the apparatus of parallel passages).

56.13 οὐτίς: In order for οὐτίς to be able to serve as an example of this rule, we should assume that the rule as we have it is missing the phrase ἥτοι μόνον ἢ σὺν ἑτέρῳ φωνήεντι after Ο μικρόν (see also the critical apparatus and note on 56.10 <....>). It is also possible that the word here should have been ὀτίς, which means the same as οὐτίς. If this is the case, then there is no need to assume that there is a lacuna after Ο μικρόν. οὐτίς as well as ὀτίς are rare words. The citation of οὐτίς in sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.40b supports the assumption of οὐτίς here, and the concomitant assumption of a lacuna after Ο μικρόν (see also note on 56.10).

56.13 Δωτίς: The manuscripts' δοτίς is a scribal error due to the loss of vowel quantity distinction. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Δωτίς (37.16), a personal name (*LGPN* II).

56.14 τὸ ... πόρις: πόρις is not an exception because it derives from πόρις and therefore does not fully fall into the group of words ending in -τις. This suggests that rules apply to forms before the operation of πάθη.

56.14 ⇔: One may assume, both on the basis of the condition εἰ μὴ παρράκειται ἀρσενικῶ τῷ εἰς -της and of sch. Hom. *Il.* 17.40b (see the apparatus of parallel passages), that something was mentioned here about πότις, derived from πότης. It is possible that the example of πότις was mentioned in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*, but that the epitomator left it out for brevity's sake. That we should not expect an extensive treatment of the exceptions in the Epitome is suggested in the epitomator's prologue (see the discussion of 1.21–2.1 συντομίας ... κρατυνομένων).

57.1 κλέπτις: This is the feminine form of κλέπτης. It occurs again in Alciphron 2.19.2.7, Nicephorus Patriarcha (*Lib. Onir.* III κ 60), and in the scholia in Basilicorum libros (60.12.61.4).

57.1–2 λάκτις ... 2 τορύνη: The manuscripts' τρυγών as a gloss for λάκτις is inappropriate, and is clearly a mistake. I have adopted

Dindorf's emendation τορύνη (TGL V 59B). For τορύνη as a synonym for λάκτις, cf. Hsch. λ 218, *Et. Gen.* λ 21, *EM* 555.18, *Su.* λ 71.

57.2 νυκτίς: M's νοκτίς is a *vox nihili*. O's νυκτίς occurs once in Michael Psellus *Poem.* 9.1269-70 Ἡ νυκτίς ἔλκος νυκτὸς ἀλγῦνον πλέον, φλυκταινοειδές, ὑπέρυθρον τὴν χροάν. The definitions of ἐπινυκτίς ('pustule which is most painful by night') in ancient sources suggest that νυκτίς is a synonym for ἐπινυκτίς: Poll. 4.197.2-3 ἐπινυκτίς φλύκταινα ὑποπέλιδνος ὕφυγρος ἔναιμος, περὶ κνήμας καὶ πόδας ἐν νυκτὶ γινομένη; Orib. *Coll. Med.* 44.17.1-3 Αἱ δ' ἐπινυκτίδες ἐλκύδριά εἰσιν ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου ἐξανθοῦντα, φλυκταινοειδῆ, ὑπέρυθρα ὧν ἐκρηγνυμένων ἰχώρ ὕφαιμος ἀπορρεῖ. ταῦτα μὲν ἡμέρας οὐ πάνυ ἐνοχλεῖ, νυκτὸς δ' ἐπώδυνά ἐστιν· διόπερ καὶ οὕτως ὠνομάσθη· καὶ ὀδύναι μείζους ἢ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἔλκους; *Syn.* 7.37.1-3, cf. Paul. *Med. Epit. medic. lib. sept.* 4.9.1.1-4; Paul. *Nic. Lib. medic.* 119.1-5. Thus, O's νυκτίς is sufficient here and there is no need to print ἐπινυκτίς. It should be observed in any case that all the examples cited in this accentuation rule are disyllabic, and this reinforces the point that νυκτίς is preferable to ἐπινυκτίς.

57.7 παιτέττις: This is nowhere else attested.

57.7 τριοττίς: This rare word occurs again in sch. Hom. *Il.* 14.183c.3, Eust. *Il.* III 610.9.

57.8 νεοττίς: Either a diminutive of νεοσσός or the title of a fragmentary comedy by Anaxilas or Antiphanes or Eubulus.

57.10 ὑποκοριστικώτερα: 'more or less diminutive, rather diminutive'. See also note on 14.13 τοπικώτερα.

57.13 βούβρωστις: MO's βούβωστρις is a scribal error. The rule is about words ending in -στις. I have printed C's βούβρωστις.

57.14 Κεραστίς: An adjective used of Io (*A. Pr.* 674, sch. *A. Pr.* 669a.7), or an adjective for Cyprus (*Nonn. D.* 5.614, 13.441, 29.372) because it has many extremities (sch. *Lyc.* 447.52), which ended up being employed as another name for Cyprus (*St. Byz.* 396.3-4, 595.8, *Joh. Laur. Lyd. De magistr. pop. Rom.* 126.16-8).

57.14 Λιγυστίς: I have adopted L. Dindorf's emendation (*TGL* V 357D (s. v. λογιστίς)) of the manuscripts' λογιστίς. Though this is usually an alternative name for the Στοιχάδες, the three islands that are now called les Îles d' Hyères (*A. R.* 4.553-4, sch. *A. R.* 288.20-2, *St. Byz.* 585.19-20), it can be used as an adjective, more specifically as an ethnic designation (*E. Tr.* 437, cf. sch. *E. Tr.* 437).

57.15 Λιβυστίς: MO's λυβιστίς is a scribal error. BC preserve the

good reading Λιβυστίς, the feminine ethnic designation indicating origin from Libya (St. Byz. 415.12-9).

57.18 αὐθεντίς: The feminine form of αὐθέντης. It occurs only in our Epitome and in Photius (α 3161.3). I agree with Schmidt (38.14 app. crit.) that there must be a lacuna in this section. More specifically, I think that there is something missing before αὐθεντίς, because αὐθεντίς, derived from αὐθέντης, was probably meant to be cited as an exception to the condition ‘μὴ παρακείμενα τοῖς εἰς ΤΗΣ’.

57.19–58.1 Τὰ...58.1 τόνον: The phrasing of this rule would have been more complete if ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς (or ὑπερδισύλλαβα) was mentioned in this sentence. This is suggested by the mention of Σκυθίς and Περσίς that are disyllabic and oxytone, contrary to the examples κυνηγέτις, δεσπότις and πολῖτις that have more than two syllables and have the accent on the penultimate syllable. The mention of ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς by Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 329.34-330.3; see the apparatus of parallel passages) could suggest that a phrase indicating the number of syllables was present in the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας. The epitomator, nevertheless, may well have left it out as a result of one of his general principles in

excerpting Herodian. See the discussion of the relevant section in the epitomator's prologue (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει).

58.9 βαρύνεται: M's παροξύνεται corresponds only to Μέμφις, while O's προπαροξύνεται cannot refer to either of the examples Ἴφις and Μέμφις. I print βαρύνεται, which is more economical than Lentz' παροξύνεται ἢ προπερισπᾶται, which is equally reasonable, and could perhaps explain O's προπαροξύνεται as a conflation of προ- (περισπᾶται) and παροξύνεται.

58.9 Ἴφις: I print the name with a circumflex as well as Schmidt (38.24), because the penultimate is long by nature and the ultimate short. Ἴφις is either a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, VA) or an adjective meaning ταχύς (see the *Su.* ι 774, *Zonar.* ι 1133.7).

58.10 Κηφίς: This ethnic designation is nowhere else attested.

59.1 κροταφίς: This rare word occurs again in *Poll.* 7.106.6, 10.183.3-4, 10.147.3, *Hsch.* κ 4206, *Theognost. Can.* II 21.5-6 (= 119.2-3), and *Hippiatr. Cant.* 93.24.3.

59.1 ἐλαφίς: This bird name occurs only in our Epitome and Dionysius Periegeta (*Ixeut. s. De auc.* 2.12.1-2).

59.2 Ἰερόοφις: This name occurs nowhere else.

59.5 Ἀτάρβηχίς: The name of a city in the island of Prosopitis (*Hdt.* 2.41, *St. Byz.* α 513).

59.6 Ὑδελχις: This proper name is nowhere else attested.

60.4 Βενδῖς: For information on this goddess see *RE* 3.269-71, *DNP* 2.558-9, *BNP* 2.593-4.

60.4 Μολῖς: The name of a deity, which Choeroboscus and the *Epimerismi Homerici* report as Thracian (Choerob. *in Theod.* 129.39-130.3, 328.10-4, *Ep. Hom.* 1,a1.41-3), but which Nicolaus Damascenus (*FGrHist* 90 (10-1) = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *De virt. et vit.* I 331.31-332.1) mentions as the Babylonian name for Aphrodite, which is to be identified with Μύλιττα Οὐρανία in Herodotus (1.131). For more information and discussion see Tomaschek ((1980), II.1 48) and *RE* 16.7. See also the note on Τοτῖς below.

60.4 Τοτῖς: This name occurs nowhere else. Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 328.12-3) and the *Epimerismi Homerici* (1, a1.41-3) cite Τιτῖς close to Βενδῖς, Ἀταργατῖς and Μολῖς, and provide us with the information that all these are names of gods worshipped by the Thracians. Tomaschek ((1980), II.1 48) points out that the designation ὀνόματα δαιμόνων τιμωμένων παρὰ Θραξίν with regard to Μολῖς, Τοτῖς, and Ἀταργατῖς is the result of scribal error. Pohlenz (1916), 584 considers Τοτῖς in our Epitome wrong, while he accepts Τιτῖς. Pohlenz takes for granted that we are dealing with a Thracian god

name here, and since he would have expected the root *tit-* for Thracian god names, he takes the view that one should expect Τιτίς in Herodian. Tomaschek ((1980), II.1 48), however, on the basis of a fragment from Nicolaus Damascenus (*FGrHist* 52 (54) = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *De insid.* 18.23) brings as a parallel for Τοτίς, the Phrygian proper name Τόττης, and indicates that Τοτίς was a goddess that entered Phrygia from the Semitic east. In my view the Epitome can be taken as evidence that the right form of the word is Τοτίς.

60.5 Ἀταργατίς: The name of a Syrian goddess (see *BNP* 2.219-20, *DNP* 11.1167-8 (s. v. Syria Dea), *RE* 2.1896, but for the form Ἀταργάτις see Lightfoot (2003), 37.

60.8 μακρῶ: I have printed A's correction of μακρὸν to μακρῶ. The correction in A is easy both because of τῶ, and the frequency of παραλήγω followed by a dative in the Epitome.

60.9–10 ὅσα...10 ἐπιθετικά: It is interesting to observe the use of the two types of negation οὐ and μή in the same phrase. In postclassical Greek it is often observed that μή replaces οὐ. The fact that here we have οὐ and μή in the same phrase reveals that οὐ and μή were used in free variation.

60.11 Δᾶος: Δᾶος scans long in poetry (e.g. Men. *Pk.* 542) and

therefore the word is properispomenon, not paroxytone. I have thus printed Δᾱος with Schmidt.

60.12–13 τὸ²...13 ταῶς: We have no earlier sources than Herodian that testify to the use of τᾱός by the Alexandrians. Two passages, Choeroboscus' in *Theod.* 284.13-22, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* 749.7-11, which explicitly mention that they derive their material from Herodian (Choeroboscus mentions specifically the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας, while the *Etymologicum Magnum* tells us that the source is Herodian) are witnesses to Herodian's view that ταῶς was not derived from τᾱός with an Attic lengthening of ο into ω, because Herodian said in the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας that the word τᾱός with the -ος was not in use in the koiné. The two above-mentioned sources do not mention that the form τᾱός was used by the Alexandrians, but they show as well as the passage from our Epitome the juxtaposition and contrast between τᾱός and ταῶς in the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας. It should be noted, nevertheless, that while the two passages mentioned above indicate that the α is short in τᾱός, the accentuation rule in our Epitome presents long α as a condition for the rule.

60.13 ταῶς: This is a borrowed word (see Schwyzer Gr. Gr. 1. 219). *DELG*, says that the animal came to Greece from India via Persia, and

the word is certainly a borrowing. It is not usual for Greek words to have aspiration in the middle, but borrowed words sometimes retain features of the source language even though they are not usual in the borrowing language. Some grammarians and lexica seem to have said *ταῶς* had a rough breathing, at least in Attic (A. D. *Synt.* 2. 459.1; Trypho *Fr.* 5 (preserved by Ath. IX 397e); the Suda τ 98; Seleucus, cited later in the same passage of Athenaeus; Eustathius *Il.* II 27.8 citing Athenaeus; Eustathius *Il.* IV 621.4, citing both Athenaeus and Seleucus).

60.14–15 τὸ ... 15 μετεποιήθη: A genitive *λάου* is attested at *Oedipus Coloneus* 196.

61.2 Σκαῖος: The name of many mythological heroes: see *RE* II, IIIA, 424-5.

61.2 Βαῖος: The manuscripts' *μαῖος* has been taken by the *TGL* V 509 B to be the month name May. In some editions of astrological texts we find *Μαῖος* for *Μάιος* (*Zωδιακόν* (e cod. Mus. Hist. Mosq. 186, fol. 159) 12.196.24, *Paraphr. carm. de terr. mot.* (e cod. Vat. gr. 1753, fol. 18v) V 161.6, 161.9). This could suggest that *Μαῖος* was an alternative form for the month *Μάιος*. But this name is usually trisyllabic and is accented *Μάιος*. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation *Βαῖος*, which is a personal name (*LGPN* IV).

61.2–3 Γραῖος...3 Παῖος: Personal names (*LGPN* IIIA and VA respectively). Γραῖος is also an ethnic designation for a citizen of Γραῖα, a city in Eretria (St. Byz. γ 106).

61.4 ΑΥΟΣ: I have printed ΑΥΟΣ with Schmidt, since this is clearly the termination dealt with here.

61.4–5 βαρύνεται...5 αὔος: The manuscripts transmit ὀξύνεται, but the reading ought to be βαρύνεται. This is suggested both by the fact that the examples ναῦος and αὔος are contrasted to the oxytone ἀγαυός and because the Herodianic scholion sch. Hom. *Il.* 12.137b says ναῦος is recessive.

61.4–5 ναῦος...5 αὔος: These words are clearly properispomena. I have thus followed Schmidt in emending the manuscripts' ναύος αὔος by printing a circumflex.

61.7–8 καὶ²...8 ἀρχῇ: An example of this could be οἶος, considered to be a variant form of ἰός 'one'); cf. A. D. *Pron.* 56.4-6, Orion ο 124.4-6, *Et. Gud.* ι 280.17-8, ο 424.10-2, *EM* 618.44-5, Eust. *Il.* II 392.17-8, Zonar. ο 1431.5-6. See also below on 61.9–11 τὸ ... πυσματικά.

61.8 σμοιός ἐπίθετον: The adjective σμοιός occurs only in our Epitome, in Hesychius (σ 1269), where the synonyms χαλεπός, φοβερός, στυγνός are given, and in Theognostus (*Can.* II 49.24 (=

268.4)), where it is accented σμοῖος. A proper name Σμοῖος is also attested (sch. Ar. Ec. 846 (but Σμοῖος in Ar. Ec. 846), Su. σ 748), but the rule here clearly refers to the adjective.

61.8 σκλοιός... σκολιός: The variant form for σκολιός, σκλοιός, is a *hapax*. Lobeck (PGSE¹ 502) considers σκλοιός as a variant form of σκελλός ('crook-legged') on the basis of the analogy of φελλός being an alternative form for φλοιός (the analogy of φελλός with φλοιός that Lobeck discusses is at Paus. 8.12.1.7-9).

61.9 Βοιός: Probably an ethnic designation (see App. Gall. 1.3.1, St. Byz. β 115), but if so it is noteworthy that it is not considered to be a proper name. That ethnic designations are thought to be adjectives is also suggested by the following passages: τριγενῇ μὴ ἔθνικα 81.10, ἐπιθετικὰ ὄντα, οὐκ ἔθνικα 82.15. See also the discussion of this issue in the Introduction, pp. 127-30. In Philoponus' περὶ διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e β 5, βοιός is contrasted with the proper name Βοῖος (Βοῖος is also cited in our Epitome, a few lines below), but the gloss which accompanied it does not survive.

61.9–11 τὸ ... 11 πυσματικά: It is noteworthy that τοῖος and οἷος are called πυσματικά together with ποῖος. This occurs nowhere else, and one may think that it is due here to careless abbreviation on the part of the epitomator. Alternatively, one could assume that there is

a lacuna. τοῖος would normally be called ἀνταποδοτικόν (cf. A. D. Adv. 183.8; sch. D. T. Vat. 239.31-2, Marc. 394.1-2; Et. Gud. τ 531.55-6; EM 762.42-3), and οἶος is an ordinary adjective, which, in fact, is an exception because it has the ο redundant at the beginning (on οἶος see also the note 61.7–8 καὶ ... ἀρχῇ). In my view, in this context we should expect οἶος rather than οἴος. It is true that the gloss ὁ μόνος suggests that οἴος is really meant here, but I suspect that οἶος and οἴος were both originally mentioned but have been conflated. It is possible that οἶος was cited after the recessive words ποῖος and τοῖος, in order to exemplify the point about words beginning with a pleonastic ο-, but that at some point was transposed (with its gloss) to the place where we find it, and οἴος was omitted.

61.11 Σμοῖος: The manuscripts' μοῖος occurs nowhere else. I print Σμοῖος, which occurs in Aristophanes (*Ec.* 846; cf. also *LGPN* II).

62.1 Βοῖος: This is mentioned as an ethnic designation in Theognostus (*Can.* II 49.25 (= 268.5), but otherwise as a proper name (Philoponus περὶ διαφ. των. διάφ. σημ. recensio e β 5). The fact that Βοῖος is said to be an ethnic designation in Theognostus suggests that Βοῖος was confused with Βοιός, which is reported as an ethnic designation by Stephanus of Byzantium (β 115). See also the note on

61.9 Βοϊός above. It follows from the accentuation rule that Βοϊός is a proper name rather than an ethnic designation.

62.1 Κοῖος: A personal name (*LGPN IIIA*).

62.4 μεῖος: An alternative form for μείων (see also *Ps.-Arcad.* 188.3 (Schmidt), *Orion* χ 166.8, *Ep. Hom.* 5,c.10, *Et. Gud.* τ 525.9-10, *Et. Gud.* (addit.) α 190.22, *EM* 583.13).

62.4 πλεῖος: The epic form for πλέως.

62.4–5 τὸ ... 5 ἀρσενικόν: The noun νειός is feminine and therefore ἀρσενικόν cannot refer to it. This points to a lacuna before ἀρσενικόν, which could possibly be filled with οὐκ. A passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 48.15-20 (= 263)), which is parallel to our rule on the accentuation of disyllabic words in -ειος, confirms the assumption that the negation is required in front of ἀρσενικόν. The orthographical rule in Theognostus distinguishes the oxytone νειός from the recessive words μεῖος, θεῖος, Κεῖος, λεῖος and πλεῖος both because of its feminine gender and because it does not have οὐδετέρου παρασχηματισμόν ('change of form for the neuter'). Given that the passage from Theognostus is parallel to our passage, it is possible that the information about οὐδετέρου παρασχηματισμόν was included in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. It should be noted that the single indication of μονογενές would have exempted νειός

from the recessive accentuation, since the rule refers to adjectives, while *μονογενές* claims for *νειός* the status of a noun. Thus, as the text stands in the Epitome, it is not clear why Herodian should have indicated the word's gender, and why he should have done it in the negative form 'not masculine'. A parallel passage from Choeroboscus' *De Orthographia* 271.1-7 elucidates the two points above (see the apparatus of parallel passages). Choeroboscus' rule is an orthographical one but could be a transformation of a Herodianic accentuation rule. Choeroboscus' passage suggests that in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας νειός* might have appeared in a context where a contrast was made between disyllabic words written with *-ιος* and *-ειος*, and a comment was made that the masculines are usually written with *-ιος*. This is, of course, primarily a matter of orthography, but orthographical issues are important and generally mentioned in connection with accentuation in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*. The phrasing here might look a bit awkward, since *νειός* is removed from its wider content, but this is often the result of the act of epitomising. Choeroboscus' passage shows that the fact that *νειός* is not masculine was not originally redundant.

63.1 μακρῶ: I have followed Schmidt (40.16) in emending *μακρόν* to *μακρῶ*. Cf. note on 60.8 *μακρῶ*.

63.2 πῖος: Both an adjective and a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IV, VA).

63.2–3 Φθῖος...**3** σεσημείωται: κριός is a genuine exception, because although it satisfies all the conditions for recessive accentuation, it is nevertheless oxytone.

63.4 ΟΣ: Not all the examples in this list end in -ιος. Thus, I have printed ΟΣ with Schmidt (40.19).

63.5 σάος: Both an adjective and a personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, IV).

63.5 ἰός... μόνος: The manuscripts' ἰός does not mean μόνος, but ἰός does (see LSJ, *DELG*), and in this text as well as in other sources ἰός is thought to be a variant of οἶος (see also above on 61.7–8 καὶ ... ἀρχῇ). It is possible that because of the thought that οἶος was equal to ἰός, Herodian thought that the accent of ἰός was also ἰός, thus οἶος would literally equal ἰός, only having the redundant ο at the beginning. The recessive accentuation of ΙΟΣ is supported by other sources: A. D. *Pron.* 56.4–6, *Et. Gud.* ι 280.17–8, ο 424.10–2, *EM* 618.44–5, *Eust. II.* II 392.17–8, *Zonar.* ο 1431.5–6. The fact that the feminine form ἰα was recessive and much more frequent (see *DELG* s. v. ἰός (1)) could suggest that a grammarian might have thought that the masculine was also recessive (cf. Trypho *Fr.* 6.9.3–4 (= A. D. *Pron.* GG ii.i. 56.4–6)).

63.6–7 τὸ²...7 ὀξύνεται: νυός is oxytone even though it has short υ, and is thus a genuine exception.

64.3 ἑός: See LSJ s. v. ἑϋς.

64.5 ΩΟΣ: MO's φος has a redundant iota subscript. The iota adscript is indicated with the phrase μετὰ προσγεγραμμένου Ι.

64.7 Λῶος: An inhabitant of the island Λῶς (St. Byz. 424.3-4) or a Macedonian month name, equivalent to August (*Su.* λ 730).

64.12 κατὰ διάστασιν: 'in separate syllables'. See the discussion of this term in the Introduction, pp. 119-21.

65.1 τόνω: The manuscripts' τόνον is probably due to assimilation with διάφορον. The meaning ought to be 'indicating something different with regard to their accent', not 'indicating a different accent'. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation τόνω (41.17).

65.2 ἱλεός: Usually written εἰλεός in ancient sources.

65.3 μαλεός: This word occurs again in Theognostus (*Can.* II 50.4 (= 270.4)) right after κολεός and before ἑλεός (with the intervention of πελεός). The *Suda* mentions in two passages (μ 101, φ 182) a mythological person called Μάλεος. Perhaps Herodian had the view that this name was oxytone. If μαλεός ought to be considered a scribal error one could emend to γαλεός occurring in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (GG iii.ii 909.12).

65.3–4 Ἐλεός...4 προσηγορικόν: The proper name Ἐλεός meant here is probably the name of a river in Elis (Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διαφ. σημ. recensio a ε 13, recensio c ε 19, recensio d ε 11, recensio e ε 5). I have printed Götting's correction of the manuscripts' ἐλέος to ἔλεος ('pity, mercy, compassion'). The contrast between the proper name Ἐλεός and ἔλεος in the passages from Philoponus cited above, which probably go back to a Herodianic source, increase the likelihood that the words meant to be contrasted here are the river name Ἐλεός and ἔλεος. Alternatively, one may think of the possibility that the words contrasted here are the personal name Ἐλεος (*LGPN* IIIB) and the common noun ἐλεός ('kitchen table') or ἐλεός ('a kind of owl'), but this possibility is less likely for three reasons: (i) since this accentuation rule is about oxytone words, one expects to get the oxytone word first and then a word of the same shape, but with a different accent, (ii) the parallel passages from Philoponus support the contrast between Ἐλεός and ἔλεος, and (iii) it is more economical to change the manuscripts' ἐλέος to ἔλεος and keep ἐλεός at the beginning, rather than to change ἐλεός to the personal name Ἐλεος and turn ἐλέος into ἐλεός.

65.4–5 τὸ...5 κτητικά: For the concept of τέλεος/τέλειος as

κτητικά cf. Philox. Gramm. fr. 346*.3-4, *EM* 447.5-6, Zonar. θ 1031.8-9.

65.6 <μή>: I have adopted Schmidt's addition of μή. Although the termination -εος is reported in ancient sources as characteristic of κτητικά (despite the fact that certain words do not have an obvious meaning of possession; see note on 65.4–5 τὸ ... κτητικά), the examples ῥητέος, πρακτέος, ἀθροιστέος are deverbial adjectives and deverbial adjectives are never referred to as κτητικά.

65.7–8 τὸ...8 ὀξύνεται: ἑτεός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule it is not paroxytone.

66.1–4 παροξύνεται...4 θαρσαλέος: I have adopted Schmidt's emendations of the manuscripts' προπαροξύνεται, νηφάλεος, αὔλεος to παροξύνεται, νηφαλέος, αὐαλέος. Despite the fact that the manuscripts (with the exception of O which has σμερδαλέος) have the accent on the antepenultimate (a mistake that must have happened after παροξύνεται was altered to προπαροξύνεται), the words are clearly paroxytone (νηφαλέος is sometimes accented νηφάλεος in the editions of ancient texts e.g. Zonar. ν 1398.7, 9, but the mistake might have originally occurred under the influence of νηφάλιος), and need to be considered as such in order for the rest of

the rule to make sense (the rest of the words in the rule with which this list is contrasted are proparoxytone).

66.2 τοῦ I: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' nonsensical ι τοῦ.

66.6 δαιδάλεος...κονισάλεος: I have adopted Schmidt's emendations of the manuscripts' δαίδαλέος and κονισαλέος to δαιδάλεος and κονισάλεος. These words do not follow paroxytone accentuation prescribed for words in -αλεος, because their base form is in -αλειος; their form in -αλεος is thought to occur due to defectiveness of ι.

66.6–9 ὅσα...9 χρύσεος: This section seems to have been transposed to here from another part of the Epitome on the κτητικά. The fact that this section does not really belong here is suggested by the following two things: (i) the words cited as examples do not end in -αλεος as the rule prescribes, and (ii) the repetition of ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτητικῶν ἐγένετο κατ' ἔνδειαν τοῦ I καὶ προπαροξύνονται after the phrase εἰ μὴ ἔχη ἔνδειαν τοῦ I ἀπὸ κτητικοῦ ὀνόματος seems suspicious. There is no need for this phrase here; the examples Ἀγαμεμνόνεος ... χρύσεος could have followed κονισάλεος. The epitomator or scribe who transposed this section here created a link between the two lists of examples of κτητικά ending in -εος.

66.7 καὶ: This seems redundant.

67.1 <>: Schmidt 42.15 (app. crit.) thought that there was a lacuna at this point in the text and suggested that it should be filled by the addition of καθαρὰ ἀπλᾶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον. Schmidt's suggestion is supported by four parallel passages: Theognost. *Can.* II 51.15-21 (= 275), *Et. Gen. α* 185.11-7, *EM* 32.3-11 and the *Et. Sym.* I 133.9-134.7 (see the full citations in the apparatus of parallel passages). Schmidt's suggestion is reasonable and possible, but in my view it probably corresponds more to the text in the original *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. It can be argued that the similarities in wording and the use of common examples in the aforementioned four parallel passages, which are known to have derived material from Herodian, strongly suggests that these sources go back to a Herodianic source, perhaps more specifically the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*. In my view, the epitomator probably left this information out following one of his general principles in excerpting Herodian (see the relevant discussion in the epitomator's introduction 1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει). It is possible that the epitomator left out, for example, the word ἀπλᾶ at the beginning of the rule, considering that readers would infer ἀπλᾶ as a condition for the rule when they would read the examples of the exceptions that are

compound words. For this reason I have not adopted the addition in the text, but I have signalled a lacuna in the text as a way of indicating that a section of text from the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* has probably been left out.

67.2 <>...ὀξυνόμενον: The phrase τὸ ... ὀξυνόμενον is not smoothly linked with Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ ... παραληγόμενα. The four passages cited in the above note (Theognost. *Can.* II 51.15-21 (= 275), *Et. Gen.* α 185.11-7, *EM* 32.3-11, *Et. Sym.* I 133.9-134.7; see the full citations in the apparatus of parallel passages) support the view that there is a lacuna at this point. I have put a dot after the lacuna sign to show that the section τὸ αἰζηός ἐστιν ὀξυνόμενον does not belong with Τὰ εἰς ΟΣ ... Η παραληγόμενα. Three parallel passages (Theognost. II 51.8-14 (= 275.1-7), *Et. Gen.* α 185.11-7, *EM* 32.3-11; see the full citations in the apparatus of parallel passages) suggest that something similar to οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν might have originally followed παραληγόμενα.

67.3 παληός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' πάληος to παληός, the Boeotian form for παλαιός.

67.3 ἀρχῆος: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (42.17) of the manuscripts' ἄρχηος to ἀρχῆος, the Boeotian form for ἀρχαῖος.

68.1 καὶ προπαροξύνεται: παληός and ἀρχῆος are not

proparoxytone. Thus, I have deleted καὶ προπαροξύνεται with Schmidt. καὶ προπαροξύνεται is probably a later addition by a scribe under the influence of καὶ ... προπαροξύνεται which follows. Schmidt suggested in his apparatus to emend καὶ προπαροξύνεται to προπερισπᾶται καὶ ὀξύνεται but there would be no correspondence between the examples and the verbs describing their accent.

68.2–3 ὄρηος...3 EI: π corrects M's (and also O's) ὠρηος. ὄρηος is the Laconian form for ὄρειος (cf. Theognost. II 51.20 (= 275.6), *Et. Gen.* α 185.15, *EM* 32.9; see the full citations in the apparatus of parallel passages). I have thus adopted Schmidt's emendation of MO's αἱ to εἰ. αἱ might be due to αἱ διφθόγγου (67.3–68.1) earlier in the same rule.

68.2 καὶ...προπαροξύνεται: καὶ αὐτὸ creates the impression that together with ὄρηος at least another proparoxytone word must have been mentioned. Schmidt (42.18-9 (app. crit.)) would have liked to have ὄρηος καὶ Λύκης προπαροξύνεται. The occurrence of Λύκης next to ὄρηος and in the vicinity of παληός and ἀρχῆος and of Ἐχένης and πολύνης is reinforced by three parallel passages (Theognost. II 51.15-21 (= 275.1-7), *Et. Gen.* α 185.11-7, *EM* 32.3-11; see the full citations in the apparatus of parallel passages).

68.3 Ἐχένιος: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' ἐχίνης. Ἐχένιος is the name of a hero occurring in Homer (*Od.* 7.155, 11.342; cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 14.499a, *Od.* 7.155; Eust. *Od.* I 271.9, I 423.2).

68.7–8 παροξύνονται...8 Σχεδίου: I have adopted Schmidt's emendations of the manuscripts' προπαροξύνονται, ῥόδιος, and σχέδιος to παροξύνονται, Ῥόδιος, and Σχεδίου respectively. The fact that this section within the phrasing of the rule is about the paroxytone proper names and not about the proparoxytone adjectives (something which is not clarified through the ambiguity πρὸς διαστολήν κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων) is shown by the fact that the examples do not come after Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΔΙΟΣ προπαροξύνεται ... εὐρεθῶσι, but after εὐρεθῶσι up to κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων a new section begins, and at its beginning a verb appears to indicate the accent of the section. Furthermore, this section of the rule is followed by τὰ δὲ προπαροξύτονα ταῦτα, which suggests that the section of the rule immediately preceding τὰ δὲ προπαροξύτονα ταῦτα does not consist of proparoxytone words. The personal names Ῥόδιος (the *LGPN* I, II, IIIB, IV, VA have Ῥόδιος) and Σχεδίου are paroxytone, as contrasted with the adjectives Ῥόδιος and σχέδιος.

68.10 μαψίδιος: MO's μεμψίδιος is nowhere else attested and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have printed Dindorf's emendation μαψίδιος.

69.1–2 σεσημείωται...2 ὀξυνόμενον: The accentuation of ἐρωδιός falls under another rule regarding words for irrational animals that have more than three syllables and end in -ιος (74.3–5). Theognostus (*Can.* II 54.27-30 (= 297.8-11)) provides us with a justification for the accentuation of ἐρωδιός.

69.1 ἐρωδιός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation ἐρωδιός of MO's unattested εὐωδιός. ἐρωδιός is supported by three passages: (i) in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (GG iii.ii 924.5-14) ἐρωδιός appears in the vicinity of Σχεδιός and Ποδιός, (ii) in Theognostus (*Can.* II 54.20-30 (= 297.1-11)) ἐρωδιός appears in the vicinity of μαψίδιος and νυμφίδιος, (iii) in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (380.35-40) ἐρωδιός appears in the vicinity of παυρίδιος and μαψίδιος.

69.10 μούνιος: An epic form of μονιός.

70.1–7 Ὅσα...7 ἀντίκειται: The accentuation of the words that are derived with the suffix -ιος from words ending in ξ is treated separately from that of -ιος words derived from base forms ending in ρ in the parchment codex *P. ANT.* 2.67, differently from our Epitome. This makes one wonder whether derivatives of words ending in ξ and ρ were treated together or separately in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς*

προσωδίας, given that our epitomator mentions in his introduction that he had divided larger rules into smaller ones. It seems that our epitomator made an exception in this case and did not divide the two groups of endings. A justification for the lack of separate treatment of the terminations ξ and ρ in our Epitome could be that ξ and ρ are not the terminations of the words that are really in question, but those of the base words from which the words in question are derived. It is less likely that our epitomator amalgamated originally separate treatments of the two groups of words.

As regards the treatment of the derivatives of the words ending in -ξ in the parchment, it should be noted that the phrasing of the condition ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς ξ ληγόντων εἰς κ does not take into consideration Φρυγίος and Φλογίος. The fact that our Epitome does not have εἰς κ suggests either that this is a careless addition by the author of the parchment codex or a scribe, or that something is missing here (e.g. εἰς κ ἢ γ).

70.2–4 εἰ...4 Φλογίος: The personal names Φρυγίος (the *LGPN* IIIA has Φρύγιος) and Φλογίος (Nonn. *D.* 26.45, 28.261, 34.226, 39.322) are paroxytone, as contrasted with the adjectives Φρύγιος and Φλόγιος.

70.3 τρισυλλάβοις...τριβράχεσιν: Although in two parallel

manuscripts' Φρυγίος into Φυτίος following Schmidt. *P. ANT.* 2.67, and our Epitome three times (the other two occurrences are in 70.4 and 73.2) comment on the accent of this proper name, indicating that it is paroxytone.

71.7–8 τὸ...8 ⇔: The meaning of this sentence is incomplete. One would expect at least an indication of the accentuation of πλησίος and ἀντίος. πλησίος and ἀντίος are treated as genuine exceptions because although they fulfil the conditions for the rule they are not proparoxytone.

71.8–9 Σκοτίος...9 Φρασίος: The epitomator does not repeat the word κύρια, which was one of the two parts (together with τριβράχεια) of the exception that was given at the beginning of the rule. This suggests that the epitomator, for the sake of brevity, thought it was enough to give one of the elements of a section of the rule later on, in order to signify it.

71.8 Σκοτίος: This name occurs again in the Pindaric fragment incert. 319 (282).

71.15 Δασύλλιος...Διόνυσος: The manuscripts' δασάλιος occurs nowhere else. I have emended to Δασύλλιος, which is attested in other sources (Paus. 1.43.5.10-11, *EM* 248.55, Zonar. δ 465.17-8) as a name for Dionysus. It seems that δασάλιος is due to assimilation of

the termination -ύλλιος to that of the previous word (ἐν-άλιος). Despite the fact that it is tempting to print Δασύλιος, since the rest of the examples in this accentuation rule are written with a single λ (see *TGL* II 912A), the rule does not mention any restriction as to the writing with a single λ. Furthermore, it is likely that there were originally two separate rules on words in -λιος and -λλιος, or one rule on words in -λιος (either with a single or double λ) with a substantial number of examples in -λλιος, but that the epitomator in cutting down kept only Δασύλλιος. Schmidt mentions in his apparatus that the manuscript of Cyril's lexicon preserved in Moscow transmits Δασύλιος, something which I have not been able to check this myself, but even if the information is correct I would still hesitate to print Δασύλιος. In inscriptions (*IScM* III, *SEG* 53 720bis) Δασύλλιον is written with double λ.

71.16 πελιός...σκολιός: The manuscripts transmit πελιός ὁ πολιός, but πελιός ('dark, dull') is nowhere else glossed by πολιός ('grey, grizzled, grisly'). I have printed πελιός πολιός, thinking that πολιός was not intended as a gloss for πελιός but as another example in this list of words in -λιος. It is strange in any case that a word in -λιος would need to be glossed by another word in -λιος. A parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 57.31-2 (= 308); see the apparatus

of parallel passages) cites both *πελιός* and *πολιός* in the rule on words in *-λιος*, suggesting that Herodian cited both words as examples in the same list. It is possible that a gloss followed *πελιός*, and that after its omission (but perhaps with the remaining article 'ό') the next example (*πολιός*) was thought by a scribe to be a gloss for *πελιός*.

71.17 φαλιός...λευκομέτωπος: For *λευκομέτωπος* as a synonym for *φαλιός* cf. Hsch. φ 97, *Et. Gen.* β 19.5, *Et. Gud.* β 259.2 (*φάλιος*), *EM* 186.30 (*φάλιος*), *Et. Sym.* II 388.29-390.1 (*φάλιος*).

71.18 αἰγωλιός: The manuscripts' *ἐγολιός* is due to the changes in the vowel system. *ω* and *ο* are both pronounced [o], with no distinction in length, and *αι* like *ε* is pronounced [e].

71.18 ἐρωδιός: *ἐρωδιός* cannot serve as an example here because it does not end in *-λιος*. This bird name must have been introduced into the text by a later scribe, who probably thought of this word when he wrote the other bird names and added it by mistake. Schmidt (44.19 (app. crit.)) tried to maintain *ἐρωδιός* in the text by suggesting the addition of the article *ό* before it, thus rendering *ἐρωδιός* a synonym for *αἰγωλιός*. *αἰγωλιός*, however, is a small kind of owl, and therefore has nothing to do with *ἐρωδιός* ('heron').

71.18 ἔδωλιός: This bird name occurs again (i) in sch. Ar. Av. (883.3),

but the genitive ἐδωλίου in the manuscripts suggests a nominative ἐδῶλιος (cf. also the scribal error εἰδῶλιος for ἐδῶλιος in the same line of the scholion), (ii) in Hesychius (ε 548), and (iii) in Photius (ε 145; it is accented ἐδῶλιος).

72.1–5 Ὅσα...5 σεσημείωται: The parallel passages from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (see the apparatus of parallel passages) suggest that Herodian might have treated the rule on words in -ιος deriving from present and future tenses in one rule. This, in combination with some problems in the rule as transmitted, i.e. that (i) the rule makes mention of words having two consonants, but not all examples have a consonant cluster (e.g. αἵτιος), (ii) ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, and ἄρτιος are not proper examples for both μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ and κατὰ διάστασιν (on the discussion of ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ as indicating the boundary between the second and third syllable (ἄρ-κι-ος, ἄρ-τι-ος) or between the third and fourth syllable (ἀρ-μό-δι-ος) see the Introduction, pp. 120-1), and (iii) αἵτιος, ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, ἄρτιος, and ἀντίος are not obvious examples of μονογενῆ (on the discussion of this term see the Introduction, pp. 122-4), could suggest that there is a lacuna in this rule.

It is likely that after μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δύο σύμφωνα κατὰ

διάστασιν προπαροξύνεται there was a list of words that do not have a consonant cluster, e.g. αἵτιος (in the word list as transmitted; in fact, αἵτιος could be the remaining of this list) and words like ἄγιος (as transmitted in *Et. Gud.*, *EM*; the citation of such a word could even explain the existence of μονογενῆ), ὅσιος, ἄσιος, ἱζιος (*Et. Gud.*), ἰδιος (*EM*), and after that a list of words with a consonant cluster (ἄρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, ἄρτιος). Otherwise one needs to assume that αἰτῶ αἵτιος is a later addition. But whether we can assume that there were two groups of words with consonant clusters, those with the two consonants belonging to the same syllable and those with the two consonants belonging to different syllables is difficult because the currently cited examples ἄρμόδιος, ἄρκιος, ἄρτιος do not fulfil both the negation μὴ ἔχοντα and κατὰ διάστασιν. This ill-formed rule could be the result of either a clumsy epitomisation or of a sequence of scribal errors. I have put the sign of lacuna in the text after αἵτιος. In this way the difficulty about the citation of αἵτιος is superseded, because it allows for a list of words with no consonant clusters to follow it. At the same time, the indication of the lacuna at that point in the text allows for μὴ to remain in the text, as it would refer to a word list without consonant clusters.

72.1 μονογενῆ: On the use of the term *μονογενής* with reference to αἴτιος, ἀρμόδιος, ἄρκιος see the Introduction, pp. 122-3.

72.5 τὸ...σεσημείωται: ἀντίος is a genuine exception, because although it satisfies the conditions for the rule, it is nevertheless paroxytone.

72.8 φυλάξιος: This adjective is a *hapax*.

72.9–10 ἔπομαι...10 ἀνεψιός: The manuscripts' ἐψιός is nowhere else attested. A parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 58.1-5 (= 310); see the apparatus of parallel passages) suggests that ἀνεψιός should be restored here. ἀνεψιός is linked etymologically with ἔπομαι in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (α 142.1-2) too.

73.1 Μύσιος: MO's μύδιος is nowhere else attested. Schmidt printed C's μύλιος, which is probably due to the scribe (B has μύδιος as the rest of the tradition; on changes due to the scribe of C see section on Book 20 and the description of C). I have followed Schmidt's suggestion to emend μύδιος to Μύσιος on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 58.6-13 (= 311.1-8); see the apparatus of parallel passages), where Μύσιος appears in the vicinity of κύριος, Κύπριος, and Τύριος. I consider Λύδιος an also possible emendation, because in three passages (Phot. ν 305.4, Σα ν 121, *Su.* ν 593.2), Λύδιος appears in the vicinity of νύμφιος/νυμφίος,

Τύριος, Φρύγιος. I consider Μύσιος more likely for two reasons: (i) the passage from Theognostus is clearly parallel to our Epitome, while the three passages which could suggest Λύδιος are not overall parallels but just include words that appear in our accentuation rule, (ii) the corruption from Μύσιος to μύδιος can be explained on palaeographical grounds; δ and σ are often confused in minuscule.

73.2–3 τὸ...3 κύρια: These names are paroxytone rather than proparoxytone not only because they are proper names, but also because they have three light syllables (ἢ κύριον ὑπάρχοι τρίβραχυ). The relevance of the three light syllables is given at the beginning of the rule and not repeated here. It seems that the epitomator thought that it was sufficient to say that these words are κύρια in order to refer back to the exception as a whole (ἢ κύριον ὑπάρχοι τρίβραχυ).

74.1 μακρὰν: One should understand both ‘φύσει’ and ‘θέσει’. See section on syllables and concepts of syllable division in the Introduction (pp. 118-9). See also 90.5, 100.6, 101.7, 104.6, 106.8, 132.4, 110.2 (Schmidt), 125.1 (Schmidt), 221.17 (Schmidt).

74.5 κωβίος: This fish name is usually accented κωβιός in the manuscript tradition and editions of the several sources where it occurs (e.g. Aesop. *Fab.* 73.1, Arist. *HA* 508b.16, 591b.13, 598a.11, 621b.19, Ephipp. *Kyd.* fr. 12.8, Thphr. *Fr.* 171.8.6, Euphro *Syn.* fr. 9

(10).4, Gal. *De alim. facult.* 719.4, *De reb. boni mal. suci* 795.15, Ath. 7.62.4, 7.62.7, 7.120.19, 9.21.6, 9.67.37).

75.1 βροτοσσόος: Sometimes written βροτοσσῶος (*Et. Parv.* β 12.1, 12.3) or βροτοσσῶος (*Et. Gud.* β 289.10, 289.12).

75.10 Σίστοος: This name occurs nowhere else. It should be noted that the palimpsest preserves the reading Σίγγοος close to the words ἀπλόος, διπλόος, τριπλόος. The palimpsest informs us that Σίγγοος is a city name according to Hecataeus' *Περὶ ἡγεσις Εὐρώπης*. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (613.31), according to which Hecataeus' fragment 145bis b. is reconstructed, quotes the word Σίγδοος next to Πείροος. Σίστοος, Σίγγοος and Σίγδοος are very close to each other and could all be corrupt forms of the right reading, if none of them is correct here. I have retained the reading of the manuscripts with some reservation.

75.10 Πείροος: The manuscripts' πίροος occurs nowhere else. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Πείροος, which is the name of a Homeric hero (*Hom. Il.* 2.844, 4.525).

75.10 Ἄθωος: A variant form for mount Ἄθως (*St. Byz.* α 85).

76.7 Πέρυος: This river name occurs again in Theognostus (*Can.* II 51.23-4 (= 277.2-3)).

76.7 Φώτυος: This accentuation rule prescribes that there should be

an υ in the penultimate syllable and therefore I print the manuscripts' reading Φώτυος, not Φώτιος with Schmidt (46.22). The reading Φώτυος (in the corrupt form φωστυος) is also attested in the palimpsest fragment together with the information that this is the name of the leader of the Χάονες who is mentioned by Thucydides in book two (2.80.5). Thucydides' manuscripts transmit Φώτυος. The name Φώτυος is attested (*LGPN* IIIA) independently of Φώτιος. The reading Φόγγυος in Theognostus (*Can.* II 51.24 (= 277.3)) must be a corrupt form of Φώτυος.

78.10–13 τὸ ... 13 περισπῶσι: The phrase πλὴν ... περισπῶσιν ('but the majority of people write it as perispomenon') is a bit obscure after ἐπιπόλαιος, ἐπιπόλαιος ('superficial, shallow, on the surface') is only attested as proparoxytone. The properispomenon Ἐπιπολαῖος is the ethnic designation of a person from Ἐπιπολαί, a village close to Syracuse (St. Byz. ε 96). It is possible that before πλὴν ... περισπῶσιν, something, perhaps another word ending in -αῖος, has been lost or carelessly omitted by the epitomator, who failed to realise that it was essential for a coherent text. Thus, the phrase πλὴν ... περισπῶσιν refers to a word that is not cited in the accentuation rule as we have it.

78.23 Ἐρυσίχαιος: The ethnic designation of an inhabitant of

Ἐρυσίχη in Acarnania (see Str. 10.2.22.1-4 (Apollod. fr. 168.7-9), St. Byz. ε 137.1-6, *Et. Gud.* α 249.1-4).

79.8–9 ἀραῖος...9 πυκνός: I have transposed this phrase from the various different places where it occurs in the manuscripts (see the critical apparatus). ἀραῖος exemplifies the accentuation rule for words that have three syllables, start with α with a smooth breathing, and have the termination -αῖος. ἀραῖός may be thought to have been cited next to ἀραῖος, because it makes sense to mention the exception ἀραῖός after a similar word that follows the rule. I have put a rough breathing on ἀραῖός on the basis of evidence that Herodian believed that after the addition of the α- before ῥαῖός, the α took the rough breathing from ῥ (Theognost. *Can.* II 52.18-21 (= 283.4-7), *Et. Gen.* α 1117, *EM* 134.18-20).

79.11 θηλαῖος: The word with this accent occurs nowhere else (but see my suggested emendation of Μάθων ὁ θηβαῖος to μάλθων ὁ θηλαῖος in note 13.1 Μάθων ὁ θηβαῖος). The *LBG* has the lemma θήλαιος. It is possible that both θηλαῖος and θήλαιος were in use. In any case, even if the form θήλαιος was more common, the citation of the word θηλαῖος in our accentuation rule shows that at least Herodian thought that the word was properispomenon. Schmidt's suggested conjecture Ληθαῖος is inappropriate because it does not

end in -λαῖος, while Βηλαῖος would be suitable but is not supported by any parallel passages.

79.11 φύλαιος: This word occurs only in our Epitome and Theognostus (*Can.* II 52.25 (= 284.4)). The *Suda* (φ 831) has Φυλαῖος for the person coming from Φυλή, but φύλαιος is probably linked with the common noun φυλή rather than the place name (this is suggested by the fact that in Theognostus' rule φύλαιος is presented among other adjectives in -αῖος derived from common nouns, but Theognostus' examples also include Πέλλη Πελλαῖος).

80.1–2 Παλαῖος...2 κύριον: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIB).

80.7–8 ῥέα...8 ἄραιός: According to the testimony of Theognostus (*Can.* II 52.18 (= 283)) Herodian had said in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* that ἄραιός derives from ῥέω ('flow, run, stream'), while according to the *Etymologicum Magnum* (134.18-20), from ῥαίω ('break, shiver, shatter'). Lobeck (*PGSE*¹ 21, n. 13) argued that ῥέα is a corrupt form of ῥέω, but the rule prescribes oxytone accentuation for words derived from neuter nouns. It is possible that Herodian mentioned an alternative etymology of ἄραιός from a verb, and that the above-mentioned sources preserved only the alternative etymology.

80.7 ῥέα: This must be the accusative plural of ῥέος ('ῥεῦμα,

stream'), and not the epic adverb ῥέα ('easily'), because the rule prescribes that the adjective is oxytone when it is derived from a neuter noun. If ῥέα is to be thought of as an adverb, then ἀραιός should be thought to be exceptionally oxytone, since the rule prescribes that the adjectives that are derived from adverbs are properispomenon.

80.11–13 τὸ...13 ἀρχόμενα: The reason why these words are exceptionally properispomenon is not mentioned at the beginning of the rule as a condition. See the discussion of the epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian in the Introduction (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχῃ).

80.13 Κητειός: This word is oxytone only in our Epitome. The other sources have Κήτειος. Κήτριοι were a Mysian nation (sch. Hom. *Od.* 11.521.1-4, Hsch. κ 2572, Apollon. *Lex.* 99.23, Eust. *Il.* I 571.2, *Od.* I 431.37-9). A χειμαρρῶδες ποτάμιον called Κήτειον is mentioned by Str. (13.1.70.6-7) and Eustathius (*Od.* I 431.39, *Od.* I 432.8-9). Herodian might have thought that the accent of the word was different, or something may be missing from the text.

80.17 πρώτην: first (reckoned from the beginning of the word). Ο's τρίτην is equally sensible, if taken to mean third, reckoned from the end of the word.

80.20 γλαύκειος: This adjective is uncommon. Our Epitome is the

oldest attestation of this word. It occurs again in Oribasius (*Coll. Med.* 48.45) and the Suda (γ 279.3).

80.21 Ὀρνειός: This word occurs nowhere else.

81.1 Σπονδειός: This proper name occurs nowhere else.

81.1 Λαρδανειός: The manuscripts' Λαρειός occurs nowhere else. I have adopted Göttling's emendation (see the critical apparatus) Λαρδανειός, which is a river name (*Et. Sym.* I 361.4).

81.7 Ἀρνειός: The name of an Argive month (Phot. *Bibl.*, codex 186, 133b.40-134a.2, cf. Claud. Ael. *De nat. animal.* 12.34.15-7, Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio a, α 14.3, recensio c, α 10.3, Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 174.22, *Et. Gud.* addit. α 202.17, sch. Call. *Dieges. Fabul.* fr. 26-31a col.1 l.21), but the name of a Lacedaemonian month according to the *Epimerismi Homerici* (79.7). Philoponus mentions that Ἀρνειός also means ἐνιαυτός (π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio a α 14.3, recensio c α 10.3, recensio d α 29.2).

81.8–9 †προπαροξύνεται...‡ ασκάτειος†: The words ἰπτέρειος and ασκάτειος occur nowhere else, and are probably corrupt forms of ἑταιρειός and ἀκατεῖος, which appear later on (82.7–8; see also Schmidt's critical apparatus 49.11). If the right words here are ἑταιρειός and ἀκατεῖος, still the place where they appear in the manuscripts is not suitable, because the specific rule after which this

phrase occurs is about proper names. If one corrects ἰττέρειος and ἀσκάτειος into ἔταιρειος and ἀκατεῖος, then one must also change προπαροξύνεται into προπερισπᾶται (see Schmidt's critical apparatus 49.11). A more sensible place for this phrase would have been the following accentuation rule, which is about adjectives in -ειος whose first syllable is short. προπερισπᾶται δὲ ταῦτα· ἔταιρειος ἀκατεῖος would fit well after the mention of the proparoxytone examples βρότειος ... βόειος. προπαροξύνεται δὲ ταῦτα creates, in any case, a contrast with what precedes. It is tempting to assume that this phrase belongs with the rule on the words in -ειος that have more than three syllables, i.e. where ἔταιρειος and ἀκατεῖος are included among the examples (82.7, 82.8), and that its occurrence here is the result of the anticipation of this phrase. However, one would have to explain the existence of the phrase προπερισπᾶται (for transmitted προπαροξύνεται) δὲ ταῦτα here, since the phrasing of the fact that these words are properispomenon is different at 82.5–8. If, nevertheless, προπερισπᾶται δὲ ταῦτα· ἔταιρειος ἀκατεῖος here is due to anticipation of τὰ μέντοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀμήρου λέξεων εὐρεθέντα ... ἀκατεῖος this would fit with the assumption that the phrase τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειός ὀξύνεται must have appeared after ἀκατεῖος (see the

following note). The doubtful place of the phrase προπαροξύνεται δὲ ... ἀσκάτειος as well as that of τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειὸς ὀξύνεται point to their accidental omission by a scribe, who then added them in the margin. Later scribes, not knowing where these phrases belonged, would then have reinserted them randomly at the points where we read them today.

81.9 †τὸ...ὀξύνεται†: The presence of Δαρδανειὸς in this rule might be justified, although it has more than three syllables while the rule prescribes that the words should have three syllables, on the basis of other passages where words with more than three syllables come under rules about words with three syllables (e.g. βροτολοιγός in 85.9–13, ἀφυσγετός in 150.9–12, ἀματροχιά in 113.20–114.4 (Schmidt)). If one were to move Δαρδανειὸς next to Ἐπειός, one would have to explain the wording τὸ δὲ ... ὀξύνεται, which suggests that Δαρδανειὸς was cited close to another group of examples with different accentuation. It is nevertheless possible that this phrase should be transposed after ἀκατεῖος at 82.8, where the rule is about words with more than three syllables (cf. the previous note). It would make sense for τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειὸς ὀξύνεται to appear after ἀκατεῖος at 82.8. The mention of ἀσκάτειος at 81.9, probably a corrupt form of ἀκατεῖος, before τὸ δὲ Δαρδανειὸς ὀξύνεται may be

an indication that this phrase appeared originally after ἀκατεῖος (see also the previous note).

82.3 γαλήνιος: otherwise written γαλήνιος.

82.8 ἀκατεῖος: This rare word occurs again in our Epitome and in Pollux (1.91.5), where it is proparoxytone.

82.11 αἰδοῖος: Both an adjective and a personal name (*LGPN* I). The accent of the proper name and the adjective is the same.

82.12 ὁμοῖος: Both an adjective and a personal name (*LGPN* IV (Ὀμοῖος), VA (Ὀμοιος)). The accent of the proper name and the adjective is the same.

82.12 παντοῖος: Both an adjective and a personal name (*LGPN* II, IIIA, IIIB). The accent of the proper name and the adjective is the same.

82.14–83.4 Τὰ ... 83.4 Ἄρενος: This passage is somewhat problematic. οὐκ ἔθνικά creates the impression that one should get some examples of ethnic designations that do not follow the rule, but no ethnic designation is mentioned in it. This, of course, may be due to the epitomator cutting down material. Moreover, the phrase ἀγαυός καὶ τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ἐπίθετον creates the impression that something must have been said prior to this phrase regarding the κύρια. In order to overcome the problem, Lentz (138.2) changed οὐκ

ἔθνικα from our Epitome into ἡ κύρια ὁμοφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις and later on εἰ μὴ ἔθνικα εἶη into εἰ μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη (138.3-4). Lentz's first change satisfies the need for κύρια in the phrasing of the beginning of the rule, something which fits well with ἀγαυός καὶ τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ἐπίθετον. The second change is a bit awkward, because reading πρόσκειται εἰ μὴ ἐπιθετικὰ εἶη one would have expected that earlier in the rule there would have been an exclusion of adjectives from the main rule. However, this is not true, because the rule is about adjectives. The main reason why Lentz's suggestions should not be followed is because πρόσκειται X...Y should mean 'the words X...Y are in the rule because...', so the words following πρόσκειται should be in the rule or, failing that, at least a phrase with the same meaning. Regarding the phrase ἀλλὰ κύρια perhaps something was mentioned earlier in the rule, but was later omitted either by the epitomator or by a scribe. What makes the phrase πρόσκειται εἰ μὴ ἔθνικα εἶη, ἀλλὰ κύρια even more difficult to understand is that the three examples given are nowhere else attested (or attested as nominatives; see the relevant notes below), thus not enabling us to know what must have been said in the phrasing of the rule.

83.1 ἀκουός: This word does not usually occur uncompounded. The

etymological lexis (*Et. Gen.* α 349, *EM* 51.23-5, *Et. Sym.* I 226.23-6), in which this word is mainly attested, cite it together with a quotation from Callimachus (*Fr. inc. sed.* 499).

83.4 †Ἀκάλαννος †Πείραννος: These words occur nowhere else.

83.4 Ἄρενος: No such nominative is attested. Ἄρενος, the Aeolic genitive of Ἄρης is attested in Choeroboscus (*in Theod.* 163.5-7, 214.20-1).

83.10 θάμβος... μονογενές: The noun, not the adjective θαμβός, -ή, -όν. The information τὸ μονογενές is, strictly speaking, redundant because the phrasing of the rule said κύρια ἢ προσηγορικά.

83.10–12 σεσημείωται...12 κύριον: ὄλβος is presented as an exception, but ὄλβος has been cited as an example of the recessive accentuation at the beginning of the rule (83.9), and in fact it is the proper name Ὀλβός which does not follow the rule prescribing recessive accentuation. Instead of being recessive, as the rule prescribes, Ὀλβός is oxytone in contrast to the common noun ὄλβος. In my view, Herodian could have written ὄλβος in the initial list of examples, and then forgetting that he had included ὄλβος in this list, and remembering the proper name Ὀλβός, or just wishing to add this information, made this remark about the different accentuation

of ΟΛΒΟΣ as a noun and as a proper name. Thus, I do not consider it necessary to obelise the first occurrence of ὄλβος.

83.12 Ὀλβός...κύριον: The proper name Ὀλβός occurs again in Philoponus' π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. (addit.) 224.18.

83.15 βωβός: The manuscripts' κωβός occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (50.20 app. crit.) βωβός. λωβός is also possible but βωβός is more likely because β and κ are interchangeable in minuscule.

83.18 κόναβος: The manuscripts' κόραβος occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. κόναβος, suggested by Lobeck (*PSGP* 285, n. 1), occurs in the vicinity of ἄραβος also in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (κ 336.41-51) and *Etymologicum Magnum* (528.10-8).

83.18 σάραβος: Both a common noun ('γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον', Hsch. σ 191, Phot. σ 500.2, *Su.* σ 110) and a river name (Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* 7.1.29.5, 7.2.13.4). As a common noun it was mainly used by comic poets (*Comica Adespota Fragm. Incert. Poet.* fr. 1137; cf. Phot. σ 500.2, *Su.* σ 110).

83.19–20 ἀττέλαβος...20 ὀξύνουσι: There is no other evidence for the oxytone accentuation of ἀττέλαβος in the Attic dialect.

83.23 Ἑρεμβός: An Arabian ethnic designation (see St. Byz. ε 106.1; cf. *Et. Gud.* ε 518, *EM* 370.40-1, Eust. *Od.* I 150.11, sch. Lyc. 827.1-3).

84.11 γάγγος: M's γάγγος and O's σάγγος occur nowhere else. Göttling's correction Ἄργος would fit well here. Ἄργος could have been mentioned here both in order to highlight the fact that as a proper name it cannot be oxytone as the adjectives are, and to underline the fact that the homonymous words Ἄργος and ἀργός have different accents, so that a distinction is made between their different meanings. In several ancient sources ἀργός and Ἄργος are examined side by side (Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio a α 34, recensio c α 13, recensio d α 32, recensio e α 36, *Et. Gud.* α 187.4, *EM* 136.1, Eust. *Od.* II 145.36-8, 146.45-147.1). I consider Γόργος equally possible. The phrase τὸ μέντοι ... βαρύνεται after a list of adjectives makes one expect either a proper name or a genuine exception.

84.17 φαγός: The word for 'glutton' is always φάγος in other ancient sources.

84.17–85.1 ὁ ... 85.1 τὸ²: According to sch. Ar. *Eq.* 487a Aristarchus accented the word on the final syllable, as did Herodian in his Ἀττική προσφδία (see the apparatus of parallel passages). Thus ὁ κραυγαστικός should be a gloss for κραγός, not κράγος. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation (52.1-2) of the manuscript's τὸ δὲ

κράγος ὁ κραυγαστικός. τὸ δὲ το (ὁ κραυγαστικός). τὸ δὲ Κράγος βαρύνεται, καὶ τό.

85.1 τὸ¹...βαρύνεται: Κράγος is a mountain in Lycia (see Cornel. Alex. Polyhist. fr. 73-77.5, St. Byz. 380.16) and a cult title or a name for Zeus in Lycia (sch. Lyc. 542.1, 542.4, 538.20bis). Κράγος is not oxytone since it is not an adjective, but a proper name.

85.5 Λάγος: The majority of the ancient sources have Λάγος, not Λᾱγος (only Jo. Alex. π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio b, λ 2, sch. Theoc. 17.14b.3 have Λᾱγος).

85.9–13 ἀρσενικά...13 βροτολοιγός: It is interesting that βροτολοιγός, an adjective, is given as an example of ἀρσενικά. One normally describes nouns as ἀρσενικά, not adjectives, which have more than one gender, but βροτολοιγός found mainly as a Homeric epithet of Mars, might have been thought of as a word of one gender because only found in the masculine.

85.10–11 μῆ...11 Γ: No examples of this type of exception are given in our Epitome. Σύναγγος, a Phoenician city name, which according to Stephanus of Byzantium (591.21-2) was cited in the sixth book of the Περί καθολικῆς προσφῆας, could exemplify this condition. Σάλαγγος, the name of an Italian and Indian nation (St. Byz.

550.10-1), could also have been mentioned here (cf. Lentz's reconstruction 141.14-5).

85.13–14 τὸ...14 ὀρσενικόν: The island name is oxytone in the majority of the ancient sources where this name occurs.

85.15 Ὅμαργος: This dog name occurs nowhere else.

85.18–19 εἰ...19 παραλῆγον: The fact that feminine common nouns with ο in their penultimate syllable are exempted from the oxytone accentuation, together with the fact that Κνίδος qualifies as an example of the rule (see Schmidt's view in the critical apparatus), suggested to Schmidt that something should be added after θηλυκά at the beginning of the rule (see Schmidt's suggestions in the critical apparatus). In my view, it is possible that nothing is missing after θηλυκά. Even if the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας included some specifications after θηλυκά, the epitomator could have considered the statement that exceptions were feminine common nouns with ο in the penultimate syllable sufficient: the reader can be expected to conclude that recessive accentuation applies under all other circumstances.

86.1 ἄδος: The word's etymology might lead one to expect a rough breathing, but a smooth breathing is also found for some other words built on the same root (see *DELG* s. v. ἄδην).

86.1–2 τὸ...2 θηλυκά: ὁδός and σποδός are exceptions not only because they are feminine, but also because they have ο in the penultimate syllable, but only the fact that they are feminine is mentioned when the two words are cited as examples. This is done for the sake of brevity. See also note on 37.9 ἀπὸ συνθέτου.

86.6 σκοῖδος: The manuscripts' κοῖδος occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted TGL's emendation (IV 1705A, and later Meineke's FCG IV 151) σκοῖδος, a rare word which occurs again in Menander (*Cithar. fr. al. nota* 9; CAF fr. 289), Pollux (10.16.6), Hesychius (σ 1051), and Photius (σ 523.4-5).

86.7 χλῆδος: The manuscripts' χλῖδος is unsuitable here, because it is neuter, while this book only deals with masculines and feminines. The writing of this word with an -ι is a common iotacistic mistake. I print Schmidt's emendation χλῆδος (53.4-5).

86.9 νῖδος: This word occurs nowhere else.

86.10 ζεῦδος: This word occurs nowhere else.

86.10 καυδός: This word occurs nowhere else. It is possible that the word intended here is the island name Γαῦδος (Apollod. Gramm. (FHG) fr. 159.55, 160c.5, Str. 1.2.37.5, 6.2.11.38-9, 7.3.6.53, Call. *Fr. inc. sed.* 470; sometimes written Καῦδος, e.g. *Et. Gud.* κ 352.5).

86.11 μαυδός: This word occurs nowhere else.

86.13 ὄγδος: The spelling ὄγδος of the ordinal numeral ὄγδοος is late and this raises questions about the date of composition of the Epitome. The rule is clearly about disyllabic words and therefore does not allow a correction of ὄγδος to ὄγδοος.

86.13 ῥάβδος: I have printed ῥάβδος with Schmidt.

86.13 ἄσδος: This is a *hapax*.

87.2 λίνδος: Either a common noun, 'an aromatic plant' (see LSJ s. v.), or a proper name, the town of Lindos.

87.2 Σίνδος: Either an ethnic designation (Scyl. 72.1, Hsch. σ 682, St. Byz. 569.27-570.2) or a common noun (St. Byz. 569.27-570.2).

87.3 μάρδος: This is a *hapax*.

87.5 μυνδός...ἄφωνος: μυνδός occurs again in S. fr. 1072, Lyc. 1375, sch. Lyc. 1375.13, Hsch. μ 1871, St. Byz. β 26.3, *Et. Gud.* μ 400.35. It is attested with a recessive accent in Hesychius, the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the Lycophron scholion.

87.8–9 κόρυδος...9 ὀξύνουσι: cf. Ar. Av. 302, 472, sch. Ar. Av. 302, 471, 475 and 1295, and sch. Ar. Th. 168, Phryn. Ecl. 315, Tim. Lex. κ 993a.20-1.

87.11 κύρια: No proper names are cited as examples. Lentz in his reconstruction (143.10-9) includes the proper names Λίχανδος (St. Byz. 418.17), Ληψίμανδος (St. Byz. 414.8), Κύλλανδος (St. Byz.

392.7), Ἀσπενδος (Scyl. 101.2, Str. 12.7.1.4, 14.4.2.8, D. P. *Orb. descr.* 852, St. Byz. α 484, Eust. *D. P.* 852.6, 852.7-8, 852.15), Ἰσινδος (St. Byz. ι 101, Theognost. *Can.* II 54.6-7 (= 293.2-3), Πύρινδος (St. Byz. 541.8), Ἀρινδος (Theognost. *Can.* II 54.7 (= 293.3)).

87.13 ὄρυμαγδός: I have adopted Lobeck's emendation (*PGSE*¹ 509) of the manuscripts' ὄρυγμαδός. The rule prescribes that the termination -δος should belong to a consonant cluster.

87.15 Ἀβυδος: The manuscripts' ἄοιδος occurs nowhere else. Lobeck's emendation Ἀβυδος (*PSGP* 355.4-5) is supported by a parallel passage from the *Epimerismi Homerici* (α 274; see the apparatus of parallel passages), where Ἀβυδος appears in the vicinity of ἄοιδός and κίναιδος.

87.16 ἔνοιδος: The manuscripts' ἔνοιδος occurs nowhere else. Both suggested emendations, Ὀροιδος (Lobeck *PSGP* 355.5-7) and Ἐνουδος (Schmidt 54.4), are equally possible here. Ὀροιδος is supported by a parallel passage from the *Epimerismi Homerici* (α 274), but Ἐνουδος is palaeographically closer to ἔνοιδος. The text cannot be reconstructed with certainty here.

87.16 ἑϊηδος: The manuscripts' εἴηδος occurs nowhere else. The emendation Ἰσσηδος suggested by Lobeck (*PSGP* 355.4-9) is possible, but it is not supported by parallel passages.

87.19 ὄζος: The manuscripts' ἰζος occurs nowhere else. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation ὄζος (*PSGP* 361, n. 3, e Cramer *AO I* 443), which is supported by a parallel passage (*Ep. Hom.* χ 34 = *AO Cramer I* 443) and requires the change of a single letter. ἄζος is an adjective, and therefore unsuitable here.

88.1 ταῦζος: The manuscripts' ταύζος occurs nowhere else. I have retained this reading (but printed a circumflex with Schmidt 54.7-8) with some reserve. It is tempting to correct ταῦζος into either τρύζος (or Τρύζος, the name of a tyrant mentioned by Claudius Aelianus (*Var. Hist.* 14.22.1)) or τρίζος. τρύζος and τρίζος are close to the reading ταῦζος, and they occur in the vicinity of ῥοῖζος in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ϱ 494.1-3) and *Etymologicum Magnum* (705.15-7) respectively.

88.1 τρωζος: This word occurs nowhere else. The words τρύζος and τρίζος, suggested as emendations for ταῦζος in the previous note, would have been suitable here as well, but many other corrections are possible.

89.1 μὴ...γένος: 'that do not have the same form when their gender is different'. This remark is intended to exclude cases like στρουθός, where both the male and female sparrow are indicated with the same grammatical form. Thus, although στρουθός has one grammatical

form, i.e. it is *μονογενές*, it is *κοινὸν κατὰ γένος* at the same time, because the single grammatical form indicates both the male and female sparrow.

89.2 κῶθος: This uncommon word occurs again at *π.μ.λ.* 947.21; *Ath.* 7.69.6, 7.83.8, 7.83.19, *Epit.* II.i 139.32; *Hsch.* κ 4789; *Theognost.* *Can.* II 54.14 (= 295.3); *Su.* κ 2224; *Et. Gud.* μ 399.19, σ 513.35; *EM* 730.34.

89.6 γόνθος: This is a *hapax*.

89.7 γρόνθος...αὐλήσεως: The meaning given for γρόνθος here reveals that γρόνθος is meant to be an alternative form for, or at least a word related to γρόνθων ('first lessons on the flute'). In no other source is the meaning of γρόνθος linked with αὐλησις; γρόνθος otherwise means 'fist' and 'spoke on a machine'.

89.11–12 ψόθος...12 ψόφος: Only in our Epitome and in Theognostus (*Can.* II 54.13 (= 295.2)) is ψόθος glossed by ψόφος. The other ancient sources provide us with the meanings ψώρα (*Hsch.* ψ 238) and ἀκαθαρσία (*Hsch.* ψ 238, *Phryn. PS* fr. 37*, *Phot.* ψ 655.16, *Su.* ψ 120) for ψόθος. Even if ψόφος were another meaning for ψόθος, it would be strange that Herodian should have glossed ψόθος with reference to this uncommon meaning. It seems more likely that a word meaning 'noise', for which ψόφος would be a

suitable gloss, has been left out between ψόθος and ψόφος. It is noteworthy that in the passage of Theognostus we read the word ῥόθος before ψόθος, and ῥόθος ('rushing noise'), could in fact have been explained by ψόφος ('noise'). Given that Theognostus derives material from Herodian, and given that the passage of Theognostus is parallel to this passage of our Epitome, it is possible that ῥόθος was initially mentioned by Herodian, but was then accidentally omitted, either by the epitomator or by a scribe. Possibly the words were cited next to each other in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφδίας* as they are in Theognostus, but in the reverse order, i.e. ψόθος, ῥόθος (ὁ ψόφος), and at some point the order of the words ψόθος and ῥόθος was inverted. The omission of ῥόθος must have occurred after the inversion of ψόθος with ῥόθος. The fact that both ψόθος and ψόφος begin with ψο- might have contributed to the linking of the two words in Theognostus and in our Epitome. One may assume, on the basis of the common inversion between ψόθος and ῥόθος in both our Epitome and Theognostus, that the inversion occurred at an early stage in the transmission of Herodian's text, or at least that the two texts share a common source which already contained the inversion. I have followed Lentz (145.12; already Lobeck *PGSE*¹ 441, n. 9) in filling the lacuna by adding ῥόθος between ψόθος and ὁ

ψόφος. I have not followed the exact addition suggested by Lobeck (see the critical apparatus), as I do not consider the addition of ἡ ἀκαθαρσία after ψόφος necessary.

89.12 τὸ...τοπικόν: Even though βυθός has two short vowels, it is oxytone because it is considered a τοπικόν.

89.15 ἀφθός: This word occurs nowhere else.

89.16 λοῖσθος: The word meant here is the adjective ('left behind, last'), not the noun ('beam, boom'), because the rule prescribes that the words should be τριγενῆ.

89.17 Πάρθος: This is an exception because it is not τριγενές but κοινόν τῷ γένει (see also Schmidt's observation in the critical apparatus).

89.18 νόθος: I have emended the manuscripts' ὄθος to νόθος. Schmidt's ὄνθος (55.5) is problematic for me: the rule is on τριγενῆ in -θος, and then we read two exceptions ('σεσημείωται ...'). ὄνθος is a noun, thus making it difficult to accept. The section 'σεσημείωται ...' up to the end needs to contain either genuine exceptions (thus τριγενῆ) or words that are adjectives but not τριγενῆ. Πάρθος is an exception because it is not τριγενές (see also the previous note). My emendation νόθος might have been

mentioned as an exception because it can be both τριγενές (νόθος, -η, -ον) and διγενές (νόθος, -ον).

90.3 λάπαθος: The manuscripts' λέκυθος is unsuitable here, because it does not end in -αθος as the rule prescribes. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation λάπαθος (*PSGP* 362), which is supported by two parallel passages (sch. Hom. *Il.* 2.676 and *Ep. Hom.* α 271; see the apparatus of parallel passages).

90.5 μακρᾶς: See note on 74.1 μακράν.

90.7 φύσει μακρᾶ: Schmidt 55.12 (app. crit.) provides as examples of this condition Σίμαιθος, Κύναιθος, which are both attested in Theognostus (*Can.* II 59.4-5 (= 317.2-3)).

90.7–8 εἰ...8 ἔστι: 'oxytone words (of this shape) are all adjectives'.

90.8–9 Λάπιθος...9 Μίκυθος: Personal names (*LGPN* IIIB; *LGPN* I, IIIB respectively).

90.10–11 τὸ...11 ὁξύνεται: βοηθός and κακηθός are oxytone as they are adjectives.

90.10 κακηθός: The formation of κακηθός is peculiar. Other sources have a κάκιθος or κακῖθος glossed as κάκιστος (κάκιθος: Choerob. *AO* II 248.26-7, *EM* 484.55-6, Zonar. κ 1145.20-1; κακῖθος: Choerob. *AO* II 229.22).

90.12–13 ἔχοντα...13 σύμφωνα: See the discussion of syllable division and consonant clusters in the Introduction, pp. 118–21.

90.16 ὀλισθός...ὀλισθηρός: ὀλισθός is an uncommon synonym for ὀλισθηρός. It occurs again in *Hp. Art.* 29.1, *Mochl.* 19.1, *Diocl. Fr.* 163.2, *Apollon. Cit.* 12.34, *Jo. Alex.* π. διαφ. τον. διάφ. σημ. recensio e o 5.2.

90.19 ταῦκος: This is nowhere else attested. Many readings are possible here (see the critical apparatus).

90.19 τὸ...ὀξύνεται: σηκός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions mentioned in the rule, it does not follow the accentuation prescribed.

91.5 Μάκκος: This personal name is attested in the inscription *SEG* 43 680, 64 from Gallia Narbonensis. It is probably the name of a king at Hesychius μ 122. At *EM* 707.41 μάκκος is attested in a list with another three words in -κκος (σάκκος, λάκκος, κόκκος).

91.5 Ὅγκος...κύριον: This personal name is attested at sch. *Lyc.* 1225, *St. Byz.* 482.22, *EM* 613.43–4.

91.11–12 σεσημείωται...12 θριγκός: θριγκός is a genuine exception because, although it satisfies the conditions mentioned in the rule, is nevertheless oxytone.

91.16 μύσκος: This word occurs again in Hesychius (μ 1952), where

it is glossed with μίασμα and κῆδος. μύσκος (=μυῖσκος) is also a diminutive of μῦς (*TGL* V 1311). There is no need to change μύσκος into Ζύσκος, as Schmidt would have preferred (56.14), but the occurrence of Ζύσκος in the vicinity of δίσκος and Φύσκος in the *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* (*GG* iii.ii 947.10) could suggest that Ζύσκος was cited in the same word list in the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας*.

91.20 κύκος: The manuscripts' κύκος occurs nowhere else. Hesychius (β 1304) has the lemma βυκός glossed by δασμοφόρος. βυκός may be wrongly accented in the Hesychius manuscript (on the lack of reliability of this manuscript on accentuation matters see also notes on 19.1 οἰρών and 114.3 ἔρυμος). A genitive βύκου in the medical text *De alimentis* (12.8) reinforces the above view. Βύκος is mentioned as a river name in Claudius Ptolemaeus (*Geogr.* 3.5.4.8). Other words, which are close to the transmitted reading (Μύκος/μῦκος, λύκος, τύκος), would be possible here, but the text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

91.21–22 σεσημείωται...22 ὀξύτονον: Even though φακός fulfils the conditions for recessive accentuation, it is oxytone because there is διαστολή τις σηματομένου: a distinction between the common noun φακός and the proper name Φάκος.

92.2–3 πλὴν...3 Ω: e.g. σῶκος.

92.7 Πίνακος: A personal name attested at *SEG* 29 116 (Attica).

92.7 Ἀμάρρακος: Nowhere else attested as a proper name. ἄμάρρακος is a plant name and the homonymous perfume (Hsch. α 3439, Phot. α 1123).

92.8 Ἀστακός: The manuscripts' ἄστακός occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation (see the critical apparatus). Ἀστακός is the name of a city in Bithynia (St. Byz. α 497).

92.8 Μαλακός: The manuscripts' ἄλακός occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have accepted Lobeck's emendation (see the critical apparatus). Μαλακός is a personal name (*LGPN* I (Μάλακος), IIIA, IIIB (Μάλακος), IV (Μάλακος)).

92.8 Καλλιακός: This word occurs nowhere else.

93.3 λιθακός: A rare synonym for λίθαξ, which occurs again at *P.Oxy* 1087.47-8 (cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 7pap 6, 76.28-9), which is a fragment of Stesichorus (fr. 214 *PMGF*).

93.7 ὕσσακος: Ancient sources provide us with two different meanings for this word: (i) γυναικεῖον μόριον/αἰδοῖον (sch. Ar. *Lys.* 1001, *Su.* υ 672, υ 683.4) and (ii) πάσσαλος (Phot. υ 634.7-8, *EM* 785.8, Zonar. υ 1787.9-10).

93.8 μαίμακος: This rare word occurs again in *Tragica Adespota*

(*TrGF* fr. 593) and in Photius (μ 28), who provides us with the synonyms χαλεπός and δύσμαχος and tells us that μαίμακος is a tragic word (τραγική ή λέξις). μαίμακος is not a compound word, and it is a bit odd that it is called a σύνθετον here, rather than παρώνυμον. Since μαίμακος is not often attested it is not possible to find out whether this view that μαίμακος is a compound was widely held. Despite the fact that ancient views on what a compound is were the same as modern views, ancient views on etymology do not always correspond with modern linguistic views. For the loose usage of the term σύνθετον for παρώνυμα (words derived from nouns) in Pseudo-Arcadius cf. μάργος (84.12–13), φροῦδος (86.4–5), αἷσυλος (104.9–10), λίχνος (116.4–5), ἀστεροπή (117.5–6 Schmidt), μελέτη 131.10–1 (Schmidt), which are presented as compounds.

93.11 Τὰ...ἔστιν: The text claims that there is only one word ending in -εκος, but there are also τέκος, βέκος (or βερός), πέκος, and the personal name Νίχεκος (*LGPN* IV).

93.11 Ἀλώπεκος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

93.14 Καππάδοκος: An alternative form for Καππάδοξ and Καππαδόκης (St. Byz. 356.14–5, Theognost. *Can.* II 40.13–5 (= 215.5–7), 321.3–4, *Et. Gud.* λ 359.22–3, τ 538.30–3, *EM* 490.18–22, 552.46–7, 773.33–5; cf. Choerob. *in Theod.* 121.10–2).

93.15 Σπόρδοκος: This word occurs nowhere else. Schmidt (57.16 app. crit.) observed that either the name Σπάρδοκος, probably an alternative form for Σπάρτοκος (for which see *LGPN* II, VA), or Σπαράδοκος (*LGPN* IV) was intended here. The α of the antepenultimate syllable could have easily become ο under the influence of the following two ο's.

93.15–16 καὶ...16 ὀξύνεται: This phrase is out of context as transmitted, because it does not concern words in -οκος. It is possible that this phrase belonged originally to the rule on words in -σκος preceded by ι and υ (96.1–4), and that αἰγοβοσκός was intended as a further example (together with Δαμασκός and Ἀρδησκός) of words that are oxytone because they do not have an iota in the penultimate.

94.3 ἔστροηκος: This word occurs nowhere else. Theognostus (*Can.* II 59.25-6 (= 322.3-4)) cites Ἄτρικος, a Cretan city name (but such a Cretan city name is nowhere else attested), next to μάλικος, a bird name. Ἄτρικος and μάλικος are close to the readings ἔστροηκος and Μάληκος transmitted in our text. Ἄτρικος and μάλικος occur nowhere else. It is possible that Ἄτρικος as well as ἔστροηκος are corrupt forms of the genuine reading.

94.3 Μάληκος: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA).

94.4 Ἀρτησκός: I have emended the manuscripts' ἄρτισκός to

Ἀρτησκόος on the basis of Herodotus 4.92.2. Ἀρτησκόος is the name of a tributary of the Hebrus. The existence of the river names Ἀρδησκος (sch. Hes. *Th.* 338.11-2) and Ἀλδησκος (Eust. *Il.* II 606.8, *Od.* II 168.21, *D. P.* 311.5), which are similar to Ἀρτησκόος, probably influenced Schmidt into printing Ἀρδησκόος in his text (57.20). On the different locations of the aforementioned rivers see *RE* s. v. Aldeskos, Ardeskos, Artiskos.

94.6 Πάταικος: The manuscripts' πάγαικος occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation Πάταικος, on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (see the apparatus of parallel passages and the critical apparatus). Πάταικος is a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA) or 'Phoenician deities of dwarfish shape, whose images formed the figure-heads of Phoenician ships' (*LSJ* s. v.; see *Hdt.* 3.37).

94.7 Φάλαικος: I have printed Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' φίλαικος, which occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*, to Φάλαικος, on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (see the apparatus of parallel passages and the critical apparatus). Φάλαικος is a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB).

94.7 Μίθαικος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

94.8 Μόνοικος: This is the city name (*St. Byz.* 456.7), not the epithet

of Heracles in Southern Gaul, because the rule does not apply to adjectives.

95.1 Αἴνικος: The manuscripts' ἄνικος occurs nowhere else, and thus there is no other evidence to suggest that this is indeed a proper name. A number of possible emendations have been suggested (see the critical apparatus). Αἰνικός at Theognostus *Can.* II 59.33 (= 323.4) should be corrected to Αἴνικος on the basis of this accentuation rule, and Εὔνικος should be added before ὄνομα ποιητοῦ (on the confusion between the poet's name Εὔνικος and Αἴνικος see Meineke *FCG* I 249), or Αἰνικός should be changed to Εὔνικος in order to correspond to ὄνομα ποιητοῦ. The passage from Theognostus' *Canones* (see the full citation in the apparatus of parallel passages) is close to the passage in our Epitome and supports the emendation of Ἄνικος to Αἴνικος or Εὔνικος (cf. the above two suggested emendations of Αἰνικός), or to Ἑλλάνικος, as both these names appear in the vicinity of Κάικος, Γρήνικος and Φίλικος and are close to the reading transmitted by the manuscripts, but Αἴνικος is a bit more likely. Αἴνικος is palaeographically closer to the transmitted ἄνικος than the other two suggested emendations of Αἰνικός in Theognostus, namely Εὔνικος and Ἑλλάνικος, and thus is more economical. Moreover, supposing that Αἴνικος is present in

Theognostus' passage, and that Αἰνικός is not simply changed to Εὔνικος there, Αἶνικος is more likely than Ἑλλάνικος in Pseudo-Arcadius, because of the correspondence in the order in which the examples are cited in the two passages. Κάικος, Γρήνικος and Φίλικος appear in the same order, thus rendering Theognostus' Αἶνικος (the first suggested emendation of Αἰνικός) more likely than Ἑλλάνικος, which appears after Γρήνικος in Theognostus.

95.1 Κάικος: The name of a river in Mysia (Philox. Gramm. fr. 412, sch. Hes. *Th.* 338.10, Ps.-Plu. *Fluv.* 21.1, Hsch. κ 224, Theognost. *Can.* II 59.33 - 60.1 (= 323.4-5)).

95.2 Γρήνικος: A river name (sch. Hes. *Th.* 338.8-9, Hsch. γ 917, Theognost. *Can.* II 59.33 - 60.1 (= 323.4-5), *Et. Gud.* γ 322.15, *EM* 241.16, *Su.* γ 454, Zonar. γ 451.16).

95.2 Φίλικος: A proper name (Theognost. *Can.* II 60.1 (= 323.5), cf. *LGPN* I, II, IIIA (Φιλικός)).

95.4 Καμικός: A city in Sicily (St. Byz. 351.13) or a river name in Sicily (Theognost. *Can.* II 60.2-3 (= 323.6-7)).

95.6 Παλικός: A city in Sicily (D. S. 11.88.6.7-10, Theognost. *Can.* II 60.4-5 (= 323.8-9)).

95.15 Ἀμυκος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, IV).

95.15 κώρυκος: Either a common noun or a place name (a mountain

name: Str. 14.1.32.2, St. Byz. 401.22-3, or a promontory: Paus. Gr. κ 60.2, Phot. κ 1330.2-3, *Su.* κ 2299, or a city name: St. Byz. 401.18). I have not capitalised it to allow for both possibilities.

95.15 Ἰνυκος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

96.6 διαστολὴν πέπονθεν: e.g. the adjectives θολός and σαλός, which are oxytone in order to contrast with the nouns θόλος and σάλος respectively. θολός and σαλός as adjectives are τριγενῆ, and therefore exemplify also the other condition given for non-recessive accentuation.

96.8 τὸ...ὀξύνεται: ὀλός is not subject to the rule prescribing recessive accentuation since it is τριγενές. In other sources it occurs only in the vocative (Alcman fr. 116, *EM* 622.45, 622.46, 622.47).

96.9 ὑπὲρ...συνλλαβάς: As the rule stands there are no examples of words with more than two syllables. It is possible that initially the Herodianic rule also included words with more than two syllables, which the epitomator left out for reasons of brevity, or a scribe by mistake. Thus, originally the rule might have said δισύλλαβά τε καὶ ὑπὲρ δύο συνλλαβάς, and possibly the epitomator kept this although he had not kept any examples with more than two syllables. Then, at some point in the transmission of the text δισύλλαβα might have been omitted, but ὑπὲρ δύο συνλλαβάς remained without being

exemplified by words with more than two syllables. A passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 61.14-23 (= 330)), which is parallel to that of our Epitome (see the citation in the apparatus of parallel passages), reinforces the assumption that initially the rule included examples with more than two syllables as well as disyllables.

97.1 Ἰλος...διεστραμμένος: The word for διεστραμμένος ('distorted, perverse') is ἰλλός, not ἰλός as the manuscripts transmit. I have thus adopted Lehrs' emendation ἰλλός here ((1833), 290; see also the previous note). Someone could have remembered the oxytone word ἰλλός when he read Ἰλος (τὸ κύριον) and thus added ἰλλός δὲ ὁ διεστραμμένος. Then, another scribe could have written ἰλός instead of ἰλλός, either influenced by the occurrence of one λ in Ἰλος, or because he thought that the two words needed to have exactly the same shape and be distinguished only by their accentuation.

97.2 μύλος: This word has short υ, and therefore should not have been cited here. Either one has to accept that Herodian made a mistake in including this example here, or μύλος is a later addition by a scribe and should thus be deleted.

97.8 Βῆλος: A personal name (*LGPN* IV).

97.8 Σφήλος: The manuscripts' σφήλος is a rare adjective meaning

'deceitful' (Hsch. φ 344, *Su.* φ 265, *Et. Gen.* α 1038.7-8, *EM* 130.51-2, 160.40), which is unsuitable here, because a proper name is required. Lobeck's emendation Σφῆλος is called κύριον ὄνομα in sch. Hom. *Il.* 15.338a.2-3, Theognost. *Can.* II 61.7-8 (= 328.9-10), Eust. *Il.* III 738.19-20, *Su.* σ 1738, while the *Iliad* (15.338) tells us more specifically that this is a personal name.

97.15 δαυλός: an alternative form for δαλός.

98.1 Βραῦλος: This proper name occurs nowhere else. The personal names Πραῦλος (Πραῦλος; *LGPN* I, IIIA, IIIB, VA) and Καῦλος (*LGPN* II) are close to the transmitted reading, but such an emendation is not supported by parallel passages.

98.5 τὸ¹...ὀξύνηται: τραυλός is a genuine exception because it fulfils all the conditions mentioned in the rule, but does not display recessive accentuation.

98.5–6 καὶ...6 δειλός: The citation of δειλός in this accentuation rule is suspect, since the rule is about adjectives in -λος that have a diphthong with υ before -λος. δειλός does not have a diphthong with υ and so should not have been mentioned. καὶ τὸ δειλός here might have been introduced in the text under the influence of the phrase καὶ τὸ δειλός ὀξύνηται a bit earlier in the text (97.5). It is possible that the word intended here was the noun δαυλός (not the

adjective δαῦλος; on the accent of the adjective see Radt (1982), 243-4), and that the purpose of its citation was that δαυλός is not recessive, because it is not an adjective as the rule prescribes.

98.9 Ψύλλος...κύριον: A personal name (LGPN IIIA, VA).

98.17–99.1 Τὰ...99.1 βαρύνεται: My edition of the text presents for the first time this part of the text, which does not appear in either of the two previous editions, while Lentz added ἱλλός (from *AO* I 338.26-7), κιλλός (from *Il. Pros.* 16.234), and ἄλλος (from *Il. Pros.* 16.234 and *Ep. Cr.* I 45.32-4). Barker and Schmidt based their editions on the text of B and C, which omit this part because of the homoeoteleuton (*saut du même au même*) with the previous section that ends with βαρύνεται. Schmidt also used some readings from A, but since he did not see the manuscript himself, he failed to offer this part of the text, which A has.

98.18 ἱλλός: I have emended manuscripts' σιλλός into ἱλλός. A parallel passage from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (680.44-6; see the apparatus of parallel passages), which presents ἱλλός right before ψελλός and in the vicinity of ἄλλος, reinforces my conjecture. σιλλός is a mistaken form for σίλλος, which could not have been cited here because as a noun it is not τριγενές, being recessive. ἱλλός could easily have become σιλλός, either under the influence of

σίλλος in the previous accentuation rule, or because a scribe duplicated the σ at the end of the previous word ψελλός.

99.1–2 σεσημείωται...2 ἔθνους: In the previous editions of this Epitome the phrase σεσημείωται ... ἔθνους appears right after the section on the προσηγορικά, because of the omission of the accentuation rule on the τριγενῇ in the manuscripts which the previous editors used (see also the above note on 98.17–99.1 Τὰ ... βαρύνεται). Ψύλλος is an ethnic designation and thus it is τριγενές, so the right place for it to appear is at the end of the accentuation rule on the τριγενῇ, not in the previous one on the προσηγορικά.

99.8–9 σεσημείωται...9 ὀξυνόμενον: μοχλός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule, it does not follow the prescribed accentuation.

99.11 κίαλλος: The reading of the manuscripts occurs nowhere else. Both suggested emendations by Lobeck are possible and there is no evidence to support one against the other. The text cannot be reconstructed with certainty here. βίαλλος, a reading which occurs only in the *Etymologicum Symeonis* (I 390.22-3), would also be possible here, if, of course, this is a genuine word and not a mistake in the manuscripts. It seems, at least, that the etymology given to βίαλλος in the *Etymologicum Symeonis*, namely ἡ βίον ἄλλον ποιοῦσα,

justifies the existence of such a word (βί - αλλο - ς). In my view βίαλλος is more likely than Lobeck's emendations, because κ and β are often confused in minuscule. A word βίαλλις occurs in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (β 21.3) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (186.35), and is explained by the phrase ἐπεὶ (ἐπειδὴ EM) δοκεῖ βίον ἄλλον ποιεῖν. The similar explanations provided for βίαλλος and βίαλλις, as well as the fact that they only differ with regard to their termination, suggest that βίαλλος is a variant form for βίαλλις. βίαλλις appears in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum* in the lemma βάλλις, a plant which δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἀναζῆν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας. βάλλις appears earlier in our text (51.10–11), with the information εἶδος ἄνθους, ὃ δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἀναζῆν τὸν νεκρόν. The explanations provided for βάλλις in our Epitome on the one hand, and in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum* on the other, are close to each other, and it seems that all three texts have derived the information from the same or a similar source, if one of the three is not the source for the other two, or, at least, one of the other two. This observation suggests that βίαλλος, if indeed a variant form for βίαλλις, could have appeared in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, as well as βάλλις, because βάλλις and βίαλλις/βίαλλος are linked together in the etymological lexica, and

if Herodian quoted βάλλις, it is possible that the source where he derived βάλλις from, contained also βιάλλος and/or βιάλλις.

99.13–14 προβαλλός...14 ἀσπίς: προβαλλός is a rare word. It occurs again together with the gloss ἀσπίς in Hesychius (π 3334) and Photius (π 450.1; accented on the antepenultimate).

99.18 περιάλλος...ἰσχίον: περιάλλος is a rare synonym for ἰσχίον, and occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical texts. The word occurs again together with the gloss ἰσχίον in Hesychius (π 1572), Photius (π 414.22, spelled περιάλος), the Suda (π 1063, spelled περιάλος), and the *Synagoge* (Σα π 320, spelled περιάλος).

99.19 κραπαταλλός...νομίσματος: Our Epitome, Pollux (9.83.1-3, spelled κραπαταλός), Hesychius (κ 3971, spelled κραπαταλός), and Photius (κ 1054, spelled κραπαταλός) all provide us with the meaning νόμισμα for κραπαταλλός, while Hesychius provides us with another two meanings, μωρός (κ 3971) and a kind of fish (κ 3970).

100.2 Μύσκελλος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA (Μύσκελος *LGPN* IIIB)).

100.3 Σόφιλλος: A personal name (*LGPN* II, IIIB).

100.3 δόριλλος: The manuscripts' δώριλλος occurs nowhere else. The ο/ω variation is frequent in manuscripts and this is also true of

the manuscripts of our Epitome. δόριλλος is both a common noun (an alternative form for δορίαλλος, δορίαλος, δορύαλλος) and a personal name (*LGPN* I, II). I have not capitalised it to allow for both possibilities.

100.3 ὀπτίλλος: A Doric form for ὀφθαλμός.

100.4 καὶ...θηλυκόν: This is an instance where a condition is not mentioned in the rule itself, but we only learn of it later on, when an exception is mentioned (see also note on 1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχῃ). At the beginning of the rule it could have been mentioned that the rule does not apply to feminine words, or that to be subject to the rule words need to be μονογενῆ.

100.4 νεογιλλός: An alternative form for νεογιλός.

100.6 μακράν: See note on 74.1 μακράν.

100.6 Κώδαλος: A personal name (Hippon. fr. 118.12, *151A.1, Ath. 14.18.37, II.ii 130.12, Diogenian. 5.69.1, Hsch. κ 4776).

100.8 σεσημείωται...Θεσσαλός: Even though the antepenultimate is ‘long by position’ (there is a short vowel in a closed syllable), and thus the two words fulfil the conditions for the rule, they are nevertheless oxytone. Thus, ὀμφαλός and Θεσσαλός may be regarded as genuine exceptions.

100.12 πιάλος: This rare word occurs again in sch. Opp. *H.* II 10.12,

Hsch. π 2242, *EM* 780.7. Hesychius tells us that *πιάλος* means *παράλευκος*.

100.12 Φίγαλος: A mythological personal name: Paus. 8.3.1.6, 8.3.2.1, 8.5.7.5, 8.39.2.2, 8.39.2.8.

100.12–13 τὸ...13 ὀξύνεται: *Ἰταλός* does not follow the rule prescribing recessive accentuation because it has a distinct feminine form.

100.17 Ἰταλός: *Ἰταλός* has long ι and cannot therefore have been cited as an example of this accentuation rule. The emendations suggested by Schmidt 61.16-9 (app. crit.) are suitable but there is no particular evidence to support either of the two. The appearance of *ἰταλός* here might have been influenced by the word's appearance in the previous rule (100.13).

100.17 Μέγαλος: This is a personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, IIIB), and therefore it does not follow the accentuation of the *τριγενῆ* in *-αλος*.

101.1 εἰ...γένοιτο: No examples of this condition are cited.

101.2 κύψελος: Both a common noun and a personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA).

101.4 διελός: MO's mistake *διελός* may be easily excused. Manuscript A could have easily arrived at the right reading by deliberate correction or chance, especially given the occurrence of

the gloss δειλινόν (written with ει) after δειελός. δειελός is usually recessive, but Herodian prescribes oxytone accentuation here. On the accent of δειελός see the discussion in Probert (2006), 372-3.

101.7 μακράν: See note on 74.1 μακράν.

101.8 εὐτράπελος: This word does not have a heavy antepenultimate syllable, but is nevertheless listed as an example of this accentuation rule. This word might have been included in Herodian's list because it fulfils all the conditions of the rule, apart from that of the long antepenultimate, or might have been added by the epitomator or a scribe who remembered this word when he was writing the other words in this list.

101.11 στροβελός: This word occurs only in our Epitome and in Hesychius (σ 2015), where it is glossed as σοβαρός, τρυφερός.

101.11 †κεφαλός: MO's κεφαλός is not suitable here because the termination dealt with in this accentuation rule is -ελος. It is possible that κεφαλός is the corrupt form of a word that was cited, together with ζάφελος, as an example of compounds (e.g. ἐκνέφελος, ἀνέφελος, ἀστύφελος) that are proparoxytone. The text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

101.13 <>: Schmidt's suggestion that προσηγορικὰ ἢ κύρια is missing from the rule, on the basis of a passage from Herodian's Περί

Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας (Σ 580 = sch. Hom. *Il.* 18.580b1), should be reconsidered. Both the Homeric scholion and a passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 61.32-62.2 (= 333)) suggest that the original Herodianic rule contained some examples that were proper names. As the rule stands in our Epitome, there are no proper names. Thus, adding κύρια would not correspond to the examples cited. It is possible that for the sake of brevity the epitomator left out the examples that were proper names, and in doing so he also left out the description κύρια at the beginning of the rule. In this case one does not need to add κύρια. Another possibility is that the epitomator wrote κύρια at the beginning of the rule, but then in the process of cutting down some of the material he happened to leave out examples of proper names; later a scribe who observed that there were no proper names quoted left out κύρια from the beginning of the rule. Both nouns and adjectives are mentioned in the rule as transmitted. Usually in the Epitome, when nouns and adjectives obey the same rule no need is felt to name both προσηγορικά and ἐπίθετα/ἐπιθετικά. The labels προσηγορικά and ἐπίθετα/ἐπιθετικά are added only if there is a distinction with regard to their accentuation (e.g. 82.9–13, 112.5–10).

101.13–102.1 μὴ...102.1 εὐκηλος: εὐκηλος, in fact, has a feminine

form, but what is meant by *μὴ ἔχοντα ἴδια θηλυκὰ* is 'not having a separate form for the feminine'.

101.13–102.1 μὴ...102.1 θηλυκὰ: 'if they do not have a separate feminine form, i.e. if they are two-termination adjectives.' See the discussion in the Introduction, p. 122.

102.10 Πενθίλος: A personal name (*LGPN* I).

103.1–2 μύτιλος...2 ἔσχατος: *μύτιλος* is alternatively written *μίτυλος*. This rare word occurs again in Theoc. *Idyll.* 8.86, sch. Theoc. 8.86b, the *π.μ.λ.* (GG iii.ii 927.6), and Hsch. (μ 1481, μ 1991). The meaning *ἔσχατος* is also attested in Hesychius (μ 1991 and μ 1481), but he also has the meanings *νήπιος* (μ 1991 and μ 1481) and *νέος* (μ 1991).

103.6 στροβιλός: This word (glossed as *συστροφὴ τοῦ ἐχίνου*) occurs nowhere else.

103.7 ἔσβιλος: This word occurs nowhere else. Schmidt's assumption that *ἔσβιλος* equals *ἔσβηνες* is not supported by the ancient sources. Lobeck's conjectures *σέσιλος* and *ἵσπνιλος* (sometimes spelled *εἵσπνιλος* or *εἵσπνηλος* in ancient sources) are close to the transmitted reading, but are not supported by any parallels.

103.7–8 Πάμμιλος...8 σύμφωνα: *Πάμμιλος* has an *α* in the antepenultimate syllable and before it there is a consonant, and thus

the statement of the rule would lead one to expect Πάμμιλος not to be subject to the rule prescribing proparoxytone accentuation. When we get to the point where Πάμμιλος is cited as a proparoxytone example we read ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν συλλήψει τὰ σύμφωνα ('but the consonants are not taken together'). This condition is added in order to explain why Πάμμιλος is proparoxytone even though it falls under the exemption announced at the beginning of the rule, while Καδμῖλος is an ordinary exception. So this condition limiting a set of exceptions to the rule is given not at the beginning of the rule, but at the moment when the specific example to which it refers is cited. See also the discussion of the relevant section of the epitomator's introduction (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει).

103.7 Πάμμιλος: In Hude's edition of Thucydides 6.4.2 and of the scholion to 6.4.2 we read Πάμμιλον (attested in manuscript G) as in our Epitome, while Jones prints the reading of manuscripts A, B, C, E, M Πάμλλον.

103.8 συλλήψει: See the discussion of this grammatical term in the Introduction, p. 119.

103.8–9 Καδμῖλος...9 Ἑρμῆς: Καδμῖλος is usually identified with Ἑρμῆς in the ancient sources (e.g. sch. Lyc. 162, 219, Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 229.13; cf. Eust. *Il.* I 771.30-772.1). For the relation of

Καδμῖλος with other mythological people see *RE* 10.1458-60 s. v.

Kadmilos, *DNP* 6.129 s. v. Kadmilos, *BNP* 2.867 s. v. Cadmilus.

103.11 Ἄσβολος: For information on this mythological name see *RE* 2.1519.

103.13–14 βουκόλος...14 παροξύτονον: βουκόλος does not display proparoxytone accentuation, because it is a compound word.

103.14 τὸ...ὀξύνεται: ὀβολός is a genuine exception because, although it fulfils the conditions mentioned in the rule, it is not proparoxytone.

104.2 κρωβύλος: The manuscripts' κροκύλος is unsuitable here, because the rule prescribes that the antepenultimate vowel should be long. I have adopted *TGL*'s emendation to κρωβύλος, which is supported by three parallel passages (*Theognost. Can.* II 61.14-23 (= 330), *Et. Gud.* α 14.4-7, *EM* 11.5-6, *Et. Sym.* I 36.12-4; see the apparatus of parallel passages). κρωβύλος is both a common noun and a personal name (*LGPN* II, IIIA, VA); in order to allow for both possibilities I have not capitalised the first letter.

104.3 σεσημείωται...ὄγκυλος: βαίτυλος is a genuine exception because, although it fulfils the conditions for the rule, it is not paroxytone. In order for ὄγκυλος to have been a genuine exception, the rule should have read 'ἀπὸ φύσει ἢ θέσει μακρᾱς'. One might

think that the addition of ἡ θέσει would solve the problem here, but there is an obstacle to this solution: ὄγκυλος is attested neither as a common noun nor as a proper name; ὀγκύλον in Hesychius (ο 49) is glossed by σεμνόν and γαῦρον, which points towards an adjective. A number of emendations would have been possible here, e.g. Ἀγκυλος (*LGN* II) or Ὠγυλος (St. Byz. 706.3). None of these conjectures are reinforced by parallel passages, but it should be noted that, (i) Ἀγκυλος is at least palaeographically very close to the transmitted ὄγκυλος, and that (ii) the fact that three parallel passages (*Et. Gud.* α 14.4-7, and *EM* 11.5-6, *Et. Sym.* I 36.12-4) cite ἀγκύλος in the vicinity of Αἰσχύλος, could suggest that Ἀγκυλος as well as ἀγκύλος were both cited in the Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας in the corresponding rule, as often in Pseudo-Arcadius, where adjectives and proper names are often presented side by side to show that the accent distinguishes their meaning (e.g. Λαμπρός - λάμπρος 138.21–22, Φρύγιος - Φρυγίος 73.2–3). It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that if Ἀγκυλος is the right reading here, one would still need to add ἡ θέσει to the condition for the rule.

104.3 βαίτυλος: The manuscripts' αἴτυλος occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have corrected the reading into βαίτυλος on the basis of a passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 61.20-2 (= 330.7-9)),

which although it has Βετύλος, an incorrect spelling for βαίτυλος, quotes the meaning of the word as ὁ λίθος ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν, and thus shows that βαίτυλος is the word meant.

104.3 ὄγκυλος: See note on σεσημειώται ... ὄγκυλος above (104.3).

104.6 μακράν: See note in 74.1 μακράν.

104.14–15 Βακχύλος...15 Χαρμύλος: Personal names (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IV, VA and *LGPN* I, II, IIIA respectively).

104.19–105.1 εἰ...105.1 ἰσοσυλλάβοις: 'if there is I in the antepenultimate syllable, unless a word is a derivative that has the same number of syllables as the word it is derived from'. εἰ ἔχου ... τὸ I and εἰ μὴ ... ἰσοσυλλάβοις are two conditions for the proparoxytone accentuation of the words that have three short syllables and end in -υλος. What makes the second condition less clear is the way it is introduced. It would have been clearer if this condition was introduced by ἢ εἴη. The way εἰ μὴ εἴη follows εἰ ἔχου it as if the second condition is dependent on the first condition, but it is not obvious why this link between the two conditions is to be made. The awkward linking of εἰ ἔχου ... τὸ I with εἰ μὴ εἴη ... ἰσοσυλλάβοις could be due to the epitomator, but seems to be tolerable in terms of the comprehension of the rule. Schmidt (64.12) thought that there was a lacuna after τὸ I. Schmidt's proposed

addition (64.12 app. crit.) is plausible, and corresponds to the order in which the examples appear, first the proparoxytone examples, then the paroxytone ones and then the παρώνυμον Στάφυλος, but τὰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως seems a bit unnatural at that point of the text. In the four cases where the phrase τὰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως occurs in the Epitome (55.6, 107.23-4 (Schmidt), 118.6-7 (Schmidt), 189.8-9 (Schmidt)) it appears just before the specific group of examples that do not follow the rule prescribed, not in the main phrasing of the rule. τὰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως seems redundant at the place where Schmidt suggests its addition, i.e. the kind of superfluous information that the epitomator would most probably not include in our Epitome, even if it ever existed in the original work.

105.1 τίτυλος: This word occurs only in our Epitome and Theognostus (*Can.* II 61.22 (= 330.9)).

105.2 Ἰτυλος: The manuscripts' ἴστυλος occurs nowhere else. I have adopted Göttling's emendation Ἰτυλος, which is a mythological personal name.

105.4–5 τὸ...5 σταφυλή: Στάφυλος is a παρώνυμον ἐν ἰσοσυλλάβοις ('a derivative that has the same number of syllables as the noun it is derived from'), and therefore it is proparoxytone even though it does not have an I in the antepenultimate syllable.

105.5–6 καὶ...6 προπαροξύνεται: Ἄγκυλος is proparoxytone as a proper name, differently from the paroxytone adjective ἀγκύλος. Since the phrasing of the rule does not generally exclude the κύρια from proparoxytone accentuation, one would have expected the beginning of the rule to have given a condition that applies to Ἄγκυλος. On the other hand, the fact that Ἄγκυλος does not have I in the antepenultimate syllable does not justify its accent, unless Ἄγκυλος is regarded as a παρώνυμον ἐν ἰσοσυλλάβοις (Ἄγκυλος may be thought to be a παρώνυμον of ἀγκύλη, with which it has an equal number of syllables). Alternatively, the accentuation of Ἄγκυλος may be justified on the basis of its distinction from the adjective ἀγκύλος. In fact, this would explain the mention of the fact that Ἄγκυλος is a proper name, although nothing was stated at the beginning of the rule regarding words that have the same form, but are accented differently so that a distinction is made between their different meanings. See the discussion of the epitomator's Preface where I discuss conditions that are not stated at the beginning of a rule but emerge during the course of a rule (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει).

105.9 ἱαμβύλος: This word occurs only in our Epitome and Hesychius (ι 45).

106.1 τεύρῶσωλος: The manuscripts' εὐρῶσωλος occurs nowhere

else. A number of emendations have been suggested (see the critical apparatus). I am in favour of Schmidt's emendation on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 62.28 - 63.2 (= 338.1-8)).

106.3-6 τὸ²...**6** διαστάσει: For a discussion of the grammatical terms σύλληψις and διάστασις, and of their occurrence in this passage see the Introduction, pp. 119-21.

106.8 μακρὰν: One should understand both 'φύσει' and 'θέσει'. Otherwise this will not be true for ἀμαρτωλός (this has short α but is in a closed syllable). See also note on 74.1 μακράν, and the discussion of syllables and syllable division in the Introduction, pp. 118-21.

106.14 κούμουλος: I have kept the reading of MO, differently from Schmidt, who printed Lobeck's emendation Κάμουλος (*PSGP* 132). κούμουλος is the Greek form of *cumulus* ('heap, pile'), borrowed from Latin. Johnson - West (1949), 289, 296 mention that κούμουλοι referred to a fee paid to the ship captains. κούμουλος occurs again in Cleopatra (*De ponder. et mensur.* 80.7), Epiphanius (*De mensur. et ponder. (exc. Graec.* 4) 87.12), and Zonaras (σ 1631.12). The word κούμουλον ('a measure, one thirtieth of an artaba' or a kind of 'tax or levy', LSJ revised supplement), which appears to have been an alternative form for κούμουλος, and thus another transliteration for

the latin *cumulus*, occurs in the papyri *P. Oxy.* 3395, l. 12 (371 AD; the papyrus actually has κούμηλα), *P. Oxy.* 4346, l. 8 (380 AD; κούμουλον), *P. Oxy.* 3481, l. 10 (442 AD; the actual reading of the papyrus is κούμελα), *SB* 24, 16270, l. 7 (341 AD; the papyrus in fact has κού), *P. Jena* II, 8, l. 14 (5th - 6th cent. AD; the papyrus' actual reading is κούμαλα), *P. Vindob.* G 13933^v.10 (=ZPE 32, 255, 4th cent. AD), *P. Flor.* 75.21 (380 AD). Johnson - West (1949), 158-9 fail to link κούμουλοι with κούμουλα, saying that 'the κούμουλα are otherwise unknown but may be some form of *sportula*'. The *LBG* s. v. κούμουλος provides us with the meaning '*voll, gehäuft*'.

106.24 σκιαδμός: This word occurs nowhere else.

106.25 †Κύδνος: MO's reading is unsuitable here, because the rule is about words ending in -δμος. A's Κύδμος is probably due to the scribe (who noticed that words in this list ought to end in -μος), but occurs nowhere else. I have conjectured Εὔκαδμος, but with some reserve. Thus, I have kept Κύδνος with a *crux*.

107.2-3 σεσημείωται...3 βαρυνόμενον: κρίθμος is an alternative spelling for κρηθμος. According to Eustathius (*Il.* II. 148.13-149.1; see the apparatus of parallel passages) Homer's commentators said that κρηθμος was recessive, while in copies of Lycophron the word is oxytone. At Lycophron's *Alexandra* 238 most manuscripts have

κηθμοῖσι, but two (*Coislinianus* 345 = *Parisinus* 345 (A in Kinkel's edition, B in Mascialino's edition) and *Palatinus Graecus* 218 (E in Mascialino)) have κρήθμοισι.

107.6 Τρωκμός: Strabo (12.5.1.3, 12.5.2.1, 12.5.2.10, 12.3.39.32) and Stephanus of Byzantium (639.11-2) mention the ethnic designation Τροκμός, which is probably intended to be the same as the reading here. Τρωκμός is only attested in our Epitome.

107.13 βρυσμός: Βρυσμός is the name of a King (*EM* 249.16-7), but is unsuitable here, because the rule is about common nouns. ῥυσμός and βρασμός, which Schmidt conjectures (see the critical apparatus), would have been equally possible. The text cannot be reconstructed with certainty here.

107.15 ἵνα φύγωμεν: 'in order to avoid'.

107.15 Κροῖσμος: The name is attested at *Iliad* 15.523.

107.16 Κάσμος: This name is attested in two inscriptions from Phrygia (Alt. v. Hierapolis 291/292 and Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics* 143, 31).

107.17 <οὐκ...μόνον>: This phrase is unsuitable after Κάσμος, where it is transmitted, and was probably transposed here from its original place after κρουσμός (in which case, as Schmidt points out - see the critical apparatus- one ought to read ἔχον instead of ἔχοντα).

The fact that Κροῖσμος and Κάσμος are not common nouns but proper names is the reason why they are not oxytone, but recessive. The exception for words that are recessive when they have Ο before Σ in the penultimate syllable applies to common nouns, which would otherwise be oxytone, and does not concern proper names. In any case, the name Κάσμος does not even have an Ο before -σμος, and therefore it would not make sense to have the phrase οὐκ ἔχον[τα] τὸ Ο μόνον referring to it. With the citation of οὐκ ἔχον τὸ Ο μόνον, the meaning is that κρουσμός is oxytone, because unlike κόσμος, which has the Ο alone before -σμος, κρουσμός has the Ο together with υ, not alone. The transposition of this phrase after κρουσμός makes sense, because this condition shows why κρουσμός is oxytone although it has Ο in the penultimate. It is possible that the phrase οὐκ ἔχον[τα] τὸ Ο μόνον was later added by a scribe on the basis of the phrase μὴ ἔχοντα ... εἰς Ο μόνον καταλήγον at the beginning of the rule. If this assumption is correct, the phrase οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸ Ο μόνον should be deleted.

107.18 τὸ...ὄν: The fact that σύνδεσμος is said not to be oxytone because it is a compound might suggest that the beginning of the rule should have mentioned that oxytone accentuation applies only to uncompounded words (see the note on 107.10 λήγοντα in the

critical apparatus, with Schmidt's proposed addition of ἀπλᾱ). Nevertheless, it is possible, as happens in other similar cases in Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome, that a condition for the rule is not given at the beginning, but is later stated when an exception is cited (see note on 1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει in the epitomator's preface). It is likely that the epitomator did not write ἀπλᾱ at the beginning of the rule, because he thought that readers would easily infer from what they would read later about σύνδεσμος, that the oxytone accentuation applied only to uncompounded words. However, the Περί καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας might have included the word ἀπλᾱ at the beginning of the rule, as Choeroboscus does in the *Epimerismi in psalmos* (76.6-7; see the full citation in the apparatus of parallel passages).

108.2–3 τὸ¹...3 βαρύνεται: The manuscripts' ἄλμος is nowhere else attested as a recessive common noun. An oxytone noun ἄλμος, a gloss for φρίκη, is attested in the *Synagoge* (Σα φ 199) and the *Suda* (φ 713), but which on the basis of *EM* 800.24 should read παλμός in the *Synagoge* and the *Suda*. Since no common noun ἄλμος is attested, and since Choeroboscus' *Epimerismi in Psalmos* (1.25-8) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (817.27-30) (see the apparatus of parallel passages) mention ὄλμος (= ὄλμος) after ψαλμός and ἰνδαλμός, it is

possible that the right reading is Ὀλμος, not Ἄλμος. In this case the corresponding common noun which is also recessive is ὄλμος. The correspondence of Ὀλμος with ὄλμος, a word with a rough breathing, does not create any problems, because the linking is between two words that have the same form (Herodian includes breathings in the prosodies, and this could suggest that the breathing is not considered part of the word, properly speaking), and because, in any case, the word ὄλμος often occurs with a smooth breathing (ὀλμος) in the manuscripts of ancient texts, and it is possible that Herodian shared the view that the word had a smooth breathing. For the breathing of the word ὄλμος see *DELG* and *LSJ* s. v.

A scribe could easily have written Ἄλμος instead of Ὀλμος under the influence of the ending -αλμος found in the majority of the preceding examples. The manuscripts' Ἄλμος can also be explained by the fact that Ἄλμος is a variant form for Ὀλμος (Paus. calls him Ἄλμος in 2.4.3.3, 9.34.10, but Ὀλμος in 9.24.3.6), and perhaps the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* contained an indication that the name of this mythological person had two alternative forms, but the epitomator in his attempt to cut material down kept Ἄλμος and left Ὀλμος out. Thus the recessive *προσηγορικόν* implied is ὄλμος, which would correspond to the proper name Ὀλμος.

Schmidt's conjecture adding Ὀλμος (= Ὀλμος) and keeping Ἄλμος (see the critical apparatus) is plausible, and could in fact represent the text of the Περί καθολικῆς προσφῳδίας, but the phrasing τὸ δὲ ... τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ προσηγορικὸν in the Epitome suggests that only one proper name should be expected here.

108.8 μνάμμος: I have retained the manuscripts' μνάμμος with some reserve. μνάμμος occurs nowhere else. The word ἄμναμος could have been glossed by ἔκγονος. In other ancient sources ἄμναμος is glossed by ἔγγονος (Hsch. α 3714), υἱοῦ υἱός (Hsch. α 3715), and ἀπόγονος (sch. Lyc. 144.12, *Et. Gen.* α 659.1, *Su.* α 1607, *EM* 84.44, *Et. Sym.* I 410.18, Zonar. α 143.5). If ἄμναμος is the reading intended here then we need to assume that there is a lacuna before ἔτι καὶ τὸ, because ἄμναμος does not end in -μμος.

108.11 Κνημμος: The manuscripts' κρημμος is not otherwise known as a proper name. Κνημμος is a personal name (*LPGN* IIIA), and is attested in Theognostus (*Can.* II 63.4 (= 339.2)).

108.11 Σημμος: The manuscripts' φημμος is only attested as a proper name in Theognostus (*Can.* II 63.5 (= 339.3)). Nauck's Σημμος is a personal name (*LGPN* I, II).

108.11 Ρημμος: The manuscripts' περημμος is nowhere else attested as

a proper name. I have adopted Nauck's Ῥῆμος, which is attested in Theognostus (*Can.* II 63.5 (= 339.3)).

109.4 ῥόμος...σκώληξ: The word ῥόμος occurs again, with the gloss σκώληξ ἐν ξύλοις in Hesychius (ϙ 437).

109.7–8 χυμός...8 θυμός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' θυμός χυμός to χυμός θυμός, in order to allow for θυμός and θύμος, two words of the same form but of different accent, to appear next to each other. It is common in the Epitome to have pairs of words of the same form next to each other so that a distinction is made between their different accents.

109.8 θύμος...κύριον: A personal name (*LGPN* IV (Θῦμος)). I have not capitalised it, because the same word refers to the common noun in this passage.

109.8–10 τὸ²...10 ὀξύνηται: δρυμός is normally oxytone, because it has long υ. I have not capitalised the word because it also refers to the common noun in this passage.

110.2–3 εἰ...3 τάττοιτο: 'If they are nouns that refer to a substance'. The distinction here seems to be between tangible and intangible nouns, but this is roughly the equivalent to what modern scholars would call concrete and abstract nouns correspondingly, though the criteria for dividing concrete from abstract may be surprising from a

modern point of view. Cf. Ps.-Arcad. 121.4-9 (Schmidt), where the phrase οὐσίαν σημαίνει is exemplified by πέδη, κνίδη and σίδη, which all refer to tangible objects, as opposed to the examples κομιδή (ἡ ἐπιμέλεια), ἀδή (ἡ ἡδονή), φραδή (ἡ βουλή), χλιδή (ὁ κόσμος).

110.4–5 τὸ...5 βαρύνεται: κῶμος is recessive, because it does not refer to a tangible object.

110.5–6 καὶ²...6 κύριον: The manuscripts' Ὠμός is a personal name, while βῶμος is a common noun. Therefore, there must be something wrong with the transmitted word order in this phrase, since it does not make sense if the characterization κύριον comes after a common noun. There are three possible solutions to this problem, the first two suggested by Schmidt and the third one by me. According to Schmidt one should either invert the order of Ὠμός and βῶμος, so that κύριον comes right after Ὠμός, or replace βῶμος with the proper name Βῶμος. I have replaced the manuscripts' βῶμος with the proper name Κῶμος. This solution is based on a further suggestion of Schmidt's (the second one reported in the critical apparatus), changing Ὠμός καὶ βῶμος to βῶμος καὶ Κῶμος. It is uneconomical to reject the manuscripts' Ὠμός, which is in any case a proper name, so as to keep βῶμος, and then add Κῶμος, which is not attested in the manuscript tradition.

However, my proposal makes use of the suggestion that Κρῶμος is to be read where βρῶμος is transmitted. This is attractive on palaeographical grounds since β and κ can interchange in minuscule. For information on Κρῶμος see *RE* 11.1975.

110.6–7 ὥσπερ...7 ὦμος: The manuscripts' πῶλος in connection with words ending in -ωμος is unexpected, and it seems that we are dealing with a scribal error. I have adopted Schmidt's suggested emendation ὦμος (68.12 app. crit.). Theognostus (*Can.* 341; see the apparatus of parallel passages) presents ὦμος in the vicinity of ψωμός, ζωμός, and θωμός. ὦμος could have been mentioned here as an example of a word which is not oxytone because it does not start with a consonant; cf. sch. Hom. *Il.* 3.35b1, where ὦμος appears in the vicinity of μῶμος. I consider Schmidt's other suggestion, πρῶμος, a bit less likely, because it is not supported by any evidence in the ancient sources, although it is slightly closer to πῶλος than ὦμος.

111.2–3 τὸ...3 βαρύνεται: Δεῖμος is a genuine exception: it fulfils the conditions for the rule, but is nevertheless recessive. For οἶμος one should infer from the condition ἀπὸ συμφώνου ἀρχόμενα that the reason why the word is not oxytone is because it does not start with a consonant.

111.9 φύσει: I have emended θέσει into φύσει. The first syllables (reckoned from the beginning of the word) of Πύραμος and Σήσαμος cannot be called long by position, because they are open syllables (i.e. they are not followed by a consonant). On the other hand, both words have a long first vowel, so the first syllable of each of the two words can be called φύσει μακρά. Two parallel passages (sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.228a.6-15, Eust. *Il.* IV 893.6-7; see the apparatus of parallel passages) support this emendation.

112.2 Σήσαμος: I have adopted Lobeck's emendation of the manuscripts' σίσαμος to Σήσαμος, which is a personal name (*LGPN* I, VA). Of Lobeck's two emendations for transmitted σίσαμος I consider this one more likely than Κίσαμος, because a change of Σήσαμος to Σίσαμος would be an easy iotacistic mistake. The two parallel passages that have σίσαμος instead of Σήσαμος (*Et. Gud.* π 479.23-5 and *EM* 688.16-8) could have made the mistake either independently of or under the influence of a Herodianic source common to these texts and Pseudo-Arcadius.

112.5–6 εἰ...6 συμφώνων: The examples do not start with two consonants, so strictly speaking the condition is not met. Two parallel passages that share the examples ὄρχαμος and Πέργαμος (sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.228a.6-8 and Eust. *Il.* IV 893.5-6; see the apparatus of

parallel passages) allow us to explain the obscurity in Pseudo-Arcadius. The phrasing of the conditions of both parallel passages says τὰ ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχουσαν μακράν (θέσει). If we try to combine the two conditions, that is to say the need for a ‘positionally long’ initial syllable as prescribed by the two parallel passages, and the need for two consonants at the beginning of the word, we get the idea that what is meant here is ‘if the first syllable (reckoned from the beginning of the word) is long by position as a result of the vowel of the first syllable being followed by two consonants’.

113.1 Ἐχεμος: A personal name (*LGPN* VA).

113.5–6 ἔρημος...6 ποιητῇ: For some discussion of this and related passages see Probert (2004), 283-5.

113.6 παρὰ...ποιητῇ: In Homer; see also Probert (2004), 283-5.

113.6 ἦμος: The manuscripts’ ἦμος is attested again at the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ι 269.7), but it seems to be just an intermediate form that serves to derive ἰάλεμος from ἦμι. λήμος in Hesychius is a *hapax* which is very close to the manuscripts’ ἦμος, but there is no special reason why one should adopt this reading, and thus the text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

113.12 ἀνδρομος: This rare word occurs again in the *Etymologicum*

Genuinum (α 825.3), the *Etymologicum Magnum* (102.44) and Zonaras (δ 508.17).

113.13 **θέομος**: This is nowhere else attested, and could be a *vox nihili*. Dindorf's emendation Δίομος is supported by two parallel passages (*Et. Gen.* α 825, *EM* 102.43-7), where Δίομος appears in the vicinity of ἄνδρομος and κέρτομος. δέομος attested in the *Suda* (δ 240) is closer to the manuscripts' θέομος, since it requires the change of a single letter, but is not supported by any parallels.

113.14 **ἀγροκόμος**: M's ἀγριονόμος and O's ἀγριοκόμος are scribal errors. Lentz' emendation of ἀγριονόμος to ἀγρονόμος is plausible, but I have written ἀγροκόμος, which is an emendation of O's ἀγριοκόμος. ἀγροκόμος is more difficult and less frequent than ἀγρονόμος.

114.3 **ἔρυμος**: This rare word occurs again at Theognostus *Can.* II 64.31 (= 346.4) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* 603.13 (see the apparatus of parallel passages). Hesychius (ε 6096) has Ἐρυμός glossed by Ζεύς, ζυγός ('yoke, cross-bar'), and ζεύγλη ('loop attached to the yoke, yoke, cross-bar'). Theognostus presents ἔρυμος as an alternative form for ῥυμός ('pole of a chariot or car, log, block'). ἔρυμος is probably the same as Hesychius ἐρυμός; the accentuation

of the Hesychius manuscript should not be trusted (see also note on 19.1 οἰζών).

114.4 κωλυμός: The manuscripts' κολουμός occurs nowhere else. I have adopted Lobeck's emendation κωλυμός (*PGG* 423), which is supported by a parallel passage from the *Epimerismi Homerici* (v 47); see the full citation in the apparatus of parallel passages). A scribe could easily have made an orthographical error at a time when both ω and ο were pronounced [o]. κωλυμός occurs again only in the *Epimerismi Homerici* and in Didymus Caecus' *Commentarii in Psalmos* 29-34 (226.2, but transmitted with the accent on the antepenultimate). It is probably a synonym for κάλυμα and κωλύμη.

114.7-8 κυδοιμός... 8 ταραχή: ἡ ταραχή is a gloss, which refers to κυδοιμός, and thus should have appeared right after κυδοιμός. There are two pieces of evidence for considering that ἀθροισμός and ἀφλοισμός are not genuine readings. Firstly, they do not end in -οιμος as the rule prescribes but in -οισμος, and secondly their position which dislocates κυδοιμός from its gloss ἡ ταραχή. ἀθροισμός and ἀφλοισμός have probably been added by a scribe, and thus should be deleted. The insertion of ἀθροισμός and ἀφλοισμός must have happened in two steps: firstly a scribe might have added the two words in the margin, and then someone else

decided to incorporate them into the main text, but added them clumsily between κυδοιμός and ἡ ταραχή.

115.2 ἀλύδοιμος...οἰκτρός: ἀλύδοιμος is a rare word: it occurs again in Hesychius (α 3284) and Theognostus (*Can.* II 65.5 (= 347.6); see the apparatus of parallel passages). Hesychius gives πικρός as a gloss for ἀλύδοιμος, not οἰκτρός as in our Epitome. As Kaibel ((1899), 176, fr. 139) observed, in the Suda (α 1426) (and also in Zonar. α 123.15) instead of ἀλύδοιμος ὁ οἰκουρός one should probably read ἀλύδοιμος ὁ οἰκτρός, as in our Epitome.

115.5–6 τὸ...6 θηλυκόν: λάγνος is not oxytone, because it is not used of females.

115.9–116.1 τῶν...116.1 ἀντιστοιχῶν: Here this term refers to the unaspirated voiceless stops κ-π-τ and the corresponding aspirated consonants χ-φ-θ. On the term ἀντίστοιχα see also note on 47.4 <> ἐσθής.

116.5 μόρφνος...μέλας: The meaning of the word μόρφνος is doubtful. Several meanings are attested in ancient sources: (i) μέλας is attested at our Epitome, D sch. Hom. *Il.* 12.316, Eust. *Il.* IV 910.21, Zonar. μ 1368.6-7, μ 1371.23 (this latter passage has also the synonym σκοτεινός together with the Suda μ 1268), *EM* 591.20; (ii) ὁ ταχὺς καὶ δυνατὸς καταλαβεῖν is attested at Orion μ 103.11-4 and *EM*

591.19-20 (in this passage we also read the synonym ὁ καταλαμβάνων); an *Iliad* scholion deriving from Herodian (sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.316a1.4-5) gives us the variation ὁ συλλαμβάνων (this scholion provides us also with the synonym ταχύς without the rest of the supplement); cf. the meanings ἄρπαξ at D sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.316, συλληπτικὸς τῶν διωκομένων at Eust. *Il.* IV 910.22); (iii) φόνιος is mentioned at D sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.316, Orion μ 103.11-4, Eust. *Il.* IV 910.18-9, *EM* 591.24; Zonaras (μ 1368.7-9) has the phrase ὁ ἐπιφέρων τοῖς ὄρνισι φόνον; (iv) the meaning ‘kind of eagle’ is attested at D sch. Hom. *Il.* 24.316, Hsch. μ 1694, Σα μ 270 (lemma μορφνόν), Phot. μ 542, *Su.* μ 1269, and Zonar. μ 1368.4; (v) the meaning εὐμορφος is provided by Eustathius (*Il.* IV 910.20). In addition to the uncertainty about its meaning, μόρφνος is sometimes taken to be an adjective and sometimes a noun in the ancient sources. The passage of our Epitome is interesting because it shows that Herodian took the word to be an adjective. On the meaning and the status of μόρφνος either as an adjective or a noun see also the notes on μόρφνος in Probert (2006), 356 and 362-3.

117.2 ἐπιθετικώτερον: ‘rather adjective-like’.

117.6 Τύμνος: The manuscripts’ τέμνος is an intermediate stage in ancient etymologies for τέμενος (see *Et. Gud.* τ 525.42-3, *EM*

751.42-3), but I doubt that Herodian would have cited an intermediate form as an example. I have adopted Schmidt's suggested emendation Τύμνος (71.9 app. crit.), the name of a city in Caria (St. Byz. 641.11).

117.7–8 στυμνός...8 σκληρός: στυμνός is a rare word; it occurs again in Hesychius (σ 2078, also with the gloss σκληρός is attested here as well) and in the *Fragmenta Alchemica* (P. Holm., fr. 107.4).

117.11 Λάτυμνος: A Laconian or Crotonian mountain (see sch. Theoc. 4.19b).

117.11 Λύκαμνος: This word is nowhere else attested. There is no evidence to support Schmidt's emendation Λύραμνος (71.13 app. crit.).

117.12 Αἴσυμνος: A personal name (LGPN IV).

117.16 Κύννος: A mythological personal name: Apollod. *Epit.* 7.28.4 (accented Κῦννος), St. Byz. 393.19.

117.17 Δάτυννος: The manuscripts' δάθυννος occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. I have conjectured Δάτυννος, which is a personal name (LGPN IIIB). Δάτυννος could easily have become δάθυννος under the influence of the word θύννος earlier on. A number of other emendations are possible (see the critical apparatus), but Δάτυννος is the closest to the manuscripts' reading.

118.4 Φαλέρνος Πατέρνος: The accent of these two words is sometimes proparoxytone in other sources where it occurs (for the proparoxytone accent of Φαλέρνος see Plb. 3.90.11.1, Str. 5.3.6.60, 5.4.3.34, App. *Bell. civ.* 1.6.47.1, M. Ant. 6.13.1.3, sch. Luc. 73.23.6; for the proparoxytone accent of Πατέρνος see D. C. 72.5.2.4, *Hist. rom.* (*Xiph. epit.*) S 270.18, Pallad. *Dial. vit. Chrys.* 18.1, Jo. Laur. Lyd. *De magistr. pop. rom.* 20.2, 74.18, Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus *De virtut. et vit.* II, 375.16). It is noteworthy that the accent prescribed by Pseudo-Arcadius is the Latin position of the accent. On the accentuation of Latin loan words in Greek see the discussion in Probert (2006), 132-6, where it is argued that the paroxytone accent Pseudo-Arcadius prescribes for Φαλέρνος and Πατέρνος shows that sometimes the Latin accent was retained when a word was borrowed into Greek. Clarysse (1997) and Kramer (1998) have argued, against Wackernagel (1926, 57-9) that the position of the Latin accent never influences the accentuation of a Latin word borrowed into Greek. For criticism of this view as too extreme see Radt (1998, 1999), and again the discussion in Probert (2006), 132-6.

118.7 Τάνος: A city in Crete (St. Byz. 602.1).

118.7 Θράνος: The manuscripts' πάνος occurs nowhere else, and is a *falsa lectio* for θράνος (see LSJ s. v.).

118.9 φανός: This is an example of both groups of words that are oxytone, since it is both an adjective ('bright') and a common noun ('torch'), whose oxytone accent distinguishes it from the personal name Φάνος/Φᾶνος (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, VA).

118.9–10 τὸ...10 βαρύνεται: πλάνος is recessive even though it is an adjective.

118.10 καὶ...μικρός: In other sources (sch. Clem. Alexandr. 337.25, Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 239.21) νᾶνος is glossed by μικρὸς ἄνθρωπος.

119.2 Σφῆνος...τόπος: The manuscripts' Φῆνος is a river name according to Theognostus (*Can.* II 65.31 (= 352.5)), not a place name. Theognostus (*Can.* II 65.28-9 (= 352.2-3)) says that Σφῆνος is a place name. I have written Σφῆνος, differently from Schmidt (72.9) who retained the inconsistency between Φῆνος and ὁ τόπος, providing two suggestions in his apparatus. I disagree with Schmidt's first suggestion, while I consider the second reasonable but not especially likely. Schmidt's first suggestion is weak, because it is a lot easier to imagine that a careless scribe omitted the initial sigma of Σφῆνος due to haplography (Τῆνος ends in sigma and Σφῆνος begins with sigma) than that the epitomator or a scribe wrote Φῆνος but then wrote ὁ τόπος instead of ὄνομα ποταμοῦ, or even that the epitomator or a scribe omitted Σφῆνος between Φῆνος and ὁ τόπος.

If both Φῆνος and Σφῆνος are to be expected in this rule, it is a bit strange that we are given an explanation for Σφῆνος but not for Φῆνος, even though both words are rather uncommon. Schmidt's second conjecture can be supported on the basis of Theognostus' parallel passage (*Can.* II 65.27-33 (= 352); see the apparatus of parallel passages), which presents both Φῆνος and Σφῆνος in the same rule as Τῆνος, Ῥῆνος, φηνός, πτηνός and ληνός, but the fact that the order in which these examples appear in Theognostus is the same as in Pseudo-Arcadius, together with the fact that Σφῆνος in Theognostus appears between Τῆνος and Ῥῆνος (more specifically after Τῆνος Ἦνος, and right before Ῥῆνος), while Φῆνος is cited considerably later, suggest that one should expect Σφῆνος rather than Φῆνος here. Lentz (176.5-13) in his reconstruction of Herodian's rule included both Φῆνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ and Σφῆνος ὄνομα τόπου, but the fact that he places Φῆνος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ between Τῆνος and Ῥῆνος suggests to me that he considered that what Pseudo-Arcadius had at this point was Φῆνος rather than Σφῆνος. Thus, I have not entirely attributed the emendation to Lentz.

119.8 εἰ...εἴη: e.g. Κῶνος

119.9 Θυνός: The ethnic designation of a person from Θυνία (St. Byz. θ 75). The citation of Θυνός in this accentuation rule, which

exempts proper names from oxytone accentuation, is another piece of evidence for the fact that ethnic designations are not regarded as proper names but as adjectives. I have capitalised the word, differently from Schmidt.

120.1 Πρωῶνος: A Cretan city name (Theognost. *Can.* II 66.16 (= 356.3); see the apparatus of parallel passages).

120.4 Αὔαινος: A personal or place name mainly known from the expression Αὔαίνου λίθος from Aristophanes, *Frogs* 194. See Radermacher (1921), 166, Dover (1993), 216-7, Sommerstein (1999), 174-5.

120.8 γλαυνός: This word occurs nowhere else. According to LSJ this is a kind of tunic in Pollux 7.48, but the edition has κεραυνός.

121.3–4 σεσημείωται...4 Σικανός: πελανός, οὐρανός, and Σικανός are genuine exceptions, because although they fulfil the conditions for the rule, they are not proparoxytone.

121.7 ἡδανός: This word occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical works (e.g. sch. Hom. *Il.* 14.172a2.1, 14.172a3.1, Orion ε 57.2, ε 62.1, *Et. Gud.* (addit.) ε 399.20, *EM* 315.32, Eust. *Il.* III 603.4, Zonar. ε 612.16, ε 613.22).

121.11 <>: Schmidt (73.18) considers that there is a lacuna after προπαροξύνονται, because the beginning of the rule has the

condition ‘unless there is δ or ε or ι before α ’, but the manuscripts provide examples only for words that have δ before α . It is, nevertheless, possible that the epitomator left out the examples of the other two groups of words for the sake of brevity, considering the citation of examples that belonged to the first group to be sufficient.

121.13–14 $\pi\iota\theta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$...**14** $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$: In the manuscripts $\pi\iota\theta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (‘persuasive, plausible’) is followed by the gloss $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ (‘mild, soft, gentle’) but $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ is not a proper gloss for $\pi\iota\theta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Schmidt noticed this problem, and made a note of it in his critical apparatus but offered no solution. I have added $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (‘mild, gentle’), which could well have been glossed by $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$, and is suitable in this rule because it both ends in $-\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, and is $\tau\rho\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. My conjecture is reinforced by the *Iliad* scholion 14.172a1 deriving from Herodian, where $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ immediately precedes $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, and appears in the vicinity of $\pi\iota\theta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\iota\kappa\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Furthermore, in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (380.1) $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\omega$ $\pi\iota\theta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ immediately precede $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$.

122.8 $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha$: ‘derivatives from compounds’.

122.8–12 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$...**12** $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$: This part of the rule, which contains the three cases where the oxytone accentuation does not apply, is left without any examples. As regards masculine words in $-\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ derived

from feminine words, Lentz in his reconstruction of the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* (181.31-3) provides us with the examples Ὑπηνος (Ὑπήνη), Μύκηνος (Μυκήνη), and Κύλληνος (Κυλλήνη), on the basis of Theognostus' *Canones* (II 68.6-7 (=368.3-4); ἰπήνη ἵπηνος should be written Ὑπήνη Ὑπηνος as in Lentz). As regards words whose nominative was considered to be formed on the basis of the genitive Lentz (181.34-182.5) obtains the examples Τροιζήνος (Theognostus has Τροίζηνος at II 68.6 (= 368.3)) and Γέρηνος from Theognostus (*Can.* II 68.4-6 (= 368.1-3)) and Stephanus of Byzantium (Τροιζήνος: γ 58.1-2, Γέρηνος: γ 60.6-7). As regards the third case Lentz (182.6-7) derives the examples τοσσῆνος (Doric for τοσοῦτος) and τοιῆνος (Doric for τοιοῦτος) from Ahrens (1843), 270, n. 7) and Lobeck (*PSGP* 191).

123.3–4 ἡ...4 ἐπιρρήματος: e.g. πρωϊνός, ὀψινός, χθεσινός (cf. Lentz's reconstruction 182.18).

123.7–8 καρκίνος...8 προπερισπᾶσθαι: As the text stands καρκίνος appears to stand alone, without any link with the previous or the following sentence. The previous sentence is about the words that are properispomenon, and thus καρκίνος, which is paroxytone, cannot be part of the list of properispomenon words.

Furthermore, it is difficult to link καρκίνος with the phrase ἐχρῆν

καὶ τὸ γυρῖνος προπερισπᾶσθαι ('γυρῖνος too should have been properispomenon'), in MO, because καρκίνος and γυρῖνος have different accents. If the meaning was that καρκίνος should have been properispomenon like γυρῖνος, in which case one ought to emend καὶ τὸ into κατὰ τό (this is actually the reading of BC), this is not clear for two reasons. Firstly, because καρκίνος has short ι, and thus does not satisfy the conditions for the rule. Secondly, because there is no reason why the accentuation of καρκίνος should be parallel to the accentuation of γυρῖνος in particular, and in any case it is not made clear in the rule why γυρῖνος is treated separately from the other properispomenon words.

One would be tempted to delete καρκίνος, but a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 67.19-22 (= 364); see the apparatus of parallel passages) provides evidence for the citation of καρκίνος by Herodian in this rule.

123.7–8 τὸ ... 8 βάτραχος: One would have expected the meaning ὁ μικρὸς βάτραχος to be given right after γυρῖνος, without the intervention of προπερισπᾶσθαι.

123.15–16 τὸ ... 16 ὀξύνηται: λαρινός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule (it is an adjective and has long ι), it is nevertheless oxytone.

124.9–10 τὸ ... 10 μετήχθη: For the grammarians' general view that the genitive of μόσσυν is turned into a nominative cf. sch. D. T. *Lond.* 549.3-5; *Ep. Hom.* 66,a.2-4, 66,a.6-7; St. Byz. γ 58.1-2, Choerob. in *Theod.* 115.29-30, 121.9-13, 270.15-7, *Ep. Ps.* 68.9-12, 88.11-2, *De Orthogr.* 168.24-5, 241.12-4; Theognost. *Can.* II 68.4-7 (= 368); *Et. Parv.* μ 27; *Et. Gen.* α 1209.1-5; *Et. Gud.* α 201.3-8, α 201.16-202.1, α 203.2-4, λ 359.21-3, μ 397.36-8, σ 512.19-21, σ 512.29-31, τ 526.3-7, τ 538.30-3, υ 537.54-5, υ 540.54-7; *EM* 146.20, 146.32-3, 242.27-30, 268.10-1, 490.18-21, 505.2-4, 514.43-5, 553.13-6, 602.25-7, 718.20-4, 752.12-4, 770.34-5, 773.33-5, 775.25-6; *Et. Sym.* II 216.15-7, II 318.27-9.

125.4 κορωνός προσηγορικών: κορωνός is an adjective, but here the term προσηγορικών is used to describe it. προσηγορικών usually refers to common nouns, but perhaps the use of προσηγορικών for κορωνός suggests that adjectives are not excluded from προσηγορικά and that the term προσηγορικών is used to distinguish common nouns and adjectives on the one hand and proper names on the other.

125.5–8 θηλυκὰ ... 8 ὀξύνεται: Given that at the beginning of the rule we read θηλυκὰ as a condition for recessive accentuation, and since among the examples the plant name πύξος, a common noun, is mentioned, one would have expected to read ὡς ἀρσενικόν after

ἰξός, not ὡς προσηγορικών. However, it is possible that the rule initially said θηλυκὰ κύρια, and that the epitomator or a scribe omitted κύρια. If this is true, then ὡς προσηγορικών would be a satisfactory reason why ἰξός is not recessive. As regards the plant name πύξος, this word is not mentioned in its own right but only as an additional meaning of Πύξος, which rightfully appears in its capacity as a proper name.

125.5 Λίπαξος: A Thracian city name (St. Byz. 418.7).

125.6 Ἄραξος ἀκρωτήριον: A cape in Eleia (Str. 8.7.5.59-60).

125.9 Κοραξός...ἐθνικόν: A Colchian (St. Byz. 373.5) or Scythian (Hsch. κ 3584) ethnic designation.

126.1 Λάμπρος...κύριον: A personal name (*LGPN* II, IIIA, IIIB, IV).

126.1–2 λαμπρός...2 ἐπίθετον: λαμπρός is a *hapax*.

126.3–4 μῆ...4 συμφώνων: e.g. κομπός, πομπός (this can be used as either a noun or an adjective; as an adjective it exemplifies this condition). The phrasing of this condition suggests that the only group of adjectives that is exempted from the recessive accentuation consists of those with ο in the penultimate syllable and with at least one consonant before -πος. However, the end of the rule τὸ μέντοι σκοπός ὁξύνεται, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπίθετα ... χαλεπός suggests that the adjectives in -πος are supposed to be oxytone in general, and in any

case, this is confirmed by the examples cited (λοιπός, γρυπός, χαλεπός).

126.5 εἰ...ποιοίη: i. e. if the change of accent does not mark any distinction of meaning, e.g. τρόπος as opposed to τροπός.

126.5–6 ὑποστρέφει...**6** παραληγόμενον: 'it goes back to a verb that has ε in the penultimate syllable', e.g. πομπός < πέμπω.

126.16 κελαινωπός: This word is a *hapax*.

126.18 εἰ...Ω: This is an exception that applies only to adjectives ending in -ωπος (e.g. αἰμωπός, κελαινωπός, πολυωπός, mentioned in the previous rule); the proper names and common nouns with Ω in the penultimate syllable are dealt with separately later in this rule.

126.19 Ἀροπος: A personal name (*LGPN* II).

126.20 Ἀστέροπος: A personal name; it does not occur in the nominative anywhere else, but the genitive Ἀστερόπου (sch. E. *Or.* 383.11) presupposes a nominative Ἀστέροπος.

127.1 σεσημειώται...ὀξυνόμενον: ἀτραπός is feminine and therefore is not proparoxytone.

127.4 Ἴνωπός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' οἰνωπός to Ἴνωπός, on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (see the apparatus of parallel passages and the critical apparatus).

127.5 Ἀσωπός: Αἰσωπός in Theognostus (II 69.19 (= 380.3); see the apparatus of parallel passages) should probably be emended to Ἀσωπός on the basis of our Epitome's passage. The other possibility, to read Αἴσωπος, is less likely, because Αἴσωπος occurs later in the same rule in Theognostus.

127.5 Ὠρωπός: The manuscripts' ὀρωπός is a scribal error. Schmidt emended to Ὠρωπός, which is transmitted in a parallel passage from Theognostus (see the critical apparatus and the apparatus of parallel passages).

127.9–10 ἐπὶ...10 μόνου: 'used only in the feminine form'. ὁ στενωπός and ἡ στενωπή are both used as common nouns, and therefore the phrase ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ μόνου does not make any sense here. In Poll. 9.38.1, Eust. *Il.* I 256.28, IV 756.7, Man. Phil. *Carm.* 2.244.15, Jo. Lazar. *Syn. mir. s. Eug.* 1189, the form στενωπός is feminine. Theodor. Nic. *Enc. s. Petr. episc. Ar.* 196 and Anna Comn. *Alex.* 6.14.2.5-6 could be suggesting that the gender is feminine. Despite these passages where στενωπός is feminine, in the majority of the cases it is masculine. Thus, one cannot easily understand why our text here seems to suggest that στενωπός is used only in the feminine form. There are two possible solutions to this problem: (i) either one should add a negation before the phrase ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ

μόνου, so that the meaning is that στενωπός, differently from e.g. ἄνθρωπος is oxytone because it is not only used in the masculine, but also in the feminine; (ii) alternatively, one may assume that some further information was added in connection with ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ μόνου, something that had to do with where (in which authors or works) one could find στενωπός as a feminine rather than more widely as a masculine.

127.16 φάρος: Either a common noun, φάρος, ό, or a proper name, the island Φάρος, ή. I have not capitalised the word, in order to allow for both possibilities.

127.17 μναρός: A rare word. Apart from the gloss ήδύς given here and in some other texts (Hsch. μ 1493, Phot. μ 480, Su. μ 1146), these other sources give another three glosses: (i) μαλακός (Hsch. μ 1493, Phot. μ 480, Su. μ 1146), (ii) θυμήρης (Hsch. μ 1493), (iii) ῥάδιος (Phot. μ 480).

127.18 βλαρός: In the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (II, 257) βλαρος (without accent) is glossed as *insulsus* ('awkward, bungling, silly, absurd, tasteless'), βλαρον (without accent) as *inconditum* ('irregular, disordered, confused, unformed'), and βλαρουμαι as *insulsor* (this word is a *hapax*, and probably means 'be βλαρος'). In the *Anecdota*

Medica Graeca (171, κεφ. ε'/cap. 5) the word βλαρία is explained as ἄση ('loathing, distress, vexation').

127.20 Σῆρος: A river name (Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* 7.2.10.3, 7.2.7.12).

127.20 Τρηρος: A place in Thrace (St. Byz. 634.3) or a river name (Str. 5.3.9.26).

127.20 Ἴηρος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA (Ἴηρος)).

127.21 εἰ...ἄρχοιντο: 'unless they start with more than one consonant'.

128.1 φηρός: ἡ τροφή τῶν (ἀρχαίων Hsch. φ 363) θεῶν' (Theognost. *Can.* II 69.30-1 (= 382.4-5); Hsch. φ 363, but the lemma is φῆρον). This rare word occurs only in our Epitome and the two above-mentioned sources.

128.4 εἰ...ἄρχοιτο: I have adopted Lentz's emendation of the manuscripts' μῆ to μέν, because both σ and ξ counted as ἡμίφωνα, as well as λ, otherwise it would not be necessary to explain why λῆρος is not oxytone (on ἡμίφωνα see Dickey (2007), 240).

128.7 Πίρος: I have retained the manuscripts' Πίρος, although a river name Πεῖρος is mentioned by Herodotus (1.145.10) and Pausanias (7.18.1.2, 7.22.1.7). The orthography with an iota is indicated in the Epitome by the phrase παραληγόμενα τῷ I. A piece of evidence which supports the reading of our Epitome's manuscripts is that two

parallel passages from texts which have derived material from Herodian in some form (Theognost. *Can.* II 69.32 (= 382.6), *EM* 475.26; see the apparatus of parallel passages; cf. Zonar. π 1548.12, but Πίρος ι 1120.3) preserve the river name Πίρος. In fact, Theognostus explicitly prescribes the orthography with an iota for the four proper names Ἰρος, Πίρος, Τίρος and Σκῖρος. The parallel passages that mention the river name Πίρος do not indicate where this river is, and thus it is not easy to find out whether Πίρος and Πειρος point to the same river. I have put an acute rather than a circumflex on the iota, following the manuscript tradition of our Epitome and Theognostus (*Can.* 382.6), *Etymologicum Magnum* (475.26), and Zonaras (π 1548.12).

128.7 Τίρος: A river name (Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 269.6, *EM* 475.26-7).

128.8 Σκίρος: Either (i) a personal name (*LGPN* II), or (ii) a κατοικία ('colony') of Arcadia (St. Byz. 575.7), or (iii) an alternative name for the Σκιροφόρια or Σκίρα (sch. Pl. *Lg.* 828d.3, St. Byz. 575.15-576.1 (accented Σκῖρος), *Su.* σ 624 (accented Σκῖρος)), or (iv) the name of a Salaminian hero (Plu. *Thes.* 17.6.1-3, St. Byz. 575.10-1, Phot. σ 522.10-1, *Su.* σ 624.6-7).

129.1 E... EI: I have inverted the order in which ει and ε appear in the manuscripts, so that ει is next to διφθόγγω.

129.3 πτόρος: A rare word; it occurs only in our Epitome, the *Etymologicum Magnum* (694.51) and Zonaras (π 1590.25).

129.3 πτείρω: I have kept the reading of the manuscripts. This present indicative is attested alongside πταίρω, and therefore there is no need to change it as Schmidt did (78.16). Moreover, since I have kept πτείρω, there is no need to add at the beginning of the rule, together with Schmidt (78.14), the diphthong AI as one of the possible penultimate vowel sounds.

129.5 φορός...ἄνεμος: φορός does not itself mean ἄνεμος, but it is an adjective that is very often used to describe ἄνεμος.

129.6 ὄρος...γάρ: According to sch. D. T. Vat. 108.17-26 (see the apparatus of parallel passages) Herodian had the view that ὄρος derived from ὄρῳ.

129.15 Σφῦρος: A mythological personal name: see *RE* IIIA.1759-60 (second series), *DNP* 11.820, s. v. Sphyros, *BNP* 13.736, s. v. Sphyrus.

129.15 μὴ...δέ: i.e. μὴ κύρια ὄντα. This phrase excepts the proper names, not the words that do not have long υ, because the structure of the rule suggests that τὰ εἰς ΠΟΣ ... Τύρος deals with the words in -υρος with short υ, while the rest of the rule with the words in -υρος with long υ. Thus, there seems to be a problem with the citation of

ξυρός in the specific place, because it has short υ (see also the following note).

130.2 Χλωρός... κύριον: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

130.4 βλωρός... ὑπόλευκος: The word βλωρός is rare; it occurs only in our Epitome, Hesychius (β 762), who provides us with the meaning σύκου φύλλον instead of ὑπόλευκος, and Theognostus (*Can.* 384.5; but accented βλωρός) Zonaras (β 391.20), who gives the gloss διάλευκος. It is possible that βλωρός is both an adjective, as in our Epitome, and a common noun, as in Hesychius.

130.4 ζωρός... ἄμικτος: ζωρός is nowhere else explained with the manuscripts' ὁ μικρός. I have emended μικρός to ἄμικτος. The assimilation of the termination of ἄμικτος (-τος) to that of the words cited as examples (-ρος) would not have been difficult.

130.7 Σφαῖρος: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA).

130.8 Σκαῖρος: This proper name occurs again in Theognostus (*Can.* II 70.19-20 (= 386.2-3)).

130.8–9 τὸ...**9** καυστικός: δαῖρος is nowhere else attested with an alternative accentuation. Our Epitome is the only source that glosses the word with καυστικός.

130.9 διφορεῖται: 'accented in two ways'.

131.4 πλεῦρος: This word occurs nowhere else.

131.10 Φροῦρος... κύριον: A personal name (*LGPN* II, IV).

131.12 λοῦρος... εἶδος: λοῦρος occurs nowhere else.

131.16 κόμᾶρος: Either a common noun or a personal name (*LGPN* I, IV).

132.2 ἔγκαρος... ἔγκυος†: ἔγκαρος ('brain') is usually given the synonym ἐγκέφαλος in ancient sources (sch. *Hom. Il.* 9.378b.5-6; sch. *Lyc.* 1103; *Porph. ad Il.* 9.378.2-3; *Eust. Il.* II 734.24-5, II 735.1-2, II 538.20-539.2, *Od.* I 356.14). The word ἔγκυος does not end in -αρος, as the rule prescribes, and it seems that it was intended to be a gloss for ἔγκαρος. However, there is no evidence that ἔγκαρος means ἔγκυος ('pregnant'). It is possible that the word that should have explained ἔγκαρος is ἐγκέφαλος. Both ἐγκέφαλος and ἔγκυος begin with ἐγκ- and end in -ος, and this would have facilitated a scribal error. Schmidt (80.17) proposed with some reserve to correct ἔγκυος to ἵγκρος, but this is not very likely, because ἵγκρος is a difficult word, even more difficult and less common than ἔγκαρος, and one would have expected ἔγκαρος to be glossed by an easier word. Moreover, ἵγκρος is disyllabic, and thus its appearance as an example for this rule about words with more than two syllables would not be justified. I have conjectured καὶ ἄγγαρος, but this is not supported by any parallels, and therefore I have not adopted the

conjecture in my text. ἀγγ- could easily have become ἐγκ- under the influence of the preceding ἔγκαρος and the abbreviation for καὶ is very often confused with η in minuscule.

132.3–6 Τὰ...6 κρατερός: In dealing with the witnesses to the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* one is tempted to make comparisons, where possible, and try to understand the extent of proximity of each one to the original work. This accentuation rule is offered for comparison with a passage from Choeroboscus' *Epimerismi in psalmos* (63.9-12; see the apparatus of parallel passages). The two passages employ exactly the same wording regarding the accentuation of trisyllabic adjectives ending in –τερος (Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΤΕΡΟΣ τρισύλλαβα, εἰ ἔχει τὴν ἄρχουσαν μακράν), except that the Epitome uses the verb προπαροξύνεται, whereas Choeroboscus the verb βαρύνεται; both verbs here describe the accent as being at the same place. Moreover, there is a minor piece of grammatical variation in that Pseudo-Arcadius has the optative ἔχοι, while Choeroboscus ἔχει. Both extracts have in common the examples φέρτερος and βέλτερος in the same order. It is noteworthy that these two examples are the two first from the list of examples in both texts. This observation suggests that our Epitome as well as Choeroboscus' source go back to a common source, which provided these common examples at the

beginning. It should be noted finally that both passages give the same exception to the rule, namely the variant accentuation of *καρτερός* and they provide the same justification for it. It is worthy of mention that our Epitome gives three examples more than Choeroboscus, while it leaves out only one example provided by Choeroboscus. A possible explanation of this is either that the form in which Choeroboscus had read Herodian did not have many more examples than our Epitome or, if Choeroboscus is using original Herodian or a source that was more extensive than our Epitome, he systematically decided not to cite all of his source's examples. The latter explanation seems more likely. The words *καὶ τὰ ὅμοια*, in any case, show awareness that there are more examples.

132.4 μακράν: See note on 74.1 *μακράν*.

132.8–9 ἢ...9 ποιεῖται: 'indicates one out of two persons (in the non-technical sense); makes reference to a single person by comparison with another person', e.g. *πρότερος, ἕτερος, ἑκάτερος*. *πρότερος* denotes one entity that is before another (so one needs at least two entities before one of them can be *πρότερος*, but nevertheless a singular entity is the '*πρότερος*' one); for the sense of comparison between two persons cf. Ptol. *Ascal. Diff. voc.* 405.12; Ammon. *Diff.* 413.1-2, 418.1-2, *De impr.* 19.1-2; Choerob. *Ep. Ps.* 2.27-8;

Georg. Lacap. *Epist.* 3 n 191. ἕτερος denotes one of two entities: cf. Ammon. *Diff.* 30.1-2, 198.1-2, *De impr.* 20.1-2; sch. D. T. *Lond.* 557.18-21; Mich. Sync. Π. λόγ. συντ. 412-3. ἑκάτερος denotes each of two entities (but is still grammatically singular, like English 'each'), cf. Mich. Sync. Π. λόγ. συντ. 414.

132.13 ἢ...παραληγόμενα: e.g. ἀβέλτερος, ὀρέστερος.

133.2-4 τὸ²...**4** δεξιτερός: According to the *Etymologicum magnum* (256.28-33; cf. Eust. *Il.* III 215.5-7) Herodian thought that δεξιτερός was derived from δεξιός (δεξι -τ - ερός < δεξι -ός) by analogy with the formation of ἀριστερός from ἄριστος (ἀριστ -ερός < ἄριστ -ος), by contrast with Philo(n), who believed that δεξιτερός was formed from δεξιός, via δεξιερός, with the addition of τ. There is no indication in the above-mentioned sources of whether the derivation of δεξιτερός from δεξιός by analogy with the formation of ἀριστερός from ἄριστος is meant to explain the accent.

133.10-11 μὴ...**11** θηλυκά: 'that do not have a distinct grammatical form for the feminine'.

133.11 ὄμηρος: Both a common noun and a personal name. I have not capitalised the word, in order to allow for both possibilities.

133.15 λαπηρός: I have adopted the reading of M following the principle '*lectio difficilior potior*'. λαπηρός occurs only once again, in

the neuter, in Erotianus (*Voc. Hippocratic. collect.* 94.1), and it is given the synonym ὑγρόν. Ο's λυπηρός probably represents a scribal error, the change of λα- into λυ- under the influence of the very common word λυπηρός. A scribe probably saw λαπηρός, but did not recognize it, since it is a rare word, and thus wrote λυπηρός instead.

134.2–4 τὸ...4 σημαίνει: For the oxytone and proparoxytone accentuation of πονηρός/πόνηρος and μοχθηρός/μόχθηρος depending on the dialect and (according to some but not all grammarians) on the meaning, compare the passages cited in the apparatus of parallel passages, and see the notes on πονηρός/πόνηρος and μοχθηρός/μόχθηρος in Probert (2006), 263 n. 13, 323–4, and 325.

135.3 Κάμειρος: The parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 71.29-32 (= 393) has Κάμιρος, which is said to be a city name. Two passages from Eustathius (*Il.* I 490.8-10, *D. P.* 504.6-8) indicate that Κάμιρος is the Rhodian city name, while Κάμειρος is a personal name, but, in fact, the Rhodian city name appears in the sources written both with ει and ι. No personal name is attested apart from the mythological name, which is linked with the city name. The

writing of the mythological name in a different way from the city name would be unexplained.

135.4 Στάλιρος: A city name (Theognost. *Can.* II 71.30 (= 393.2), *EM* 488.10).

135.5 Σύσιρος: This word occurs nowhere else. Lentz (198.19) emended to Σίτιρος on the basis of two parallel passages (Theognost. *Can.* II 71.31 (= 393.3), *EM* 488.11; see the citations in the apparatus of parallel passages).

135.9 περὶ...λέξομεν: συνήγορος and κατήγορος are not mentioned at the end of this book. They occur again in the following book (102.8 Schmidt), where words compounded with 'ἄγορῶ' are dealt with.

135.9–136.1 νῦν...136.1 προπαραληγούση: This phrase suggests that from this point onwards we will read about proparoxytone words in -ορος, but in fact the beginning of this rule was already about proparoxytone words (κατήγορος, συνήγορος).

136.1 ἄνορος: This word occurs nowhere else.

136.1 πάπορος: This word occurs nowhere else.

136.2 κατάκορος: I have printed O's reading. κατάμορος occurs nowhere else, and is probably a corrupt form of κατάκορος.

136.13 Ἄψωρος: The name of a city in Illyria. Stephanus of

Byzantium (α 580), who provides us with this information, states that he got it from book 8 of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσηδίας*.

136.16 ὠρῶ: The active present indicative of this verb occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical sources and is usually adduced to explain words in -ωρος (see LSJ s. v. ὠρέω, Corn. *ND* 2.1-3, *Et. Gud.* τ 528.35-6, *EM* 757.48-50).

136.17 ὑληωρός: The reading of the manuscripts ὑλιωρός might result from the influence of the following word ἰωρός on this one, or may be an iotacistic error. This is an uncommon word, attested at *Call. Hec.* fr. 373, *Anth. Gr.* 9.337.3, *A. R.* 1.1227, sch. *A. R.* 111.23, *Su.* υ 97.

136.17 ἰωρός... φύλαξ: The *Synagoge* (Σα ι 153), Photius (ι 292), the *Suda* (ι 500), and Zonaras (ι 1138.7-8) provide us with the glosses θυρωρός and φύλαξ for ἰωρός.

136.18 νέωρος: This uncommon word is glossed as 'νέος' by Hesychius (ν 422) and Photius (ν 297.9). Schmidt (83.1 app. crit.) found fault with νέωρος and thought that it should perhaps be transposed considering that the second member of the word derives from ὠρῶ, but it derives from ὄρνυμι. It is the second member of νεωρός that derives from ὠρῶ, -ωρος.

137.3 Πίσσυρος: A city name (Procop. *De bell.* 7.11.32.2, Agath. 42.17).

137.4–5 τὸ...5 ὁξύνεται: At the beginning of the rule it was not mentioned that περιεκτικά are excluded from proparoxytone accentuation. It was the epitomator's method of excerpting the *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* (see the full discussion of the epitomator's methods of excerpting Herodian) to mention certain parts of the rule only at the point where an example was mentioned, and thus not to announce them from the beginning.

137.11 παλίνουρος: Either the name of a cape (Str. 6.1.1.29; D. C. 49.1.3.2-3) or an adjective. The word is only attested as an adjective in a pun in a Latin source, Martial 3.78.2.

137.12–13 νομηουρός...13 φυλάττων: νομηουρός occurs nowhere else.

137.13 ὕλοκουρός: A rare word; it also occurs at Lycophron 1111.

137.18–20 δύο...20 βαρυτόνων: The consonants that are characteristic of the 'second conjugation of recessive verbs' are κ, γ, χ, and κτ; see sch. D. T. *Marc.* 407.30-1; Timoth. Gramm. καν. καθολ. π. συντ. 242.31-4; Choerob. *in Theod.* GG iv.ii 13.38-14.7; Sophr. *Char. Theodos.* 415.27-8.

137.21 ἀγχοῦρος: A rare word; it occurs again in Hesychius (α 922).

137.21 κλαγγοῦρος: This word is nowhere else attested.

138.1 πάγρος: A word of unclear meaning (see also LSJ).

138.8–9 χονδρός...**9** ὄν²: For χονδρός as a kind of gut cf. Hp. *Aph.* 6.19 and sch. Hp. et Gal. II, 495.12-4.

138.18 ἰγκρος: An uncommon word glossed by ἐγκέφαλος (Hsch. ι 147, Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 226.1, EM 587.44, Zonar. ι 1084.7 (here the word is spelled ἰγγρος)).

138.25 <συμφώνου>: The phrase μόνον ἢ μεθ' ἑτέρου is left incomplete. I have adopted Lentz's addition of συμφώνου, as I believe that its presence here is necessary. One could argue that συμφώνου is implied, but there are two passages in our Epitome (137.22, 185.25 Schmidt), where φωνήεντος, correspondingly, is explicitly mentioned after μεθ' ἑτέρου. In other grammatical texts (e.g. sch. Hom. *Il.* 10.134b.5-8, Theodos. Π. γραμμ. 96.27-97.2, Choerob. *in Theod.* 258.24-6) μεθ' ἑτέρου is also found in this sort of context with συμφώνου/φωνήεντος.

138.26 χύτρος: Either a common noun or a proper name. To allow for both possibilities, I have left it uncapitalised.

139.2 ὕρρος: This word occurs nowhere else. In the critical apparatus I have suggested the reading Κύρρος, a city in Syria (see St. Byz. 397.11; Zonar. κ 1268.1), but there are no parallel passages to

support this. Lentz (204.23-4) kept Ὑρρος, but added Κύρρος later on.

139.5–7 τὰ...7 βαρύνεται: 'The compound words whose second part has more than one syllable are recessive'.

139.9 ἄϊδρος: An uncommon variant form for ἄϊδρις.

139.12 Μίνυθρος: This word occurs nowhere else, but seems to be a proper name.

139.12 Ἐρυθρος: A mythological personal name: see *RE* 6.602 s. v. Erythros.

139.13–14 τὸ...14 ἔθνος: Herodian tells us that both the personal name and the ethnic are oxytone. Neither the personal name nor the ethnic is otherwise attested with oxytone accentuation. Other sources (D. H. 1.11.2.7-8, 1.11.3.1, 1.11.3.5, 1.11.4.5, 1.13.1.11; Paus. 8.3.5.1, 8.3.5.7) provide us with the nominative Οἰνωτρός for the personal name.

139.19 Βῆσος: A historical personal name attested in the inscription *IG* XII,5 444. In the literary sources this name is spelled with double sigma: e.g. D. S. 17.74.1.4, 17.83.7.1, 17.83.7.5, 17.73.2.5, 17.p.1.32, 17.p.1.49; Str. 11.8.8.5; Flav. Arr. *Alex. anab.* 3.8.3.3, 3.21.1.5, 3.21.10.1, 3.28.8.1, 3.28.9.3, 3.30.1.5, 3.30.4.5, 3.30.5.4, 4.7.1.7, 4.7.2.7; Plu. *Alex.* 42.5.2; Phot. *Bibl.* 91, 67b.36.

139.19 Μνηῆσος: A mythological personal name: see *RE* 15.2284 s. v. Mnesos.

139.21 κρωσός: This word is usually spelled with double sigma: e.g. *S. OC* 478, *E. Ion* 1173, *Cyc.* 89; *Lyc.* 369, 1365; *Theoc. Idyll.* 13.46; sch. *Theoc.* 13.46a; *Plu. Arist.* 21.4.1, *Alex.* 20.13.1, *Poll.* 6.14.2, 6.23.6, 8.66.4-5, 10.30.2, *Paus. Gr.* κ 50; *Hsch.* κ 4276, τ 177, *Orion* κ 84.14, *Theognost. Can.* II 21.10 (= 119.7), *Su.* κ 2496, *EM* 541.30, *Eust. Il.* II 193.11, II 193.13, III 609.21, *Zonar.* κ 1250.10.

140.1 Κνωσός: Both the spellings Κνωσός and Κνωσσός are well attested. Debate in the grammatical tradition is attested at *Theognostus Can.* II 72.10 (= 397.2).

140.1 Σῶσος: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA).

140.6 Πῖσος...κύριον: Πῖσος is a personal name (*LGPN* VA).

140.6 Λισός: A personal name (*LGPN* VA; cf. *Λισσός LGPN* I, *Λίσσος LGPN* II, IIIA, *Λίσος LGPN* IV).

140.10 Παισός πόλις: See *D Sch. Hom. Il.* 5.612 (spelled Παισσός), *Str.* 13.1.19.1-2; *Eust. Il.* I 558.7-8, II 159.3. A homonymous river is mentioned by *Str.* 13.1.19.1-2, *Hsch.* π 105, *Eust. Il.* I 558.7-8.

140.10 Λουσός: A city in Arcadia (*St. Byz.* 419.17), usually called Λουσοί (*St. Byz.* 419.17, *Paus.* 8.18.8.1, 8.18.7.5, 8.18.8.6) or Λούσοι (*Call. Dian.* 235, *Plb.* 4.25.4.5-6, 9.34.10.1). A scholion to Callimachus'

Hymns (3.235b) says that according to Herodian the city name is neuter and therefore the nominative is τὰ Λοῦσα.

140.11 Πραισός: The name of a city in Crete (St. Byz. 534.3). Theognostus (*Can.* II 72.23 (= 400.2)) tells us that Πραισός is an ethnic designation, but Stephanus of Byzantium (534.3-4) gives the ethnic designations Πραισιος and Πραισιεύς for a person from Πραισός.

140.12 Ναῖσος: A river name (Theognost. *Can.* II 72.24 (= 400.3); Zonar. v 1384.7).

140.13 Βλαῖσος κύριον: Βλαῖσος is a personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

140.16 ἀμετάβολον: liquid or nasal consonant.

140.19 κόρσος...κρόταφος: κόρσος is a rare word. It occurs again in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (κ 338.41, κ 348.58-9) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (43.10), which gives the gloss κουρίσκος.

140.19–141.1 μόλσος...141.1 σέλινον: μόλσος is a rare word. It occurs again twice in Hesychius (μ 1585 (μόλσον), μ 1586). In μ 1585 Hesychius gives three synonyms for μόλσον: σελίνου καυλός, ἄνθος, ὑποφυάδα. The first coincides with the second gloss given in our Epitome. In μ 1586 Hesychius informs us that μόλσος is the Aeolic word for δημός ('fat'). We observe that there is no correspondence between the other synonym given in our Epitome, δῆμιος, and Hesychius μ 1586. Either δημός or δῆμιος could be a

mistake owing to the fact that both words begin with δημ-. Hoffmann (1893), II 241 is in favour of the meaning δημός, and derives μόλσος from μέλδω ('soften by boiling') and Chantraine (*DELG* s. v.) agrees with this view.

141.1 μόρσος: This word occurs nowhere else.

141.1 θύρσος: I consider the manuscripts' θέρσος unsuitable here, because it is odd that Herodian should have employed as an example the Aeolic form of θάρσος, when θάρσος itself could well have exemplified the rule. I have adopted Göttling's emendation ((1835), 210). Θύρσος is either a common noun or personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA). I have left it uncapitalised in order to allow for both possibilities.

141.2 μύρσος: Either a common noun or a personal name (*LGPN* IV, VA). The common noun is rare; it occurs again at Hsch. μ 1920, *EM* 595.35-6, and Zonar. μ 1375.1-2. Hesychius gives the gloss κόφινος, while the other two sources give the description πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον ἐξ ἄγνου.

141.2-3 σεσημείωται...3 ὀξυνόμενον: πυρσός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule it is not recessive.

141.3 τὸ...†άρσός: κίρσός and ἄρσός (or whatever the word meant

here actually was; see the next note) are not recessive, because they have ι and α respectively in their penultimate syllables.

141.3 †ἀρσός: This word occurs nowhere else and is probably a *vox nihili*. Many conjectures are possible (see the critical apparatus).

141.5 Βάγαρσος: This word occurs nowhere else.

141.9 <οὐ>: I have added οὐ before κλιτικόν because both sigmas are part of the stems of the words cited as examples: none of them is acquired in declension.

141.9 κλιτικόν: 'pertaining to declension'.

141.10 Βεσσός...ἐθνικόν: Βεσσοί is an alternative ethnic designation for the Τετραχωρίται (St. Byz. 618.8).

141.10 Θυσσός: A city name (Scyl. 66.16).

141.11 Ἀσσός: The name of a city in Lydia (St. Byz. α 492.1).

141.11 κισσός: Either a common noun or a personal name (LGPN I, II (Κίσσος), IIIA, IIIB (Κίσσος), IV (Κίσσος), VA (Κίσσος)).

141.11 <>: I consider that there is a lacuna between κισσός and ὡσαύτως. The phrase ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ after a list of oxytone words leads us to expect oxytone examples to follow, yet the examples are recessive. Thus, I assume that after κισσός some recessive examples were mentioned, and that ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ linked that phrase with the one containing Ὑσσοι and Νέσσοι. Schmidt had not noted that

there is a lacuna here, although in his apparatus he quotes Götting's conjecture, which involves the addition of Κίσσος δὲ τὸ κύριον παροξύνεται after κισσός. Götting's emendation is reasonable, but it is not supported by any parallel passage.

141.12 Ὑσσοῖς: I have capitalised this word, since ὕσσός ('javelin') is oxytone. Ὑσσοῖς is a place name. The ancient sources (Flav. Arr. *Peripl. pont. eux.* 3.1.2, 7.1.2-3, 7.1.4; Hippol. *Chron.* 233.3; Epiphan. *Ind. Apostol.* 108.10, 114.5) speak of a harbour at Ὑσσοῖς.

141.13 γλωσσός: This word (glossed by λάλος) is a *hapax*.

141.14 κάσσοι: A rare word; it occurs again in Hesychius (κ 985).

141.19 κόμπασοι: This word occurs nowhere else.

141.19 ἄρπασοι: Either a common noun or the name of a river in Caria (St. Byz. α 445, *Et. Gen.* α 1219.1, *Et. Sym.* II 220.23).

141.20 βάννασος: An alternative form for βάνναυτος given mainly in grammatical and lexicographical sources (sch. D. T. Vat. 112.15-6, *Et. Gud.* (Addit.) β 260.16-9, Eust. *Od.* I 233.29-30).

141.21-22 τήν...22 βαρύνουσι: Behind the implied city name Κέρασος, Κερασοῦς near Trebizond is to be understood (see *RE* 11.264-5).

141.22 τῆγγνασός: This word occurs nowhere else, and it is

uncertain whether this is a *hapax* or a *vox nihili*. On this see also Lobeck *PSGP* 407-8 and Lehrs (1857), 374.

142.5 Ἐρεσος: The name of a city in Lesbos and its eponymous hero (St. Byz. ε 107.1), and a mythological personal name (Paus. 10.27.3.3-5).

142.6 Θυεσσός: The name of a city in Lydia and Pisidia (St. Byz. θ 68).

143.1 Κάρησος: I have adopted Lentz's Κάρησος, not the manuscripts' κάρησος, on the basis of two parallel passages (sch. Hom. *Il.* 12.20b.14, Eust. *Il.* III 345.6; see the apparatus of parallel passages), which indicate that this name should be written with single, not double σ, and which probably derive their material from Herodian. According to Eustathius, Aristarchus' view was that Κάρησος did not follow the accent of words in -ησος, because it was written with a single sigma. It is very likely that Herodian shared the same view. A scribe could easily have added a sigma under the influence of the rest of the words under the same rule, which are all written with double sigmas.

143.2 Μάρπησος: The name of a city in the Troad (Paus. 10.12.3.9-4.3, 10.12.4.9-5.1).

143.2 Μάρπησσα: Either a personal name (*LGPN* IIIA), or a

mythological personal name (see *RE*, *DNP*, *BNP*), or a mountain in Paros (St. Byz. 434.6).

143.9–10 σεσημείωται...10 Τελμισσός: Τελμισσός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule it is not proparoxytone.

143.15 Κερδισός: A city name (*Su.* κ 1387), which occurs only in our Epitome and the *Suda*.

143.15 Ἄρκισος Ἄρκισα: Ἄρκισος and Ἄρκισα are otherwise unattested. The parallel passage from Theognostus, *Can.* II 73.12-8 (= 404), mentions a river name Ἄρνισος, but this is also otherwise unattested.

143.15 Ἄρκισος: A personal name Ἀρκισσός is attested (*LGPN* IIIB), cf. Ἀρκισσος in D. C. (*Jo. Ant. exc.* 755.4).

143.15 Ἄρκισα: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

144.5–6 <>: Some of the examples of words ending in -υσσοι which could have been cited here may be recovered from a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 73.23-9 (= 406); see the apparatus of parallel passages), e.g. Γένυσσοι, Ἀμβρυσσοι. It is common in lacunas due to *saut du même au même* that the word before the omitted part coincides with the last word of the omitted part, and since usually in the accentuation rules the last word before the

examples is the verb describing the type of the accentuation, it is possible that the lacuna is due to the *homoeoteleuton* of προπαροξύνεται ... προπαροξύνεται. The two groups of words dealt with here (-υσος, -υσσος) are both proparoxytone, and it is likely that the verb προπαροξύνεται occurred twice, once before the words in -υσσος and once before those in -υσος.

144.9 Κερωσσός: The name of a city in Ἀπολλωνιάς according to Theognostus (*Can.* II 74.3-4 (= 408.3-4)), but on the location see also *RE* 11.328.

144.10 ἄλωσος: This word occurs nowhere else; its meaning is unclear (see also *LSJ* and *DGE*).

145.3 κοιτος: The manuscripts' κλοιτος occurs nowhere else, apart from Theognostus (*Can.* II 74.12 (= 410.3)), where it is accented Κλοιτός. I have emended κλοιτος to κοιτος on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 74.7-9 (= 409); see the apparatus of parallel passages). Lentz (214.13) includes the word κοιτος in his reconstruction of this Herodianic rule, but I have not attributed the emendation to him, because he keeps Κλοιτος where it occurs in Pseudo-Arcadius, and adds κοιτος from Theognostus later on in the rule. In Theognostus οἶτος, Προῖτος, and γοῖτος appear in exactly the same order as in Pseudo-Arcadius. Προῖτος and γοῖτος are next

to each other in Theognostus as in our Epitome, but while in our Epitome we read κλοῖτος between οῖτος and Προῖτος, in Theognostus we find κοῖτος. In my view, Κλοιτός in Theognostus (*Can.* II 74.12 (= 410.3)) does not support the retention of κλοῖτος here, because instead of Κλοιτός one should read Κλειτός in Theognostus (the personal name, which is sometimes accented Κλειτός as in Pseudo-Arcadius). There are two reasons for thinking this: (i) Pseudo-Arcadius' passage presents Κλειτός after Λαῖτος, and in the vicinity of Παιτός, while in Theognostus Κλοιτός comes after Λαῖτος and Παῖτος, which suggests that Κλειτός was intended where we read Κλοιτός in Theognostus, and (ii) Theognostus deals with recessive words in -οιτος under rule 409 (II 74.7-9), but cites Κλοιτός under rule 410 (II 74.10-3), where he deals with recessive words in -αιτος. One would not expect Κλοιτός under that rule, because it is both spelled and accented differently from the examples cited there. Even if one were to correct Κλοιτός to Κλοῖτος, it would still be difficult to justify the appearance of this word here, because it could well have been cited under the relevant rule on recessive words in -οιτος (409), and in any case Κλοῖτος is attested only in Pseudo-Arcadius. Κλειτός, nevertheless, would fit well in rule 410, because it is a recessive name following the accentuation of the

words in -αιτος, although it is written with the diphthong ει. It would not be surprising if Κλειτός appeared under this rule, because there is no separate rule treating words ending in -ειτος. The lack of correspondence between Theognostus' Κλειτός and Pseudo-Arcadius' Κλειτός does not weaken the above arguments. Theognostus' main interest is in orthography, thus he may be thought to have cited this personal name in its recessive form, which is more widely attested. It should be noted that the personal name ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ is recessive in modern Greek, and Theognostus might have cited the recessive form of the name, because he was more familiar with it. If Κλοιτός were to be emended to Κλειτός in Theognostus, this would suggest an awkward transformation of Herodian's accentuation rule into an orthographical one, since the linking of Κλειτός with the recessive words in -αιτος would not be efficient (on the accent of ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ see also the note on 145.5 Κλειτός). The problem of the accent of ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ in Theognostus does not, however, create any problems to the arguments for emending Pseudo-Arcadius' Κλοιτός to κοιτός.

145.4 βροῦτος: Either a common noun, a variant for Hesychius' βρῶτος ('fermented liquor made from barley, beer'), or the personal name (*LGPN* IIIB).

145.5 Κλειτός: Sch. Hom. *Il.* 15.445 deriving from Herodian, indicates that the adjective as well as the proper name should be oxytone, but the proper name is properispomenon in the majority of the literary sources.

145.6–7 καὶ...7 Αἰγύπτου: The information κώμη Αἰγύπτου would more suitably come before θηλυκόν (cf. the critical apparatus).

145.6 Βουτός: Editions of other ancient sources print this word with a recessive accent: Plu. *De Is. et Osir.* 377C.11, St. Byz. β 157.1. However, the mention of Βουτός here makes absolute sense if the word is indeed oxytone, because it follows and is linked with an oxytone word (γλουτός). Moreover, θηλυκόν should be taken as an explanation for this word's not being recessive. Thus it seems that Herodian believed Βουτός was not recessive, but oxytone.

145.7 τὸ...ἔθνικόν: Παῖτός does not follow the rule prescribing recessive accentuation because it is an ethnic designation, and ethnic designations are considered adjectives. Παῖτοι in Herodotus (7.110.4) suggests a recessive nominative singular, while Theognostus (*Can.* II 74.11 (= 410.2); see the apparatus of parallel passages) has Παῖτος, but the rule clearly prescribes oxytone accentuation.

146.1 ὁπότε...ἀθροίσματος: e.g. στρατός.

146.1–2 κύριά...2 ἐπιθετικῶν: e.g. Κριτός, Κλιτός, although

second-declension names originating as oxytone adjectives are often recessive (see e.g. Probert (2003), 112–14).

147.2 ῥιτός: Alternatively written ῥειτός in ancient sources (sch. Th. 2.19.2.2-3, Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 256.13-7, *Et. Gen.* α 64.10, *EM* 703.13-7). The orthography with ει and oxytone accentuation is ascribed to Orus, the spelling with iota and recessive accentuation to Herodian (sch. Th. 2.19.2.2-3, Choerob. *De Orthogr.* 256.13-7, *Et. Gen.* α 64.10, *EM* 703.13-7).

147.2 τὸ ...τριγενές: At the beginning of the rule it is not mentioned that a condition for the recessive accentuation is that the words are μονογενῇ (or that they are not τριγενῇ), but at the point where the exception λιτός is mentioned, we are given the reason that it is τριγενές. See the discussion of the relevant section of the epitomator's method of excerpting Herodian (1.17–21 δεῖ ... ὑπάρχει).

147.4 προσηγορικὰ: One would have rather expected ἐπίθετα/ἐπιθετικά, but since προσηγορικόν means not only common noun but also nominal, it can also include adjectives.

147.4 βρυτός...βρύων: βρυτός seems to be a deverbal adjective from βρύω. βρυτός in Psellus (*Poem.* 6.457) and Zonaras (σ 1643.19) means πόμα. That βρυτός is a deverbal adjective from βρύω here

and not an alternative form for βρῦτος meaning ‘beer’, is suggested, apart from the explanation ὁ βρύων which accompanies it, by a parallel passage from Theognostus (II 74.30-2 (= 414); see the apparatus of parallel passages), which gives the information ἀπὸ ῥημάτων γινόμενα.

147.5 ῥυτός...κλυτός: These are adjectives, but they are included in the προσηγορικά. Usually in our Epitome the term προσηγορικόν refers to nouns, not nominals more widely. In this case one either has to accept that προσηγορικόν can be used loosely for ‘nominal’, or that perhaps the rule originally contained examples of nouns as well as adjectives, but that in the process of epitomising the nouns were left out.

147.10–11 σεσημείωται...11 ὀξυνόμενα: Usually with σεσημείωται genuine exceptions are introduced, that is to say words that fulfil the conditions for the rule but nevertheless do not follow the accentuation prescribed. κοντός should therefore be taken to be the common noun (‘pole’) here, not the adjective (‘short’). κοντός is oxytone even though it satisfies the conditions for the accentuation rule. παλτός is an adjective, and adjectives are, in any case, exempted from the prescription of recessive accentuation. Thus,

παλτός would fit better among the examples of adjectives that have a separate feminine form (τὸ δὲ σπαρτός ... θηλυκὰ ἔχοντα).

147.12 τιλτός: I have emended MO's τικτός to τιλτός. τικτός occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*. As the rule prescribes at the beginning the words under this rule have an ἀμετάβολον before -τος. κ is not an ἀμετάβολον. Thus, τικτός as well as Schmidt's θικτός are unsuitable here. τιλτός, even though not supported by any parallel passage, satisfies the conditions for the rule. The emendation to τιλτός is very economical, since it only involves the change of a single letter.

147.16 παστός: This is the common noun ('bridal chamber, bridal bed'), not the adjective ('salted'), because the rule gives as a condition that the words should be μονογενῆ.

147.17 ξυστός: This is the common noun ('walking place, covered colonnade'), not the adjective ('shaved, whittled'), since words that are μονογενῆ are required by the rule. See also the previous note.

148.1 σεσημείωται...βαρύτονα: βύστος and Κάστος are genuine exceptions, because although they satisfy the conditions for the rule they are recessive.

148.1 βύστος: The word that is etymologically linked with βυθός and βυσσός in lexicographical sources (*Et. Gen.* β 289, *Et. Gud.* α

74.8-9, β 291.2, *EM* 217.17-20, *Et. Sym.* II 514.24-5, Zonar. β 411.5-6) is oxytone. *DGE* lemmatize βύστος as an autonomous word of doubtful meaning.

148.1 Κάστος: MO's κάμπτος is unsuitable here, because the rule is about words ending in -στος. I have adopted Schmidt's emendation, which is very close to the transmitted reading, although it is not supported by any parallel passage. Κάστος is a personal name (*LGPN* IV, VA).

148.4–5 εἰ...5 γέννη: 'if it changes form in the various genders', that is to say if it is an adjective that has a separate form for each of the three genders. Thus, this condition excludes nouns.

148.6–7 ἐκ...7 μεταστή: e.g. δύστος (considered to come from δύστηνος) and πόστος (considered to come from πόσατος).

148.10 δύστος: The form δύστος is nowhere else attested.

148.10–11 πόστος...11 πόσατος: The form πόσατος occurs only in grammatical and lexicographical sources (*Su.* π 2119.1, *EM* 685.1-3, Zonar. π 1563.8-9). The *EM* mentions that the information is derived from the *Περὶ παθῶν*.

148.16 πόκτος: This alternative form for πόκος occurs once again, in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (679.44-5).

149.1 ῥύττος: This word occurs nowhere else, and is probably a vox

nihili. Possible emendations would be Γρύττος, Λύττος, βύττος. I am not in favour of βρύττος, because this is the Attic form of βρύσσοις ('a kind of sea-urchin'), and the rule exempts specifically Attic forms. I am also not in favour of Lentz's λύττος (218.4-5), because although it involves the change of a single letter, this is not justified on palaeographical grounds. The personal name Γρύττος, although Attic (*LGPN* II), should not be treated with the same reserve as βρύττος, because the exemption should be taken to refer to Attic forms with -ττ- corresponding to koiné forms with -σσ-, not to personal names or other forms that do not have koiné equivalents with -σσ-. βύττος in Hesychius (β 1353) is also plausible here. Such a change would be very economical, since it involves the change of a single letter; moreover, β and ρ are close to each other in majuscule. Taking all the above arguments into consideration, I believe that βύττος and Γρύττος are the most plausible. It should be noted that there is no parallel passage to support any of the proposed emendations, and therefore the text cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

149.1 κάττος: Since κάττος is attested and fulfils the conditions for the rule, I see no reason to change it, as suggested by Schmidt (92.5 app. crit.).

149.1–2 τὰ...2 γέγονε: The way this sentence is phrased suggests that the Attic form is based on the koine form. This is not unusual in grammatical texts. The notion of X coming from Y is essentially synchronic rather than diachronic.

149.11 Ἑλατος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA).

149.11 ὕπατος: Initially used as an adjective, but later the Greek form for the Latin *consul*.

149.11 ἔνατος: This is hardly a noun, and may be an intrusion from the next rule.

149.12 Ἑρατος: A personal name (*LGPN* I, IIIA, VA).

149.14–15 εἰ...15 ληγόντων: Ancient grammarians classify middle athematic verbs, such as ἔραμαι, as -μι verbs, even though an active in -μι is not in use (see A. D. *Synt.* II 398.5-14 and Tyrannion 1 fr. 14, l. 12-3 on δύναμαι). A passage from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (325.43-4), which presents the form ἔλημι as equivalent to ἐλῶ, suggests that ἐλατός can also be considered a derivative of a -μι verb.

149.19–20 τῆς...20 περισπωμένων: i.e. contracted verbs in -άω.

149.21 †φρατός: A rare word; according to the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (φ 550.23) it means συγγενής. This reading is probably wrong here, because φρατός does not derive from a contracted verb

in -άω. Schmidt's emendation φυρατός is sensible, but φωρατός (from φωράω), which I suggest in the critical apparatus, is also likely.

149.24 <προ>παραληγόμενα: I have emended the manuscripts' παραληγόμενα to προπαραληγόμενα. The comment τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα A ὁμοίως (with the examples that follow), in conjunction with τούτοις ἠκολούθησε καὶ τὸ ἔμετος, ὡς ἔχον E ὥσπερ τὰ ἄνω, suggests that an E is required in the antepenultimate as well as in the penultimate syllable of Πέλετος ... Μένετος. Lentz (218.26-219.3) in his reconstruction of this Herodianic rule wrote ἔχοντα τὸ ε ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τέλους, thus recognising that an E is required in the antepenultimate.

150.1 Μέγιστος: This name here is a scribal error, because it does not end in -ετος as the rule prescribes.

150.2 Πέλετος: This name occurs nowhere else.

150.2 Δέρκετος: A personal name (*LGPN* I, II, IIIA, VA).

150.2 Μένετος: A personal name (*LGPN* I, IIIA, VA).

150.5 ἄργετος: A rare word; it occurs again in Hesychius (α 7035), where we learn that this is the Cretan word for ἄρκευθος ('juniper').

150.5 Ἄρετος: A personal name (*LGPN* I). Thus, I have capitalised it, differently from Schmidt (93.6).

150.6 ἄνετος...ἐπίθετον: The distinction between ἄνετος and ἀνετός here suggests that ἄνετος is not an adjective, but this is not true. ἀνετός occurs nowhere else. The only obstacle to Lobeck's emendation is that the phrase τὰ δὲ ἔχοντα Α ὁμοίως strictly speaking prescribes a single Α in the antepenultimate syllable, but it is possible to accept *lato sensu* that the Α required can be either single or as part of a diphthong.

150.13 γνύπετος: An uncommon word; it occurs mainly in grammatical and lexicographical works (Hsch. γ 734; Phot. γ 165; *EM* 236.40-2; Zonar. γ 443.8).

150.16 Λάμητος: I have emended the manuscripts' δάμητος to Λάμητος, on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (see the critical apparatus and the apparatus of parallel passages). Λάμητος is the name of a river in Italy, close to Croton (St. Byz. 409.9-10).

150.17 βύνητος: This word is a *hapax*.

151.8–9 ἄητος...**9** ἀκατάπαυστος: ἀκατάπαυστος ('incessant') as a gloss for ἄητος is attested only in our Epitome, but perhaps ἀκατάπαυστος is an attempt to express the notion of ἀκόρεστος ('insatiate'; Hsch. α 1522, *Su.* α 667, *EM* 23.20, Zonar. α 57.8) and ἄπληστος ('insatiate, greedy'; Hsch. α 1522; sch. Nic. *Ther.* 783b),

which we find in lexicographical works, with a single word that indicates the notion of ceaselessness that ἀκόρεστος and ἄπληστος have in common.

151.11–14 μὴ ... 14 πόλις: The exemption of adjectives from recessive accentuation (μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνονται) is not followed by any clear indication of the accent of adjectives in -ιτος. In the section τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται onwards we get three examples, ἀμαξιτός, ἀτραπιτός, and Λυχνιτός, the first of which is an adjective. The fact that these three examples are preceded by τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ ὀξύνεται creates the false impression that all three words are oxytone because they are feminines. Thus, one is left to infer from μὴ ὄντα ἐπιθετικὰ βαρύνονται, that adjectives should be included in the oxytone words, which are dealt with later on in the rule. Alternatively, ἀμαξιτός may be listed as a feminine noun because it is sometimes used as one, owing to ellipsis of ὁδός.

151.12 Ἀδήριτος: I have emended the manuscripts' δήριτος into Ἀδήριτος on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* 419; see the apparatus of parallel passages), in which Ἀδήριτος appears in the vicinity of ἀμαξιτός and ἀτραπιτός. Ἀδήριτος is a personal name (*LGPN* I). There is also an adjective ἀδήριτος, but this accentuation rule exempts adjectives. I consider Lobeck's Νήριτος

from Stephanus of Byzantium (474.1-2) less likely, because Stephanus does not indicate that he derived this reading from Herodian, and ν is not palaeographically close to δ.

151.13 Ἀγχιτος: I have adopted Lentz's emendation Ἀγχιτος, taking into consideration a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 75.21-6 (= 419); see the apparatus of parallel passages), which presents Ἀγχιτος in the vicinity of ἀμαξιτός and ἀτραπιτός.

151.14 Λυχνιτός...πόλις: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' λαχνιτός to Λυχνιτός on the basis of Stephanus of Byzantium (423.15). According to Pseudo-Arcadius Λυχνιτός is feminine, while Stephanus of Byzantium (423.14-5) tells us that it is masculine. This conflicting information could just mean that Stephanus thought that Λυχνιτός was masculine, differently from Herodian, and does not necessarily suggest a conflict between the direct and indirect sources for Herodian. The phrase Ἡρωδιανὸς Λυχνιτὸν αὐτόν φησι does not imply that according to Herodian Λυχνιτός is masculine. Stephanus tells us about the gender of this city name at the beginning of his entry, together with the geographical information, and at that point he is more likely to have derived his information from another source. Moreover, the

Herodianic form is different from that of Stephanus, something that could also explain the different genders.

151.14 δηριτός: This word occurs nowhere else, and is probably a *vox nihili*, due to the influence of Ἀδήριτος as corrupted to δήριτος.

152.1 ὄνοτός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' ὠνοτός to ὄνοτός, on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (II 75.29 (= 420.3); see the critical apparatus and the apparatus of parallel passages).

152.1 Μολοτός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' μωλοτός to Μολοτός on the basis of a parallel passage from Theognostus (II 75.27-9 (= 420.1-3); see the apparatus of parallel passages). Μολοτός is an alternative form for Μολοσσός (St. Byz. 455.8-10).

152.1 ἄροτος: I have adopted Meineke's emendation of the manuscripts' εὔροτος to ἄροτος, on the basis of palaeographical grounds, i.e. the resemblance between εὔ and α. This emendation is reinforced by a parallel passage from Theognostus (*Can.* II 75.27-9 (= 420); see the critical apparatus and the apparatus of parallel passages).

153.1 τορνωτός: A rare word; it occurs only in our Epitome and Eustathius (*Il.* I 674.10).

153.2 μυωτός: This rare word occurs again in Pollux (7.60.6), Hesychius (μ 2016), and Photius (μ 640). Hesychius and Photius also provide the same gloss as Pseudo-Arcadius (Hesychius: εἶδος τι χιτῶνος, Photius: χιτῶνος εἶδος).

153.7 ἀνακίδωτος: This is a *hapax*.

153.9 κύρια: Schmidt (95.8, app. crit.) suggested the addition of καὶ προσηγορικά, in order to allow for the mention of Ἀσφαλτος. In my view the addition is not needed, because Ἀσφαλτος is a personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, IIIB).

153.9–10 καὶ...10 ἔχοντα: The way the rule is phrased, it is suggested that this section of the rule should refer to all proper names in -τος that have more than two syllables. Though it is obvious why some of the words in this list were taken to be compounds (e.g. Ἀσφαλτος from ἄ + σφάλλω, Ἀμάραντος from ἄ + μαραίνω), it is less clear for some others (e.g. Ἀψυρτος).

153.15–16 Λωμεντός...16 πόλεις: These cities are in Italy, not in Sicily. It would be odd for Herodian to have confused Italy and Sicily.

153.15 Λωμεντός: I have adopted Schmidt's emendation of the manuscripts' λομεντός to Λωμεντός on the basis of a passage from Stephanus of Byzantium (see the apparatus of parallel passages).

Λωμεντός is a city in Italy (St. Byz. 423.18), an alternative name for Νωμεντός (Nomentum), modern Mentana.

153.15 Λαυρεντός: The name suggests ancient Laurentum in Latium (not the same as Loreto). If so the text confuses Italy and Sicily.

153.16–17 ἔτι...17 ὄντα: κονιορτός and κολοσυρτός are not recessive because they are common nouns, not proper names.

153.21 ἀμελκτός: This word is a *hapax*.

153.24–25 σεσημείωται...25 ὀξυνόμενον: δρυφακτός is an exception because it is oxytone, even though it is neither ἐπιθετικόν nor ῥηματικόν.

153.28 Ἀκαστος: A personal name (*LGPN* II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA).

153.28 Ἀλαστος: This name is attested in an inscription from Phrygia (*MAMA* 4 134).

154.13 στρατευτός: This word is a *hapax*.

154.19–20 σεσημείωται...20 ὀξυνόμενον: ἐνιαυτός is a genuine exception, because although it fulfils the conditions for the rule, it is nevertheless oxytone.

155.3 ὄρφος: Other grammatical and lexicographical texts agree that the koiné form of this fish name is recessive, while the Attic form is perispomenon (see the apparatus of parallel passages). Interestingly enough in modern Greek this fish name although written with -ος as

the koine form, it is accented on the final syllable as the Attic form (cf. *λαγώς*/*λαγῶς* in the Attic, but *λαγός* in modern Greek).

155.15 πορφυροβάφος: An uncommon word; it also occurs in Ion (3b,392,F 6.26), Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 1.44.7, Poll. (7 169.7-170.1), Ath. (II.ii 123.31 = 13.81.30).

156.2 Κόλχος: A personal name (*LGPN* IIIA, IV). One should not understand the ethnic designation meaning ‘Colchian’, because ethnic designations are considered to be ἐπιθετικά, whereas this rule on the recessives in -χος excludes adjectives.

156.3 κόγχος: The manuscripts’ κόχλος is not suitable as example of this accentuation rule, because it does not end in -χος. I have followed Lentz (225.24), who printed κόγχος, adopting Schmidt’s suggested emendation (97.14 app. crit.). A passage from Ammonius (*Diff.* 478.11-6; see the apparatus of parallel passages) that is parallel to ours presents κόγχος in the vicinity of κόλχος, μόσχος, and τρόχος.

156.11 <>: The adjectives in -μψος are not recessive, as we learn at the end of the rule, and in any case none of the recessive examples is an adjective. Therefore, a negative is needed before ἐπιθετικά. Schmidt (97.21) noted in his apparatus that μῆ is missing here. μῆ ὄντα is another plausible emendation.

156.12 μόψος: A rare word; it occurs again in Hesychius (μ 1769) with the gloss κηλὶς ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις and the indication that this is a Cyprian word.

156.12 Τίψος: A city name (Theognost. *Can.* II 77.1 (= 429.6); see the apparatus of parallel passages).

157.2 Λυκαψός: A village close to Lydia (St. Byz. 421.6).

157.2 κινδαψός: An alternative form for σκινδαψός.

APPENDIX

Appendix

- 2.3–4 τοῦ...4 ἑλληνισμοῦ:** Perperam Schmidt 2.10 (app. crit.) codices BC τὸν ἑλληνισμόν habere notavit.
- 2.5 συνιστάντος:** Perperam Schmidt 2.11 (app. crit.) codices BC συνιστῶντος habere notavit.
- 2.16 τι:** Haud recte Schmidt 2.21 (app. crit.) solum codicem A τι habere notavit; codex B etiam τι habet.
- 2.27 τὴν...ΙΣ:** perperam Schmidt 3.8 (app. crit.) codicem A τὴν τὰ εἰς ΙΣ habere notavit. codex τὴν εἰς ΙΣ praebebat.
- 5.13 λειχήν:** Schmidt 6.12 (app. crit.) haud recte codicibus B et C lectionem εὐχὴν attribuit; error debetur Barkero 8.14-5, qui in textu εὐχὴν tamquam lectionem codicum BC scripsit.
- 5.17–6.1 παροσχηματισμόν:** Perperam Schmidt 6.16 (app. crit.) lectionem προσχηματισμόν codicibus BC tribuit; error debetur Barkero 8.18-9, qui in editione sua προσχηματισμόν scripsit.
- 6.2 ἀδήν:** ἀδήν spiritu incerto A; perperam Egenolff (1881), 495 codicem A spiritum asperum habere scripsit A.
- 6.10 σωλήν:** haud recte Schmidt 7.7 (app. crit.) solum codicem A lectionem σωλήν habere notavit. codex B etiam lectionem σωλήν praebebat.
- 7.9 μῆ:** haud recte lectionem μὲν codices BC habere Barker 9.20 et ita Schmidt 8.3 (app. crit.) notaverunt
- 7.14 Σειρήν Πειρήν:** perperam Schmidt 8.6-7 (app. crit.) lectionem εἰρήν codicis C etiam codici B attribuit; error debetur Barkero 9.25, qui in textu εἰρήν scripsit et variam lectionem codicis B in apparatu non notavit. Haud recte Schmidt 8.6-7 (app. crit.) codices B et C περήν habere notavit.
- 8.3 ΙΝ:** haud recte lectionem ην etiam codici B Schmidt 8.10 (app. crit.) attribuit; error debetur Barkero 10.1, qui in textu ην scripsit et variam lectionem ιν codicis B non notavit.
- 8.4 Τελχίν...Τελχίς:** Perperam voces τριχίν καὶ τριχίς codici C Schmidt 8.11 (app. crit.) attribuit; error debetur Barkero 10.2, qui in editione sua τριχίν καὶ τριχίς scripsit et in apparatu critico notavit: τελχίν καὶ τελχίς pro τριχίν καὶ τριχίς
- 11.3 τὰ:** Schmidt 9.11 omissionem codicum B et C non emendavit.
- 12.2 σινδών:** Schmidt 10.2 male σινδων sine accentu scripsit.
- 14.5 Κίκων:** Post Κίκων Schmidt 11.10 Δίκων scripsit, quod nullus codex habet; vide etiam Egenolff (1881), 495.
- 15.5 ἦτοι μαινάς:** σημαῖνοι δὲ μαινάδα C (haud recte σημαίνει

Schmidt 12.5 (app. crit.); error debetur Barkero 15.5, qui in textu σημαίνει de C scripsit).

18.2 Κόνων: Perperam Schmidt 13.15 (app. crit.) lectionem κώνων codicis C etiam codici B tribuit; error debetur Barkero 14.12, qui variam lectionem codicis B in apparatu non notavit.

19.6 Όλοσσών: Schmidt 14.16 (app. crit.) lectionem λοσών codicis C etiam codicibus AB attribuit; error debetur Barkero 15.14, qui λοσών tamquam lectionem codicum BC in textu scripsit.

20.1 Κράτων: Perperam Schmidt 15.1 (app. crit.) codicem A litteram ο supra ω habere annotavit.

20.2 Άρίστων: Schmidt 15.2-3 errorem ἄ ίστων (sic) codicis A non notavit.

20.13 Ξενοφών: Schmidt 15.12 omissionem codicis A non notavit.

20.15 κατηφών: Perperam Schmidt 15.13 (app. crit.) codicem A η supra ι habere annotavit; Bloch (G. Dindorf (1823), I 50) η supra ι enotavit, ut lectionem codicis A corrigeret, sed codex η supra ι non habet.

21.4 κλινόμενον: Haud recte Schmidt 15.20 (app. crit.) κλινόμενα tamquam variam lectionem codicis A annotavit; error debetur Blochio (G. Dindorf (1823), I 50), qui in suo apographo hoc enotavit.

21.10 τοῦ: Perperam Schmidt 16.2 (app. crit.) codicem A τοῦ omisisse notavit. Egenolff (1881), 495 hunc errorem notavit.

22.4 γλήχων: Perperam Schmidt 16.6 (app. crit.) lectionem γλίχων codicum BC etiam codici A attribuit.

23.12 ἔννοϊαν: Schmidt 16.18 lectionem ἔνοϊας codicis A et ἔνοϊαν codicis B non notavit.

23.14 Ἀσκάλων: Schmidt 16.19 lectionem ἀγκάλων codicis A non notavit.

23.20 ἱππαλεκτρυνών: Schmidt 17.3 lectionem ἱππ' ἀλεκτρυνών codicis A non notavit.

24.5 δισύλλαβοι μετοχαί: Schmidt 17.10 lectiones μετοχαί δισύλλαβοι codicis C in textu scripsit et inversum ordinem vocum in codices A et B non notavit.

24.5-6 ὀξυτονούμεναι: Schmidt 17.10-1 lectionem ὀξυνούμεναι codicis A non notavit.

25.1 A: Schmidt 17.20 omissionem codicis A non notavit.

25.8 Ἀρετάων: Schmidt 18.5-6 ordinem vocum Ποσειδάων Ἀρετάων codicis C scripsit et inversum ordinem vocum in codicibus A et B non notavit.

26.8 χωρὶς εἰ: Schmidt 18.17 lectionem εἰ codicis C scripsit et lectionem χωρὶς εἰ codicum A et B non notavit.

26.12 ἡ...ὀξύτωνου: Schmidt 18.20 lectionem ὀξύνεται codicis C scripsit et variam lectionem ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφάξ ὀξύτωνου codicis A non notavit.

26.13 βλεφαροσπάξ: Schmidt 18.21 lectionem βλεφαροπάξ codicis A non notavit, sed solam lectionem βλεφαροπάξ codicum ABC Herodiani Περὶ διχρόνων.

26.13–27.1 λιτροβαστάξ: Schmidt 18.21 lectionem λιτροβαστάξ scripsit, ut Bloch de A notavit.

27.9 κυμοπλήξ: Perperam Schmidt 19.6 (app. crit.) lectionem κυμοπλήξ codici A attribuit; error debetur Blochio, qui κυμοπλήξ tamquam lectionem codicis notavit in Dindorfii *Grammatici Graeci* vol. I 51.

27.10 δὲ ὕπληξ: Schmidt 19.7 lectionem δὲ ὕπληξ non enotavit.

27.19 Τὰ...Ρ: Schmidt 19.15 lectionem Περὶ τῶν ληγόντων εἰς αῤ codicis C scripsit et variam lectionem Τὰ εἰς αῤ codicis A non enotavit.

27.21 εἶτε θηλυκὰ: Haud recte εἶτε θηλυκὰ omisit Schmidt, quamquam codex A verba εἶτε θηλυκὰ praebet

28.6–7 καμπτήρ ἐλατήρ: Schmidt 20.2 ordinem vocum ἐλατήρ καμπτήρ in codice C in textu scripsit et inversum ordinem vocum in codicibus A et B non enotavit.

31.1–2 Σάπειρ: Schmidt 21.2 (app. crit.) haud recte lectionem Σάπειρ codicibus BC attribuit (error debetur Barkero (20.16-7), qui in editione sua Σάπειρ scripsit, quod Schmidt esse lectionem codicum BC credevit).

31.6 ἀποπιτύρισμα: Haud recte Schmidt 21.6 (app. crit.) codicem A ἀποπιτύρισμα habere enotavit.

34.3–4 ἐπὶ...4 εἶη: Perperam Schmidt 22.1 (app. crit.) lectionem ἀπὸ codicum BC etiam codici A attribuit. Codex A ἐπὶ praebet. Haud recte Schmidt 22.1 (app. crit.) omissionem vocis εἶη in C etiam codicibus A et B attribuit.

34.4 ὥσπερ: Haud recte Schmidt 22.2 (app. crit.) lectionem ὥσπερ solo codici B attribuit; codex A etiam ὥσπερ habet.

34.9 συναληλιμμένα: Perperam Schmidt 22.7 (app. crit.) lectionem συναληλιμμένα codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A συναληλιμμένα praebet.

34.10 ὥς: Haud recte Schmidt 22.8 (app. crit.) omissionem vocis ὥς in codicibus B et C etiam codici A attribuit.

34.13 τι: Perperam Schmidt 22.10 lectionem τὸ codicis C scripsit et variam lectionem τι codicum A et B non enotavit.

34.17 Τὰ: Schmidt 22.13 male τὸ scripsit.

- 35.2** ἱλᾱς: Perperam Schmidt 22.14 (app. crit.) codicem A ἱλιᾱς habere scripsit; codex A ἱλᾱς praebet.
- 35.2** ἱλάεις: Haud recte Schmidt 22.15 (app. crit.) codicem A ἱλᾱς scribere notavit; codex A ἱλέας habet.
- 35.10–11** σεσημείωται...**11** ἱμάς: Haud recte Schmidt 23.3 additionem vocis ὀξυνόμενον in codice C scripsit et absentiam vocis in codicibus A et B non enotavit.
- 35.17–18** Θήρας Ἀθύρας: Perperam Schmidt 23.9 (app. crit.) codicem B θύρας θήρας praebere indicavit; codex B Θήρας Ἀθύρας habet.
- 36.7** συστέλλοντα: Perperam Schmidt 24.2 (app. crit.) lectionem συστέλλοντα codicis B non etiam codici A attribuit.
- 36.18** τὸ: Schmidt 24.12 omissionem vocis τὸ in codice A non enotavit.
- 37.1** Χάβης: Perperam Schmidt 24.14 (app. crit.) codicem A alterum κάβης omisisse notavit. Codex A primum κάβης omisit.
- 37.4** καταλελειμμένον: Schmidt 22.17 male καταλελειμμένον scripsit.
- 37.6** καὶ: Perperam Schmidt 24.19 (app. crit.) codices BC vocem ἤ omisisse, quod codex A habet, enotavit; codex A καὶ praebet.
- 37.18** τῷ: Schmidt 25.10 male lectionem τὸ codicum A et C scripsit.
- 38.3** τὸ...θηλυκόν: Lentz 63.2: δεσπότις τὸ B: δεσποτις τὸ MAO: καὶ τὸ δεσπότις C; perperam Schmidt 25.13 (app. crit.) etiam codici B lectionem καὶ τὸ δεσπότις attribuit.
- 38.7** πιλωτόν: Haud recte Schmidt 25.18 (app. crit.) lectionem πιλώτιον codicis C etiam codicibus A et B attribuit. A et B πηλώτιον habent.
- 38.8** ὡς: Schmidt 25.19 perperam codices A et B ὡς omisisse notavit
- 39.19** τὸ: Schmidt 26.14 additionem δὲ codicis C post τὸ in textu scripsit.
- 39.25** γύης: Perperam Schmidt 26.19 (app. crit.) lectionem γύνης codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A γύης habet.
- 40.3** μὲν: Haud recte Schmidt 26.23 (app. crit.) codices B et C μὲν habere enotavit. Codex A μὲν praebet, quod B et C omiserunt.
- 41.2** δυσώδης: Perperam Egenolff (1881), 496 εὐώδης dedit de A.
- 41.8** ἀκλινής: Perperam Schmidt 27.14 (app. crit.) lectionem ἀκρινής codicibus A et C attribuit. Codex A ἀκλινής habet. Codex C ἀκλινής post correctionem habet, sed ἀκρινής ante correctionem.
- 42.10** Ἐλεάτης: Ἐλεάτης C; perperam Schmidt 28.12 (app. crit.) lectionem ἐλεάτης etiam codici A attribuit.

42.11 πειρατής: Perperam Schmidt 28.12 (app. crit.) lectionem περατής etiam codici B attribuit

43.3–4 Ἐτι...**4** στρατιώτης: Haud recte Schmidt 28.19-20 (app. crit.) codicem C hanc partem omisisse notavit; de omissione partis δεσμώτης ... ἐπιθετικὰ in codice C vide ad apparatus criticum

43.3–5 δεσμώτης...**5** ἐπιθετικά: om. C; haud recte Schmidt 28.21 (app. crit.) codicem C ῥηματικὰ pro ἐπιθετικὰ habere notavit; vox ῥηματικὰ ante Ὁρέστης omissioni debetur

43.7 ἀργεστής: Schmidt 28.23 additionem verbi καὶ ante ἀργεστής in codice C in textu scripsit et in apparatu critico non enotavit.

43.7 ἐπιθετικά: Schmidt 28.23 additionem verbi ὁξύνονται post ἐπιθετικὰ in codice C in textu scripsit et in apparatu critico non enotavit.

43.12 ἀσεβής: Perperam Schmidt 29.4 (app. crit.) codices BC vocem ἀσεβής omisisse notavit.

45.1 εἰς?: Haud recte Schmidt 29.16 (app. crit.) codices AB εἰς omisisse notavit.

47.8 εἰς...συνεσταλμένον: Perperam Schmidt 30.8 (app. crit.) verba εἰς Υ συνεσταλμένον ἀρσενικὰ codici A attribuit. Haud recte Schmidt 30.8 (app. crit.) codices BC εἰς ὀνόματα συνεσταλμένον τὸ ι ἔχοντα habere annotavit; codex B εἰς ισ ὀνόματα (ὀνόματα deletum legitur) habet et codex C εἰς ισ ὀνόματα συνεσταλμένον τὸ ι ἔχοντα

48.11 Τυνδαρίς: Schmidt 30.21 male additionem ἡ τοῦ Τυνδάρεω post Τυνδαρίς in codice C in textu scripsit, et perperam solum codicem B voces ἡ τοῦ Τυνδάρεω non habere in apparatu critico enotavit. Codex A etiam ἡ τοῦ Τυνδάρεω non habet.

49.3 γενόμενον: Haud recte Schmidt 31.3 (app. crit.) solos codices B et C γινόμενον habere enotavit; codex A etiam γινόμενον praebebat.

50.5 σημείωσαι: Haud recte Egenolff (1881), 496 codicem A σημειώτεον habere annotavit; codex A ση habet.

50.7 σφραγίς: Schmidt 31.15 male σφαγίς in textu scripsit; σφαγίς lectio codicis A ante correctionem est.

50.11 ἀλουργίς: Haud recte Schmidt 31.18-9 lectionem ἀλουργίς etiam codici C attribuit; codex C ἀλλουργίς (sic) habet.

50.17 Κρᾶθις: Perperam Schmidt 32.2 (app. crit.) lectionem κρᾶθις codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A κρᾶθις praebebat.

50.20 δὲ: Perperam Egenolff (1881), 496 verbum μὲν postea deletum in A non annotavit.

51.3 παλλακίς: Haud recte Schmidt 32.9 (app. crit.) lectionem παλλακίς codicibus A et B attribuit; codices A et B παλλακίς habent.

51.15 ἦ: Perperam Schmidt 33.1 (app. crit.) lectionem ἦ codicibus ABC attribuit.

51.15 ἔνοπλος: Haud recte Schmidt 33.1 (app. crit.) lectionem ἐν ὅπλοις codicibus B et C attribuit (C^{ac}. ἔνοπλοις (sic), ut videtur, scripsit).

51.18 εἰ: Schmidt 33.4 male εἰ scripsit.

51.20 μαῦλις: Haud recte Schmidt 33.6 (app. crit.) lectionem μάλυβδης codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A μάλβυδης habet.

51.21–22 μακρόν...**22** A: Haud recte Schmidt 33.7 lectionem τὸ α μακρόν codicis C in textu scripsit et variam lectionem codicum A et B μακρόν το α non enotavit.

51.27 μέν: Haud recte Schmidt 33.11 (app. crit.) omissionem codicis C etiam codici A attribuit.

52.3 †πενταλῖς: Perperam Schmidt 33.15 (app. crit.) lectionem πενταλῖς codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A προνταλῖς habet.

52.8 πῶμα: Haud recte Schmidt 33.20 (app. crit.) lectionem πτῶμα codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A πτόμα habet.

52.16 ἡ I: Haud recte Schmidt 34.5 (app. crit.) lectionem τὸ ι codicis C etiam codici B attribuit.

52.18 ἔχει: Perperam Schmidt 34.6 (app. crit.) omissionem codicis C etiam codici B attribuit.

52.21 Ἄδουλις: Haud recte Schmidt 34.9 (app. crit.) lectionem ἄγουλις in codice C etiam codici B attribuit. Codex B Ἄδουλις habet.

52.27 Σαλαμῖς: Haud recte Schmidt 34.13 (app. crit.) codices ABC σεμῖς habere notavit. solus codex C σεμῖς praebet; codices AB σεμῖς δὲ praebent.

52.28 ὀξύνεται: Haud recte Schmidt 34.14 variam lectionem ὀξύνονται codicis C in textu scripsit et lectionem ὀξύνεται aliorum codicum non enotavit.

53.1 δέ²: Perperam Schmidt 34.17 lectionem codicis A in textu non scripsit.

53.9 παραλήγοντα: Perperam Schmidt 35.1 (app. crit.) variam lectionem παραλήγοντα solo codici B attribuit; codex A etiam παραλήγοντα habet.

54.13 ἐλπῖς...ἐμπῖς: Perperam Schmidt 36.1 (app. crit.) codicem C ἀσπῖς ἐλπῖς ἐμπῖς habere annotavit; codex C ἐλπῖς ἀσπῖς ἐλπῖς praebet.

54.15–16 ἔχοντα...**16** ἔννοιαν: Schmidt 36.3 inversum ordinem

vocum ἔννοιαν ἔχοντα in codice C in textu scripsit et lectionem aliorum codicum non enotavit.

55.16 ὑπερδυσύλλαβα: Schmidt 36.18 lectionem ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς codicis C in textu scripsit et lectionem ὑπερδυσύλλαβα aliorum codicum non enotavit.

55.19 E: Schmidt 36.21 verbum supervacaneum τὸ ante E addidit, et additionem non enotavit.

55.24 Κελένδερις: Schmidt 36.24-5 lectionem Κελένδερις scripsit, sed lectionem κέλερις codicum non enotavit.

56.10 O: Schmidt 37.13 (app. crit.) additionem verbi τὸ ante O in codicibus B et C in textu scripsit, sed alios codices solum O habere non enotavit.

57.4 βαρύνεται: Schmidt 38.1 lectionem βαρύνεται in textu scripsit, sed lectionem βαρύνονται codicum ABC non enotavit.

57.5 ῥυτίς: Haud recte Schmidt 38.1 (app. crit.) lectionem ῥυγίς codicis C etiam codici B attribuit; codex B ῥυτίς praebet.

57.13 βούβρωστις: Schmidt 38.9 lectionem βούβρωστις in textu scripsit, et lectionem βούβρωστρις codicum non enotavit.

59.5 ῥάχις: Perperam Schmidt 39.6 lectionem ῥᾱχίς codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit.

59.6 ὕδελχις: Perperam Schmidt 39.6 (app. crit.) lectionem ὕδελφις codicis C etiam codici B attribuit.

60.5 Ἀταργατίς: Perperam Schmidt 39.12 (app. crit.) lectionem ἀτεργατίς codicis C etiam codici B attribuit.

60.8 μακρῶ: Perperam Schmidt 39.15 (app. crit.) lectionem μακρόν codicum B et C etiam codici A attribuit; codex A lectionem μακρῶ praebet.

63.1 ἐνὸς...συμφώνων: Haud recte Schmidt 40.16 (app. crit.) lectionem ἐνὸς συμφώνου codicis C etiam codici A attribuit. Perperam lectionem ἐνὸς δύο συμφώνων codici B attribuit.

64.7 Λῶος σῶος: Barker et Schmidt 41.9 inversum ordinem vocum scripserunt.

64.9 ΥΙΟΣ: Schmidt 41.11 (app. crit.) haud recte codices BC ΗΟΣ ... ήός habere notavit; error debetur Barkero 38.10, qui υι tamquam η legit et in textu scripsit.

65.2 ἰλεός: Perperam Schmidt 41.17 (app. crit.) lectionem ἰλεός codicis B non etiam codici A attribuit.

65.6 εἰ: Barker 38.21 et Schmidt 42.3 haud recte lectionem ἦ codicibus attribuerunt; error debetur Barkero, qui εἰ tamquam ἦ legit et in textu scripsit.

66.5 δαιδάλειος: Perperam Schmidt 42.10 (app. crit.) lectionem

δεδάλειος codicis C etiam codicibus A et B attribuit; error partim debetur Barkero, qui lectionem codicis C in textu scripsit et variam lectionem codicis B non annotavit.

66.8 προπαροξύνονται: Haud recte Schmidt 42.12-3 (app. crit.) προπαροξύνεται in textu scripsit, quod nullus codex habet. Codices προπαροξύνονται praebent.

68.2 προπαροξύνεται: Haud recte lectionem παροξύνεται etiam codicibus A et B attribuit Schmidt 42.18-9

68.4 προπαροξύνεται: Perperam Schmidt 42.20 (app. crit.) lectionem παροξύνεται codicibus A, B et C attribuit; error partim debetur Barkero 39.13, qui παροξύνεται in textu scripsit. Codices προπαροξύνεται habent.

68.8 ῥόδιος...Σχέδιος: Haud recte Schmidt 43.3 (app. crit.) lectionem ῥόδιος καὶ σχέδιος codicis C etiam codici A attribuit. Codex A, ut etiam codex B, ῥόδιος κύριον καὶ Σχέδιος habet.

69.3 ΩΝΙΟΣ: Haud recte Schmidt 43.7 (app. crit.) lectionem codicis C etiam codici A attribuit.

69.8 μονιός: Perperam Schmidt 43.12 (app. crit.) lectionem παροξύνεται codici A attribuit; codex A ὀξύνεται praebet.

73.4 μύριος: Perperam Schmidt 45.14 (app. crit.) lectionem μυρίος codicibus A, B, et C attribuit.

73.10 ἄντην: Perperam Schmidt 45.20 (app. crit.) lectionem ἄντιν codicis C etiam codicibus A et B attribuit; A et B ἄντιν praebent.

74.5 κωβίος: Haud recte Schmidt 46.2 (app. crit.) lectionem κυβίος codicis C etiam codici B attribuit; error debetur Barkero 42.3, qui lectionem κυβίος codicis C in textu scripsit et variam lectionem κωβίος codicis B non annotavit.

75.6 ἀθρόος: Haud recte Schmidt 46.12 (app. crit.) codices BC ἀθρόως habere scripsit; error debetur Barkero 42.13, qui ἀθρόως (tamquam lectionem codicum BC) in textu scripsit.

77.1 Ω...προσγεγραμμένου: Haud recte Schmidt 47.1 (app. crit.) lectionem διφθόγγω (post Ω) codicis C etiam codici B attribuit. Perperam Schmidt 47.2 lectionem καταχρηστικῇ codicis C in textu scripsit, et lectiones aliorum codicum non enotavit.

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