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**STUDIES IN THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS OF  
EARLY GREEK**

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*To the memory of my parents and grandparents*



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This study originated from my Master's dissertation on Space, Deixis and Stage Management in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, and from the classes I took on Greek Dialects in Inscriptions, Comparative Philology and Historical Linguistics while working toward my Master's Degree. I was deeply interested in the philological aspect of Greek, and found the lectures I attended truly inspirational. My dissertation turned out to be so focused on philological issues that it almost set aside the literary discussion on the subject. I became so interested in both the grammar of Greek dialects and the general workings of deixis that finally I decided to embark on a study that would focus on the structure and use of deictics, particularly demonstrative pronouns, in a selection of Greek dialects. The present thesis is the outcome of such study, and I am indebted to the many people who helped me get it to its final stage.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Artemis = Peek (1974b)  
BCH (1936) = Feyel (1936)  
BCH 109.1 = Masson (1985)  
BCH 128-9 = Tziafalias and Helly (2004-2005)  
BCH 130 = Tziafalias *et al.* (2006)  
BCH 59 = Béquignon (1935)  
BCH 94 = Helly (1970b)  
Buck = Buck (1955)  
CEG = Hansen (1983)  
CEG2 = Hansen (1989)  
Chaniotis = Chaniotis (1996)  
Chiron 9 = Petzl and Pleket (1979)  
CIDP II = Brixhe (1988b)  
CIDP V = Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000)  
Colvin = Colvin (2007)  
Darnezin = Darnezin and Tziafalias (2007)  
DCA = Bile (1988)  
Deecke = Deecke (1884)  
DELG = Chantraine (1968)  
DGE = Schwyzer (1923)  
DGP = Brixhe (1976)  
*Docs* = Ventris and Chadwick (1973)  
EA (1984) = Engelmann and Malay (1984)  
Ferri = Ferri (1926)  
GHI = Rhodes and Osborne (2003)  
GVCyr = Peek (1972)  
GVI = Peek (1955)  
GVIT = Peek (1974a)  
Hall<sup>1</sup> = Hall (1872-1880)  
Hall<sup>2</sup> = Hall (1882-1885)  
Hodot = Hodot (1990)  
Hoff = Hoffmann (1891)  
ICS = Masson (1983a)  
IED = Minon (2007a)  
IC = Guarducci (1935-1950)  
IG V<sup>2</sup> = Hiller von Gaertringen (1913)  
IG XII 2 = Paton (1899)  
IG XII 2 Suppl. = Hiller von Gaertringen (1939)  
IG XII 3 = Hiller von Gaertringen (1898)  
IG XII 3 Suppl. = Hiller von Gaertringen (1904)  
IK 4 = Merkelbach (1976)  
IK 5 = Engelmann (1976)  
IK 6 = Frisch (1978)  
IK I = Engelmann and Merkelbach (1972)

IK = Mitford (1971)  
 IPArk. = Thür and Taeuber (1994)  
 ISKP = Masson and Mitford (1986)  
 IT = Decourt (1995)  
 ITA = Doulgeri-Intzesiloglu (2007)  
 IThesp = Roesch (2007†a-c)  
 IvM = Kern (1960)  
 IvOl = Dittenberger and Purgold (1896)  
 Kadmos 9 = Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970)  
 LDL = Bourguet (1927)  
 LG = Willetts (1967)  
 LGVI 1 = Hansen (1975)  
 LGVI 2 = Hansen (1985)  
 LSAG = Jeffery (1990)  
 Matthaïou = Matthaïou (2006)  
 McDevitt = McDevitt (1970)  
 Meiggs-Lewis = Meiggs and Lewis (1969)  
 Mnem. 1970 = Helly (1970a)  
 NK = Mitford (1980)  
 Nomima I = van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994)  
 Nomima II = van Effenterre and Ruzé (1995)  
 Peek = Peek (1971)  
 PHI = Greek-Epigraphy-Project (1991-2006)  
 Robertson = Robertson (2010)  
 RAPH = Béquignon (1937)  
 SECir = Oliverio et al. (1963)  
 SEG = Roussel *et al.* (1923-)  
 SIG = Dittenberger (1915-1920)  
 SSSWC = Mitford (1961)  
 Striano = Striano Corrochano (1989c)  
 TA = Inglese (2008)  
 Tekmeria 1 = Chanotis (1995)  
 TGG = Lorenz (1976)

## **OTHER ABBREVIATIONS**

Av. = Avestan  
 Gr. = Greek  
 Hitt. = Hittite  
 Lat. = Latin  
 Lith. = Lithuanian  
 OCS = Old Church Slavonic  
 PIE = Proto-Indo-European  
 Skt. = Sanskrit

Abbreviations of journal titles follow *L'Année Philologique*.

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Traditional views on “Ancient Greek” demonstratives state that Greek had a tripartite system of demonstratives, where each set fulfilled different syntactical functions and corresponded to a different person.<sup>1</sup> The theory is basically correct when applied to Attic, and usually Ionic, but it hardly reflects the situation of many other Greek dialects. The confusion arises due to the general tendency to equate “Ancient Greek” with “Attic” –or Attic/Ionic or “Classical Greek”- and to use one term as metonymy of the other. Generalizations based on this dialect can be truly misleading, as not every ancient Greek dialect had a tripartite system of demonstratives, and those that did, did not always use the same sets of demonstratives as Attic.

This thesis is a study on the system of demonstrative pronouns of various non-Attic dialects of Ancient Greece. It examines the constitution and operation of demonstrative pronouns as preserved in early Greek dialectal inscriptions. Only a small number of studies have been published on the subject based on epigraphic material, and even though the topic appears scattered across grammars and various publications, it has not been properly addressed in a unified study. This apparently simple description of the subject of research of the present study involves, in fact, a number of theoretical issues that need to be clarified. It will therefore be helpful to begin with the discussion of some concepts, basic notions and theoretical assumptions.

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Manolessou (2001) 120: “The AG (Ancient Greek) demonstrative system is tripartite, consisting of the pronouns ὅδε -ἧδε -τόδε / οὗτος -αὕτη -τοῦτο / ἐκεῖνος -ἐκεῖνη -ἐκεῖνο, traditionally held to correspond to deictic contrasts related to the three personal pronouns, with a further distinction between textually cataphoric ὅδε vs. anaphoric οὗτος”.

## ***I.1. Basic notions and theoretical issues***

### **I.1.1. Defining Demonstrative Pronouns**

Pronouns are a part of speech or lexical category. They are generally classified as “function words” because they do not denote a concept but rather have a grammatical function,<sup>2</sup> and as “closed-class words” because they are a closed set of items that very rarely –if at all– incorporates new elements.<sup>3</sup> The lexical category “Pronoun” encompasses a rather complex and heterogeneous group of words that includes personal pronouns, reflexives, possessives, demonstratives, relatives and correlatives, interrogatives and indefinites. Although the differences between the various groups seem to be more numerous than their similarities, they are nevertheless classified under the same category: “Pronouns”, namely “words that stand for nouns”.<sup>4</sup> This conventional definition of pronouns is, however, both incomplete and inaccurate. Pronouns can “stand” for nouns but also noun phrases. Some pronouns do not “stand” for nominals at all.<sup>5</sup> They “stand” for adjectives, adverbs, even verbs or whole sentences. As Lyons (1977) 637 states, one should keep in mind that pronouns are first and foremost referring expressions, and that they are more than simple substitutes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Panagiotidis (2002) 38: “a pronoun is such by virtue of the fact that it does not denote anything, but rather, it is a semantic variable. (...) Pronominality is nothing but the lack of descriptive content of a noun”.

<sup>3</sup> See Fromkin et al. (2005) 64; Hall (2005) 81.

<sup>4</sup> Panagiotidis (2002) acknowledges the complexity of pronouns and their heterogeneity, as they vary cross-linguistically enormously. However, they also have cross-linguistic correspondences: “it seems to be an absolute universal that pronouns *refer but do not denote*” (11). It is worth pointing out, however, that on many views on reference not all pronouns refer. For a view against direct reference accounts, particularly on the issue of “that-phrases”, see King (2001); also Elbourne (2008).

<sup>5</sup> See Lyons (1977) 636-637. Lyons is referring mainly to demonstrative pronouns.

<sup>6</sup> Also Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990) 13: “They (grammarians) treat pronouns as literally standing in place of nouns, and are apparently uninterested in their role as indexical indicators of persons”.

The need for redefining this category is not a recent concern, and has been extensively debated.<sup>7</sup> In a comprehensive monograph dedicated entirely to the topic, D. N. S. Bhat argued that the main difficulty in defining pronouns was due to the fact that we failed to differentiate between two very distinct groups: personal pronouns (essentially first and second person pronouns) and all the rest –what he classifies under the general term “proforms”.<sup>8</sup> Whereas the main function of personal pronouns is to indicate speech roles, namely who is the speaker and who the addressee, and the function they perform (agent, beneficiary, recipient, etc.), proforms have a variety of purposes, and are mainly used to locate, whether it be the participants in the communication act, things, events, or even pieces of speech, and to indicate the scope of an utterance.<sup>9</sup> In addition, whereas personal pronouns consist of a single-element stem, proforms seem to be formed by two separate constituents: a general term that indicates their scope or general concept (person, place, manner, quantity, time, property)<sup>10</sup> and a pronominal element that specifies their function or purpose (demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, etc.).<sup>11</sup>

In a very recent study, Dixon (2010a, b) proposed a different approach to the traditional view on pronouns. Dixon defines pronouns as closed-class grammatical words, making a general distinction between what he calls “pronouns” (personal and possessive pronouns) and the other groups –demonstratives, interrogatives, reflexives,

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<sup>7</sup> The debate will not be discussed here further as it falls outside the limits of this study.

<sup>8</sup> Bhat (2004) 4-5. In his essay on “La nature des pronoms”, Benveniste had already pointed out the particular status of personal pronouns amongst the whole group, and of *je* and *tu* as different from *il*. See Benveniste (1966) 251-257.

<sup>9</sup> Bhat (2004) 6-9; for a detailed analysis of proforms and their functions, see 201-225.

<sup>10</sup> Bhat (2004) 156 gives the example of Classical Greek, e.g. demonstratives οὗτος (person), τοιόσδε (property), ἐκεῖ (place), τότε (time), οὕτως (manner), τοσόσδε (amount).

<sup>11</sup> For the structure of proforms see Bhat (2004) 153ff. For examples of Classical Greek, 155. In his concluding chapter, Bhat summarizes the differences as “*Personal pronouns*. Single-element expressions that have the denotation of speech roles as their primary function. *Proforms*: Two-element expressions that indicate a general concept and a function such as (i) locating an entity, (ii) denoting one’s lack of knowledge about an entity, (iii) obtaining information about an entity, (iv) identifying an entity as the same as the one denoted by some other expression, (v) relating an entity with some other entity in which that general concept is employed” (273).

etc., but without grouping them all together. He particularly focuses on “pronouns” and demonstratives and classifies them as a variety of “shifters”, namely their reference changes in parallel with shifts in the communication act, i.e. changes of participants, time and place. Pronouns are “Participant shifters” and demonstratives are “Spatial shifters”.<sup>12</sup>

Approaching demonstratives from a different point of view, that of definiteness, Lyons (1999) 17-20, 331 ff. states that demonstratives appear to be inherently definite, their referent being always identifiable. However, demonstratives possess other properties apart from definiteness, [+Def]. They can also express a deictic opposition between proximity and distance, [+Prox], and yet some languages seem to have demonstratives that are deictically unmarked. Lyons concludes that demonstratives must have another property that distinguishes them from simple definite articles, i.e. a [+Dem] feature, and proposes demonstratives to be defined as [+Def, +Dem, +Prox]. He explains that definite articles derive from demonstratives through the loss of the [+Dem] feature amongst other factors, and argues that definiteness is not a semantic/pragmatic property, but a grammatical category.<sup>13</sup>

Pronouns can also be classified from a syntactic point of view. Most of Bhat’s proforms (including demonstratives), but certainly not personal pronouns, can be used either adnominally or pronominally, namely they can co-occur with a noun as determiners or modifiers (adjectivally) or they can appear independently in argument position, i.e. “pronominally” in a strict sense, as head of a noun phrase or making up a noun phrase on their own.<sup>14</sup> Taking these two behaviours into consideration, Schwartz

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<sup>12</sup> See Dixon (2010a) 114, and Dixon (2010b) 189.

<sup>13</sup> See Lyons (1999) particularly 17-20; 331ff. For other views on demonstratives and definiteness, and a discussion on whether demonstratives are inherently definite, see Elbourne (2008).

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion on the topic see Bhat (2004) 190ff; Diessel (1999b) Chapter 2; Diessel (2008). Also Crespo et al. (2003) 40-42 for Classical Greek. Discussing the syntax of Spanish, Gómez Torrego (2002)

(2000) proposed a division between two word classes, pronouns and articles (in a wide sense), which she considered to be parallel classes. Personal pronouns and proforms working independently (pronominally) are classified under “Pronouns”, but proforms used adnominally are classified under “Articles”.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, as well as definite and indefinite articles she also discussed “demonstrative articles”, “possessive articles”, “interrogative articles”, etc.<sup>16</sup>

Taking into account what has been discussed so far about pronouns in general, we can now attempt a simple yet fairly comprehensive definition of demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative Pronouns (here Demonstratives) are a closed word class formed by intrinsically definite<sup>17</sup> referring expressions that can work –in most languages- both as determiners and heads of noun phrases,<sup>18</sup> used to locate or point to elements (participants, objects, events, etc.) in the communication act, and whose

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103, 105 identifies, syntactically, two different types of pronouns: intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic pronouns or proper pronouns are always used in argument position, such as personal pronouns. Extrinsic pronouns or discourse pronouns are determiners that take on the role of arguments when the noun that they accompany is omitted, e.g. demonstratives.

<sup>15</sup> In this study, however, “Demonstrative Pronouns”, or “Demonstratives” for short, will be used to refer to both adnominal *and* pronominal demonstratives without making *a priori* class distinctions. Given their historical, morphological and semantic correlation, they will both be discussed together. Dixon (2003) 63 prefers to use the label “nominal demonstratives” to cover both types. According to Dixon (2010b) 224, demonstratives –or “shifters with deictic reference”, belong to three different classes: nominal, local adverbial and verbal demonstratives. Nominal demonstratives can appear with or without an accompanying noun, as head of noun phrases (NP) or making up a complete NP on their own, sometimes co-occurring with the definite article, or, in some languages, another pronoun. See Dixon (2003) 65-69; Dixon (2010b) 224-228.

<sup>16</sup> “Articles are defined as morphemes which appear with nouns and function to identify their relative discourse or spatial status. Demonstratives which accompany a noun are a subcategory of article because demonstratives, like articles, are reference indicators, and they often belong with articles in a single distributional class”. Schwartz (2000) 791.

<sup>17</sup> Lyons (1999) 107 argues that demonstratives seem to appear in almost every language and to be inherently definite. See above.

<sup>18</sup> Diessel (1999a) identifies four different syntactic functions for demonstratives: pronominal, adnominal, adverbial and identificational. However, he is referring also to different grammatical categories: demonstrative pronouns, determiners, adverbs and identifiers. He acknowledges the fact that most languages use the same forms for pronominal and adnominal functions, i.e. demonstrative pronouns and determiners are the same (4). The present study will focus on these two categories. For a detailed analysis of the syntax of demonstratives, see Diessel (1999b) Chapter 4. For demonstrative pronouns and determiners in particular, 59-74.

reference shifts in parallel with changes in the situation of communication.<sup>19</sup> Demonstratives can be seen as a navigation system within a language; some sort of linguistic GPS providing speakers and addressees with coordinates that help them navigate through the flow of discourse and arrive safely at a destination. However, as Diessel (2006) 469 points out, demonstratives do much more than simply providing spatial orientation by indicating the location of referents. Most importantly, “they serve to coordinate the interlocutors’ joint attentional focus”, namely they help them arrive safely at *the same* destination.<sup>20</sup> The vital communicative function that demonstratives perform in language led Diessel to conclude that they have been wrongly classified as grammatical markers.<sup>21</sup> They not only exceed their scope, but appear to be a completely different class of linguistic expressions. Their linguistic status is also unique. Diessel argues that demonstratives are not only universal, but amongst the first words to emerge in language acquisition; their roots are ancient and don’t seem to originate in content words; they gave rise to a number of grammatical markers through the process of grammaticalization, amongst them the definite article;<sup>22</sup> they are intimately linked to the “gestural communicative system” (481), and given their ability to coordinate joint attention, they also play an important part in the internal organization of discourse.<sup>23</sup> As will be discussed in the following section, they play a role both in deixis and anaphora.

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<sup>19</sup> Dixon (2010a) 117 proposes a simpler definition: “a demonstrative is a grammatical element which can be used –generally, accompanied by a gesture– to point to an object in the situation of discourse”.

<sup>20</sup> Diessel (2006) 465: “Joint attention is a complex phenomenon that involves three basic components: the actor, the addressee, and an object of reference. In order to communicate, actor and addressee must share their attention on the same entity or situation”.

<sup>21</sup> Grammatical markers, grammatical words, grammemes or closed word classes are all terms used to refer to function words, in opposition to lexical expressions, lexemes or open word classes, used to refer to content words. Diessel (2003) argues that both demonstratives and interrogatives have a special status in language that exceeds their classification as grammatical markers, namely they have more than a language-internal or grammatical function. According to him, both initiate a search for information outside the discourse and are concerned with the interaction between speaker and hearer.

<sup>22</sup> Diessel (1999b) Chapter 4, especially 128-138.

<sup>23</sup> See Diessel (2006). Dixon (2010b) discusses the essential properties of demonstratives: they have a deictic reference and a syntactic function; they are used for identification or recognition, introduction of new information and discourse organization (234-239). They have both deictic and anaphoric roles. They

### I.1.2. Deixis and Anaphora

Deixis is a linguistic mechanism that allows the participants in a communication act to understand each other and communicate effectively. By means of deictic elements, speakers are able to bring their world and their own physical/mental reality into focus in the course of the communication. They are able to direct the hearers' attention onto what they want to focus, establishing a common area of reference (Diessel's "joint attentional focus") that subsequently enables them to be understood.<sup>24</sup> Deixis allows them to refer to themselves and their hearers, their space, time, interests, relationships, positions and displacements by using specific devices embedded in their everyday language.<sup>25</sup> Thanks to deixis, language points to the context of the communicative act as well as to its participants.<sup>26</sup> To express deixis languages make use of special devices called deictics. Deictics belong to different grammatical categories: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns (both adnominal and pronominal), demonstrative adverbs, verbs of motion, verbal tense and locative expressions, among others.<sup>27</sup>

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encode referential information related to spatial (contrast between proximal/distal or proximal/medial/distal) or temporal location (and other spatial specifications such as height), visibility, emotional interest or familiarity, and in some languages they can also encode information for person, gender and number (239-247).

<sup>24</sup> Ehlich (1982) 324-5; Ehlich (1989) 35-6.

<sup>25</sup> According to Lyons (1977) 637 "By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee".

<sup>26</sup> "Deictics anchor the discourse to a reference point and thereby encode a relation between some referent and the indexical content of the utterance". Grenoble (1998) 4.

<sup>27</sup> See Hanks (1992) 46. It is necessary to differentiate between deixis and demonstratives. They are not equivalent terms. Not all deictics are demonstratives and not all demonstratives are strictly deictic (see anaphora below). The present study will focus exclusively on demonstrative pronouns, but demonstrative adverbs will be considered when relevant for the discussion. Likewise, the article will be discussed for particular dialects only when relevant to the argument or when functioning as an integral part of the system of demonstratives of a given dialect. Demonstratives of quantity and quality such as τόσος/ τοσόσδε/ τοσοῦτος, τοῖος/ τοιόσδε/ τοιοῦτος, will not be included in the discussion due to limitations of time and space. For a classification of these forms as a type of demonstrative, see Crespo et al. (2003) 48-50.

Deixis works in the context of what is called the “deictic field”,<sup>28</sup> an area formed by the convergence of three coordinates: the participants in the speech act, the space in which the act takes place, and the time in which it occurs.<sup>29</sup> Deixis and deictic field are dependent on a nuclear reference point, a centre providing meaning to every utterance pronounced in the course of the communication. This centre, called *origo* or zero-point, is formed by the axis “I-here-now”.<sup>30</sup> Deixis imprints in the language special signals to indicate the connection between the discourse and the above-mentioned coordinates. It “indexes” the extra-textual world in the discourse. “Person deixis” indexes the first coordinate; “Spatial deixis” the second,<sup>31</sup> and “Time deixis” the third.<sup>32</sup> Person deixis points to the roles of the participants in the communication act. Through person deixis language refers to the speaker (1<sup>st</sup> person), the hearer (2<sup>nd</sup> person), and what is outside the dominion of speaker and hearer: the “non-participant” or “absent party” (3<sup>rd</sup> person).<sup>33</sup> Spatial deixis relates utterances to spatial coordinates outside the discourse. The spatial zero-point reference by default is the speaker’s own body. Through spatial deixis it is possible to locate the participants’ bodies in space, as well as other bodies and objects or sites related to them or referred to by them in the communication act.<sup>34</sup> Time deixis anchors utterances to the precise moment in which the communication act takes place. Participants are able to locate events in time and relate them to the temporal zero-point of the communication: events occur now, before now or after now.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Grenoble (1998) 28.

<sup>29</sup> Grenoble (1998) 13.

<sup>30</sup> Bühler (1990) 117-8; Lyons (1977) 638. On the definition and scope of *origo*, Grenoble (1998) 28-30.

<sup>31</sup> Spatial deixis is also referred to as Local, Place or Space deixis. I prefer the term “spatial deixis”, following Lyons (1977), Fillmore (1982) and Grenoble (1998).

<sup>32</sup> For an extensive description of each category, see Levinson (1983) 62.

<sup>33</sup> Felson (2004) 256.

<sup>34</sup> Spatial deixis “involves referring to the locations in space of the communication act participants; it is that part of spatial semantics which takes the bodies of the communication act participants as significant reference objects for spatial specification”. Fillmore (1982) 37.

<sup>35</sup> Fillmore (1975) 40-41, 70-86 identifies a further deictic dominion: social deixis. Social deixis refers to the way in which language points to the social status of and/or social relationships established between

Additionally, deixis can operate on three different levels: perceptual, mental/imaginative and textual.<sup>36</sup> In perceptual deixis the reference can be seen or perceived in the extra-textual context of the communication act, which is called “*Deixis ad oculos*” or deixis in a strict sense. The participants can give deictic expressions a meaning by retrieving their references from the real world, from what they can actually perceive/see: i.e. themselves and their respective locations in space. In imaginative deixis, the reference is not to be seen in the immediate context of the utterance but to be located in the participants’ own minds. A different context is created/imagined/evoked. The zero-point is displaced and deictics are consequently given meaning. This “imagination-oriented” deixis or “*Deixis am Phantasma*” refers to what is absent and not seen by the physical eye but by the “mind’s eye”.<sup>37</sup> Poetry, narrative discourse and recollections, for instance, draw on this kind of deixis. In textual deixis, also called discourse deixis or anaphora, language draws attention to the discourse itself: the reference is not to be found outside but inside the discourse.<sup>38</sup> As Dixon (2010b) 247 points out, the demonstrative (or 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun) used in textual deixis refers to an NP or a section of discourse to avoid repetition. It can point to something mentioned previously in the text (anaphora in strict sense) or mentioned later in the text (cataphora). Since textual deixis relates the text of the utterance to its *co-text*, it is also

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the participants in the speech act. It draws on special personal pronouns and some other devices existing in many languages to indicate levels of formality, politeness or respect.

<sup>36</sup> Or: “ocular”, “fictional” and “textual”; Felson (2004) 254. Felson adds a fourth hybrid type: “self-reflexive deixis”. For a detailed description see Lyons (1977) 657-77.

<sup>37</sup> Felson (2004) 259; Wackernagel (2009) 528. For a description of both types, Bühler (1990) 140-142.

<sup>38</sup> Grenoble (1998) 13 considers perceptual deixis as “primary deixis”, and discourse deixis as a secondary type derived from and dependent on the other. Also Ehlich (1982) 315; for a distinction between anaphoric and deictic expressions, 330-1. See also Lyons (1977) 667ff. Cornish (1999) 32 draws attention to the fact that the literature does not always differentiate between ‘text’ and ‘discourse’, and consequently between ‘textual deixis’ and ‘discourse deixis’, using both inconsistently and as equivalent terms. In the first case the referent is a section of the co-text (an NP), whereas in the second, the referent is the content or an aspect of the interpretation of a section of text, a proposition. Diessel (1999b) 93ff calls these uses ‘anaphoric’ and ‘discourse deictic’ respectively. Dixon (2010b) 248-250, ‘substitution anaphora/cataphora’ and ‘textual anaphora/cataphora’. Both cases are, however, subsumed in the generic term “anaphora” (Dixon (2010b) 247), and this study will not differentiate between textual and discourse deixis.

referred to as “endomorphie” deixis. Exomorphie deixis (perceptual deixis), on the other hand, relates the utterance to its *context*, i.e. what lies outside the discourse.<sup>39</sup>

In the context of ancient inscriptions, however, what lies outside the discourse, the extra-textual situation of the communication act, can be retrieved –if at all- only partially. And yet inscriptions share the same mechanisms, regarding deictic and anaphoric processes, as regular discourses.<sup>40</sup> They too establish a zero-point of reference and a tripartite set of coordinates. They also have a “speaker” and a “hearer”. It is then reasonable to say that when a text was engraved and displayed publicly (or even if it was intended for private viewing), it was expected that the reader would somehow be able to retrieve the reference. This could be obtained either from the spatial situation of the inscription or from the text itself, or both. Unfortunately, most inscriptions have been alienated from their original location, and in many cases the reference is irretrievable, making the text obscure and difficult to interpret. Regrettably this will be the case for many inscriptions discussed in the chapters below.

### **I.1.3. From Indo-European to “Ancient Greek”**

Within the scope of this section, only summary coverage can be given to the topics that follow. Much has been published on the issue of demonstratives in Indo-European, Homer and, especially, Attic Greek, and references will be made to the most relevant works for further reading.

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<sup>39</sup> Grenoble (1998) 16. The topic of deixis and anaphora has been well treated in numerous publications and given special attention in recent years. For reasons of space, it will not be treated here with more detail. On reference, deixis and anaphora see Tanaka (2011). For a description of main features and differences as well as an up to date account on bibliography on the topic, see esp. 12-33. Also Cornish (1999) Chapter 2. On anaphora only, refer to Huang’s comprehensive study, Huang (2000).

<sup>40</sup> Bakker (2010a) 152 argues that although we cannot retrieve “the actual behaviour of the speakers of Ancient Greek”, the corpus of texts available provides us with information on their use of language.

The term “Greek” (also “Ancient Greek”) will be used in this work to refer to features of the Greek language that are valid cross-dialectally, and to identify the language as opposed to e.g. Latin, Indic, Tocharian.<sup>41</sup> Particular references to Attic Greek will be properly acknowledged. “Early Greek” refers to the situation of Greek dialects before the pan-Hellenic spread and definite establishment of *koiné* Greek. The term “Classical Greek” will be used as Crespo et al. (2003) 1 suggest, to refer to documents and literary works, both in prose and verse, written in Attic during the classical period (480-323 BC).

#### ***1.1.3.1. The situation in Proto-Indo-European***

The reconstruction of pronominal stems for Proto-Indo-European (PIE) demonstratives is a difficult task. The situation of the system of demonstratives in the individual languages is so diverse and the series of demonstratives so abundant that it is hard to trace them back to a relatively reduced number of items. Many languages developed their demonstratives by adding suffixes or particles to the original stems or by deriving them from particles and adverbs. Despite the diversity of forms, most scholars concur that PIE must have had a reduced number of demonstratives, and they generally agree on two stems, *\*so-/\*to-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*, resulting in two series of demonstratives designating three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, *\*so*, *\*seh<sub>2</sub>*, *\*tod* (Skt. *sá sã tá́t*; Gr. *ὁ ἦ τό*; Gothic *sa so þata*) and *\*h<sub>1</sub>e*, *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)ih<sub>2</sub>*, *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)id* (Skt. *ayám iyám idám*; Lat. *is ea id*, present also in Gr. *μιν, νιν*; Cyprian *ἶν*, Cretan *ἰός*).<sup>42</sup> Meier-

<sup>41</sup> Also in a geographical sense, following Rix (1992) 3: “Das Griechische ist, solange seine Geschichte bekannt ist, die Sprache der südlichen Balkanhalbinsel, also Griechenlands”.

<sup>42</sup> See Beekes (1995) 201-202; de Vaan (2013) 4-6. For the reconstruction of PIE demonstratives I follow Beekes (1995). Szemerényi (1990) 216: *\*so \*sã \*tod / \*is \*ī \*id*; Mallory and Adams (2006) 417: *\*h<sub>1</sub>éi*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>ih<sub>a</sub>*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>id / \*so*, *\*seh<sub>a</sub>*, *\*tód*. For comparative data see Szemerényi (1990) 216-220; Beekes (1995) 202; Sihler (1995) 338-395; Mallory and Adams (2006) 417-418. In his founding study on PIE

Brügger (2003) 229-230 considers that the stem for the first set of demonstratives was *\*to-*, and that forms with initial *\*s-* were a later development from *\*to-* that only appeared in the nominative. For Szemerényi (1990) 216-217, on the other hand, the demonstrative appears to be using two different stems, *\*so-* and *\*to-*, which are suppletive and cannot be truly traced back to a unified form.<sup>43</sup> In addition, there were other deictic particles and adverbs that, although not proper demonstratives in PIE, were used by individual languages –in various grades of ablaut- to derive their demonstratives:<sup>44</sup> *\*kí-* (Lith. *šìs, šì*, Hitt. *kās*, Gr. ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖνος, τήμερον, Lat. *cis, hic ecce*), *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-* (Hitt. *enis*, Indic *ana-*, OCS *onъ*, Lith. *anàs*, Gr. ἐκεῖνος, κῆνος, τῆνος (unrelated κη-/τη-),<sup>45</sup> ἔννη, Lat. *enim*), *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* (Av. *ava-*, *hāu*, OCS *ovъ*, Skt. *a-sáu*, Gk. οὔτος) and *\*e-* (Skt. *a-sáu*, Oscan *e-tanto*, Russian *é-tot*, Serbian *e-to, e-toti*, Gr. ἐ-κεῖ, ἐ-κεῖνος).<sup>46</sup>

### ***1.1.3.2. In the beginning there was \*so \*seh2 \*tod***

Greek inherited PIE demonstrative stem *\*so- / \*to-* in what was later to become the definite article: ὁ ἦ τό (<*\*so \*seh2 \*tod*), originally a demonstrative.<sup>47</sup> It was still used with demonstrative force in Homeric epic as well as in the few occasions in which it

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demonstratives, Brugmann (1904a) had already identified the two stems, and presented them as constituents of what he called “Der-Demonstration” or “that-deixis”. See below.

<sup>43</sup> Also Sihler (1995) 389: they are “unrelated stems”; Adrados et al. (1998) 74.

<sup>44</sup> Beekes (1995) 202. Rix (1992) 182: PIE stems *\*so- /to-*, *\*i- /eǵ- /e-*, *\*eno- /ono-* and *\*eǵo- /oǵo-*. According to Rix, all of these stems, except perhaps the last one, have been preserved in Greek in some form, either transformed or reinterpreted, but Greek demonstratives use mainly the stem *\*so- /to-*.

<sup>45</sup> See Biraud (1983) 17-18. Beekes (2010) 1480: τῆνος < IE *\*to-*, i.e. *\*τέ-ενος* or *τή-ενος*. Cf. adverbial τῆ.

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed study on each particle, see Brugmann (1904a): expressing “Ich-Demonstration”, *\*kó-*, *\*kí-*, *\*k̑ó-*: 51-56; expressing “Jener-Demonstration”, “*n*-Pronomen”: 90-95; “*y*-Pronomen”: 96-106 (including a thorough analysis of οὔτος); and “demonstrative prefix” *\*e-*: 112-120. See also Bader (1973) 32; Beekes (1995) 202; Sihler (1995); 390-391; Mallory and Adams (2006) 418. For the Greek terms see Rix (1992) 184-185 and Beekes (2010). For further analysis of the formation of Greek terms, see I.1.3.3 below.

<sup>47</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1999) 154.

appears in Mycenaean texts.<sup>48</sup> There is debate about the range of uses of ὁ ἢ τό in Homer. Meillet (1965) 188 ff. acknowledges the fact that in the Homeric text the use of definite article as such is infrequent. When used, ὁ ἢ τό normally appears in the role of a demonstrative.<sup>49</sup> The creation of the article must have therefore occurred between the Homeric epic and later texts. According to Bakker (1999) 5, it was already incipient there, and some Homeric articles are used in a role close to that of classical Greek.<sup>50</sup> According to Basset (2006), the article has three main uses in Homer: it can appear pronominally, i.e. on its own, as a cataphoric/anaphoric demonstrative; adnominally, but still with demonstrative force; or as head of a noun phrase but requiring a predicative complement (relative, adjective, adverb), namely with semi-pronominal force and acting as an “endophoric presentative”.<sup>51</sup> In its first use, ὁ ἢ τό appears at the beginning of the sentence, often accompanied by a particle, and indicating a change of theme or character. It has a demarcating value, and it can be used anaphorically or cataphorically as a presentative.<sup>52</sup> For Basset, the semi-pronominal stage of ὁ ἢ τό is an antecedent of the complete loss of pronominal force and reinterpretation of the demonstrative as an adnominal marker of definiteness.

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<sup>48</sup> See below, Chapter II.5. It also appears to be used as a demonstrative in some early dialectal inscriptions. See e.g. Morpurgo Davies (1968). Refer also to the analysis of individual dialects in the chapters below.

<sup>49</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1999) 156-159 argues that even though the use of the article in Homer is not systematic, there are clear examples of its use as a definite article.

<sup>50</sup> On the creation of the article see Meillet (1965) 189-193; on its origins and functions, including its use in Homer, Wackernagel (2009) 555-566; on the development of the definite article in Greek, Manolessou and Horrocks (2007). For a detailed study of the uses of the article and other demonstratives in Homer see Chantraine (1942) 275-277 and Chantraine (1953) 158-170; for a more recent study, Basset (2006). The Homeric use of demonstratives will not be studied here. On the use of other demonstratives in Homer apart from the article, see Magnien (1922), an out-of-date account, but still the analysis is quite thorough; on the use of the article and οὗτος, Bakker (1999); on the use of ἐκεῖνος, Bonifazi (2009); on the validity of Homeric κείνος /ἐκεῖνος, Cassio (1994).

<sup>51</sup> Diessel (1999b) 135 calls this group “determinatives” and acknowledges their hybrid nature. The demonstrative “does not indicate a referent in the preceding discourse or speech situation, nor is it used to activate private hearer old knowledge; rather, it functions to mark the nominal head of a relative clause.(...) They are not only used adnominally, but also as independent pronouns functioning as the head of the subsequent relative clause”.

<sup>52</sup> Chantraine (1953) 158-159; Basset (2006) 108-109.

Diessel (2006) 476 states that the definite article is one of the grammatical categories most frequently derived from demonstratives across languages. According to him, the definite article originates from adnominal demonstratives, which are independent pronouns loosely attached to a co-occurring noun in apposition.<sup>53</sup> Through the process of grammaticalization, the demonstrative loses its main deictic function and is reanalysed as a definiteness marker. This process is accompanied by a restriction of functions and word order, and often morphological changes.<sup>54</sup> In later developments, the pragmatically reduced form may be morphologically reinforced by combining it with a content word, another demonstrative, or a deictic particle. Precisely this seems to have been the process at work for the creation of new series of demonstratives in Greek.<sup>55</sup>

### ***1.1.3.3. The Greek innovation***

According to Brugmann (1904a), Indo-European had four different types of demonstratives. The first three were opposed according to person: *ich-deixis*, *du-deixis*, and *jener-deixis*, and had a spatial reference, “here” (i.e. near the speaker), “there” (i.e. near the hearer), and yonder, “over there”. The fourth type, *der-deixis*, was a neuter term indifferent to this opposition and without spatial reference.<sup>56</sup> Mendoza (1976) argues that Brugmann’s theory cannot be applied to all Indo-European languages, which belonged to one of two different types of deictic system: they were either

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<sup>53</sup> E.g. ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος = “the man, this (one)”. See Diessel (1999b) Chapter 4; (2008) 7.

<sup>54</sup> Diessel (1999b) 128-129. For a complete account on the grammaticalization process, see Chapter 6. For the origin of articles, see also Lyons (1999) 331-334. According to Lyons, there would be a loss of the [+Dem] feature, a “semantic weakening or bleaching”.

<sup>55</sup> For a short study on the evolution of the system of demonstratives in various Greek dialects, particularly focused on demonstrative adverbs, see Biraud (1983). For an inventory of the various morphemes used in Greek, see 5-6, 10; for the semantic value of the particles, 21-24.

<sup>56</sup> For the concepts of “Ich-deixis”, “Du-deixis” and “Jener-deixis” see Brugmann (1904a) 9-12. Also Brugmann (1904b) and Ruijgh (2006) 155-6. These concepts were used by Bühler (1990) as a departing point for his theory of deixis (see above, I.1.2). For a description of the deictic uses of Classical Greek pronouns and the scope of the tripartite classification he established, see Brugmann (1900) 426ff.

bipartite, “deixis A/B”, with a spatial/temporal reference (here/there, close/far), or tripartite, “deixis 1/2/3”, mostly with correspondences to the first, second and third person.<sup>57</sup> Greek would have had a tripartite system but with spatial reference, indicating three different degrees of distance from the speaker.<sup>58</sup> When the old demonstrative ὁ ἦ τό was reanalysed as a definite article, Greek used stem *\*so/ \*to*, reinforcing it with the addition of various other particles, to build new series of demonstratives. ὄδε, demonstrative of *ich-deixis*, was built upon *\*so/ \*to* with the addition of deictic particle *\*-de*.<sup>59</sup> οὗτος<sup>60</sup> was also built using *\*so/ \*to*, but with the addition of particle *\*h<sub>2</sub>u-* and the inflected forms of pronominal stem *το-*.<sup>61</sup> ἐκεῖνος, demonstrative of *jener-deixis*, on the other hand, is the only series that was not built upon *\*so/ \*to*, but strangely upon PIE deictic particle *\*k<sub>i</sub>-*, a near-deictic or *ich-deixis* stem,<sup>62</sup> with the addition of other demonstrative elements, *\*e* and *\* h<sub>2</sub>eno-*, giving *\*e-+k<sub>e</sub>(i)-+h<sub>2</sub>eno-*.<sup>63</sup> According to Chantaine (1968) 329,<sup>64</sup> the distal meaning of demonstrative element *\*eno-* dominates

<sup>57</sup> Also Adrados et al. (1998) 83-90. Bhat (2004) 177ff.: the primary distinction is two-fold between proximate and remote, or three-fold between proximate, medial and remote, normally involving speaker and hearer.

<sup>58</sup> Adrados et al. (1998) 86.

<sup>59</sup> Rix (1992) 184, enclitic *-de*; Sihler (1995) 389. Beekes (2010) 307: *-de*, postpositive local deictic particle. Some dialects preferred the use of particles *-vi*, *-ve*, *-vu* instead of *-δε*. Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1999) 155. See below.

<sup>60</sup> According to Brugmann (1904b) 76ff. οὗτος is a demonstrative of *du-deixis*, but Rix (1992) 184: “Pronomen der undifferenzierten Deixis Ersatz für demonstratives ὁ ἦ (ἁ) τό (seit Homer)”.

<sup>61</sup> Rix (1992) 184; Beekes (2010) 1132: *\*so-* + *h<sub>2</sub>u-to*. Also de Vaan (2013) 6. For particle *\*u* see I.1.3.1.

<sup>62</sup> Brugmann (1904a) identifies *\*so-/\*to-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-* as stems of *der-deixis*, this/that, *\*k<sub>i</sub>-* as a stem of *ich-deixis*, here, and *\*h<sub>2</sub>en-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>eu-* of *jener-deixis*, there. Adrados et al. (1998) 85, 89: stem *\*k<sub>i</sub>-* is normally used for deixis A and deixis 1, i.e. near-deixis, but in Greek it is replaced by “anaphoric” *\*so-/\*to-* for deixis 1 and 2. On the contrary, *\*k<sub>i</sub>-* appears as a formant of deixis 3, but it is also found in near-deixis e.g. τήμερον. For the constituents of the three series of demonstratives, see also Schwyzer (1953) 610-613; Chantaine (1967) 123-128; Mendoza (1976) 94-95; Sihler (1995) 389-391.

<sup>63</sup> Beekes (2010) 397. Rix (1992) 185: *<\*e-ke-eno-s*. For comparative evidence of the different particles, see I.1.3.1 above. For the formation of ἐκεῖνος see Brugmann (1904a) 53-55; Biraud (1983) 23.

<sup>64</sup> Also Sihler (1995) 391, 4a.

the compound, and words such as ἐκεῖ acquired a “far-deictic value” under the influence of ἐκεῖνος.<sup>65</sup>

#### ***1.1.3.4. Demonstratives in Classical Greek***

According to Kühner and Gerth (1898) 641, the meaning of Classical Greek demonstratives was local; they pointed to an object that was located either in the vicinity of the speaker or far from them. The three sets of demonstratives of Attic (ὅδε, ἦδε, τόδε/ οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο/ ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖνο)<sup>66</sup> may suggest a threefold contrast between “here/there/over there”, but their spatial opposition was rather twofold, between “here” (i.e. in the speaker’s area), with a further contrast between ὅδε (in direct relationship to the speaker) and οὗτος (in indirect relationship), and “not here”, with the use of ἐκεῖνος.<sup>67</sup> Kühner and Gerth emphasize that ἐκεῖνος stood in opposition not to ὅδε, but rather to both ὅδε *and* οὗτος. On the other hand, whereas οὗτος indicates an object that is still in the vicinity of the speaker, the object may not be standing immediately visible, and therefore the demonstrative can relate to the second but also third person. However, after Brugmann, the three sets of demonstratives were traditionally defined as referring/related to the first, second, and third/neither-first-nor-second person respectively, which stands in agreement with the view of Greek as

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<sup>65</sup> Melchert (2009) 155, n. 7, however, believes that the \*ke- of \*ke-enos is a reinforcing particle that has no relation to near-deictic particle \*kí-.

<sup>66</sup> This section focuses on the system of demonstratives of Attic. The state of affairs on the topic in other Greek dialects, as well as their individual systems of demonstratives, will be discussed in chapters II to IV below. Attic is, undoubtedly, the most studied of all Greek dialects, and because of the number of works published on the subject, the topic will only be summarized here. The situation is similar for Ionic; and therefore the system of demonstratives of the dialect will not be discussed in this work. The situation of the Attic system of demonstratives will serve as a starting point for the analysis of the other Greek dialects discussed in this thesis, as well as a point of comparison between the dialects.

<sup>67</sup> Lyons (1999) 111, n. 3: although Classical Greek had three separate demonstratives, they showed only two degrees of distance. ὅδε and οὗτος, proximal and ἐκεῖνος, distal.

having a system with deixis of the type 1/2/3.<sup>68</sup> ὄδε, ἤδε, τόδε are deictics of the first person, “*Ich*-deixis”, and point to “this one here with me”.<sup>69</sup> οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο are deictics of the second person, “*Du*-deixis”, and allude to “that one there near you”. ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖνο are third person deictics, “*Jener*-deixis”, and refer to what is far from both speaker and hearer: “that one over there”.<sup>70</sup>

Recent studies have reprised Kühner and Gerth’s observation, and suggest that the basic contrast has more to do with distance than with person.<sup>71</sup> Biraud (1991) 190, for instance, argues that whereas ὄδε denotes presence and reference to the place/time of the utterance, and ἐκεῖνος denotes absence and distance from them,<sup>72</sup> οὗτος carries only a “designating” feature, pointing to a reference that can be found in the situation of communication but without specifying location, being therefore neutral to the contrast that opposes the other two.<sup>73</sup> Putzu and Ramat (2010) 422 approach the issue of classification with a similar view. Classical Greek would have had a tripartite system

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<sup>68</sup> See above. Létoublon (1992) 268: demonstratives are linked both to spatial coordinates and verbal persons. According to Ruijgh (2006) 156, adverbs used as spatial deictics are arranged in accordance with the tripartite system of demonstratives. Adverbs such as δεῦρο, ἐνθάδε, ἐνθένδε, τῆδε and ὧδε are related to first person demonstrative ὄδε. They also show the division between static (δεῦρο, τῆδε and ὧδε), allative (ἐνθάδε) and ablative (ἐνθένδε). Connected with second person demonstrative οὗτος are the adverbs ταύτη (static), ἐνταῦθα (allative), and ἐντεῦθεν (ablative); and related to third person demonstrative ἐκεῖνος, the adverbs ἐκεῖ (static), ἐκεῖσε (allative) and ἐκεῖθεν (ablative).

<sup>69</sup> Ruijgh (2006) 155.

<sup>70</sup> Ruijgh (2006) 155, 159. See also Létoublon (1992) 268.

<sup>71</sup> See e.g. Biraud (1981), (1991); Ledesma (1987); Martín López (1994); Manolessou (2001).

<sup>72</sup> Also Crespo et al. (2003) 48. Ledesma (1987) 214-215: the contrast is between distance and nearness in four different “locating domains”: spatial, temporal, textual and affective. For Martín López (1994) 22 Greek had a binary system based on a single contrast (proximity/distance in relation to the speaker), expressed in two different fields, deixis and anaphora. However, I agree with Manolessou (2001) 131 in that the change of perspective regarding demonstratives is not irreconcilable with the traditional view, but presents a different starting point: “the fact that a demonstrative is proximal/distal brings about its connection to the first/third person, and not viceversa”. On a completely different view, Heath (1964) 114-115 argues that neither personal relationship, nor distance, time, direction or presence, are adequate factors to describe the use of demonstratives, and coins two new terms to approach them: “presentational” and “reflectional”: things are presented vividly to the speaker’s mid or it has to produce them by reflection. To my view, his approach complicates the analysis even more by adding two new terms that are not really productive.

<sup>73</sup> See Biraud (1983) 4, 6; (1991) 172-192. Martín López (1994) 22: οὗτος is indifferent to the notion of distance.

articulated into a twofold contrast between two regions, A (inclusive, determined by the speaker's + hearer's perspectives) and B (everything else), and two sub-regions at the interior of region A, sub-region A' (exclusive, related to the speaker) and B' (related to the hearer). The contrast would be between ὄδε + οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος, on the one hand, and between ὄδε and οὗτος on the other.

However, according to Bakker (2010a) 153, objective distance is not an exhaustive way of approaching these demonstratives, and one should take into account the “cognitive dimension which involves the ‘subjective’ experience of the discourse participants”.<sup>74</sup> In this sense, Bakker explains that besides pointing to what is close to the speaker, because of its “proximal nature” ὄδε can also indicate familiarity and self-pointing, and because of the cognitive dimension of communication, something or someone that is accessible to the speaker but “new and salient” to the hearer.<sup>75</sup> In the case of οὗτος, the demonstrative can indicate the hearer directly, but also information that is accessible and familiar to both speaker and hearer. There is also a case of “informational disparity”: using ὄδε would indicate that the speaker presumes to have more familiarity with the element referred to by the demonstrative, whereas using οὗτος would indicate that they assess that the hearer has better access to it. On the contrary, ἐκεῖνος would indicate equal familiarity. Because of its distal nature, ἐκεῖνος refers to what is absent from the context of the communicative act. However, it is also used to refer to things that, even though physically absent, are cognitively

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<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Díaz Tejera (1972) 13: “la conciencia intersubjetiva reconoce que ὄδε significa lo que está o se quiere que esté en la esfera del hablante, mientras que ἐκεῖνος, lo que no se halla o se quiere que no se halle en dicha esfera”. Díaz Tejera stresses that it is not accurate to say that the three demonstratives relate to the three persons. It is more precise to say that they are in direct relationship with the speaker (“yo actor”), who puts them there and distributes them so as to fit the linguistic expression of reality (17).

<sup>75</sup> Bakker (2010a) 154: “Objective ‘givenness’, therefore, is matched with subjective ‘newness’”.

salient and shared by both speaker and hearer.<sup>76</sup> The same distribution of roles would apply to demonstratives used in textual deixis: ὅδε is used for what is new and salient to the “hearer” (=reader), whereas οὗτος for what is already shared between “speaker” and hearer. Conversely, ἐκεῖνος would refer to what is further back than that which is referred to by οὗτος. Due to the characteristics outlined above, the demonstratives would also be used to structure the discourse in a likely manner: ὅδε and οὗτος for moments of discontinuity and transition (new information/ recapitulation), ἐκεῖνος for references to continuous topics.<sup>77</sup>

Like Bakker, Ruijgh (2006) 157 identifies other roles not defined exclusively by distance. Demonstratives can, for instance, function as expressions of an opposition between a “speaker-oriented deixis” and an “addressee-oriented deixis”. When the object/person referred to by a demonstrative appears to be equally distant from speaker and addressee, the election between ὅδε and οὗτος reflects an intention to express the point of view of either one or the other. In addition, ὅδε can be employed to confer a sense of vividness, reality and proximity to the speaker’s words, when the person/thing referred to in the narrative is emotionally present in his/her mind.<sup>78</sup>

The syntax of Classical Greek demonstratives is a prolific, almost inexhaustible topic. Many major works have been published on it, and consequently I will not discuss it here further.<sup>79</sup> The functions and classification of demonstratives in dialectal

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<sup>76</sup> For further details on these differences, see Bakker (2010a) 153-157.

<sup>77</sup> Bakker (2010a) 157-161.

<sup>78</sup> Ruijgh (2006) 152-4, argues that in non-deictic uses, ὅδε, ἦδε, τόδε may function as “emphatic anaphorics” as well, opposed to οὗτος, αὐτή, τοῦτο, which usually appear as “neutral anaphorics”. On demonstratives and emotional deixis, see Lakoff (1974). For imaginative deixis, see I.1.2 above.

<sup>79</sup> For a thorough study of the syntax of demonstratives in Classical Greek see Kühner and Gerth (1898) 641-651. Also Wackernagel (2009) 528-537. For an analysis including some references to other Greek dialects as well, Schwyzer (1950) 207-210. For more recent studies taking into account modern linguistic theories, Biraud (1991); Crespo et al. (2003) 39-43, 48-50; Bakker (2010a). There are also many

inscriptions, on the other hand, are at the centre of the present study, and will be addressed in the sections that follow.

#### ***1.1.3.5. Demonstratives in inscriptions. Which early Greek?***

The classification of Greek dialects is a long-debated issue, and many different approaches have been proposed through time. Most modern classifications recognise the presence of three or four main dialectal groups, sometimes five when Pamphylian is considered as a separate dialect.<sup>80</sup> The grouping differs from one author to another, but basically a division into “West Greek” or “North Greek” and “East Greek” or “South Greek” is maintained almost everywhere, sometimes with the addition of an extra “Central Greek” “North-east Greek” or simply “Aeolian”, to assemble those dialects hard to fit in the previous groups. Risch (1955) and (1979) proposes a major division between North and South Greek. Doric and Northwest Greek on one hand, and Aeolic and Pamphylian, on the other, would belong in the first group, while Ionic-Arcadian-Cyprian-Mycenaean would belong in the second group as a single unit, with Ionic being the first to separate in post Mycenaean times and Attic the first to differentiate from Ionic.<sup>81</sup> Bartoněk (1979), on the other hand, proposes a division between West Greek, with a subdivision into North or “mild” Doric (Saronic and Northwest dialects) and South or “strict” Doric (but Elean also as “strict” Doric); and East Greek, with a subdivision into North East Greek (Proto-Aeolic: Thessalian, Boeotian and Lesbian), and South/East Greek (Achaean: Proto Arcado-Cypriot, Proto Attic-Ionic, Pamphylian,

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enlightening studies on demonstratives and deixis in Attic prose writers and literary texts, see e.g. Heath (1964) and Díaz Tejera (1972) on Thucydides; Biraud (1981) and Ledesma (1987) on Lysias; Rijksbaron (1993) on Herodotus (a thorough analysis of anaphoric οὗτος and the semantics of word ordering); Magnien (1922), Bakker (1999) and Bonifazi (2009) on Homer; Ruijgh (2006) and Nelli (2006) on Sophocles; Felson (1999), Bonifazi (2004) and Martin (2004) on Pindar. Issue 37 of *Arethusa* was completely dedicated to the study of Deixis in Greek Lyric. See *Arethusa* 37 (2004).

<sup>80</sup> Colvin (2010) 203-206 provides a detailed account of the different theories and general discussion on the classification of dialects.

<sup>81</sup> See Schmitt (1977) 129-130.

and Mycenaean as an “Achaean *koinē*”). Duhoux (1983), on the contrary, avoids the division into major groups and proposes four/five main categories: West Greek, Arcado-Cyprian, Attic-Ionic, Aeolic, and Pamphylian.<sup>82</sup>

I will not engage here in the debate on the subject. The chapters below will follow loosely Bartoněk’s division: Chapter II will include not only Arcadian and Cyprian, but also Pamphylian and Mycenaean, Chapter III, Lesbian, Boeotian and Thessalian, and Chapter IV a selection of West Greek dialects. As mentioned above, Attic and Ionic will not be the subject of this study.<sup>83</sup>

#### ***1.1.3.6. Demonstratives: a Working Classification***

In his remarkable article on demonstratives ὄνυ, ὄνι and ὄνε, Lejeune (1943) argues that demonstratives found in inscriptions are able to perform four main different functions: they can refer to what is before (Group A) or after (Group D) in the text, to the document itself (Group B) or to the monument where the inscription had been engraved/to which the inscription was attached (Group C).<sup>84</sup> Demonstratives performing functions A and D are normally covered by the general term ‘anaphora’.<sup>85</sup> They point to either something already mentioned (anaphora in strict sense), or to be mentioned in the text (cataphora). Demonstratives performing function C, on the other

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<sup>82</sup> On the basis for the classification and the identification of major isoglosses, see Duhoux (1983) 25ff. For a detailed account of different approaches to the classification of Greek dialects and a thorough analysis of isoglosses and common features, see Schmitt (1977) 118-133. Also Risch (1955); Meillet (1965) 77-106; Hainsworth (1967); Risch (1979). For Buck’s traditional classification, see Buck (1907) and Buck (1955) 3-14. For more recent accounts and views on the topic see Finkelberg (2005) 109-139 especially her interesting approach to the “dialect continuum”; Karali (2007); Colvin (2010).

<sup>83</sup> There are many major works on the study of Greek dialects as well as publications of epigraphic corpora worth mentioning. Meister (1882-1889), Hoffmann (1891), Bechtel (1921-1923), Schwyzer (1923), Buck (1955), and Thumb (1932-1959) are seminal studies. For more recent studies see e.g. Jeffery (1990, revised edition of 1961), Colvin (2007), Karali (2007), Colvin (2010) 206-212, as well as the collection of papers included in Christidis (2007) and Bakker (2010b).

<sup>84</sup> For Lejeune’s classification see Lejeune (1943) 121.

<sup>85</sup> See I.1.2 above.

hand, have a reference that lies outside or beyond the text, and the demonstratives are said to perform a deictic role. Demonstratives performing role B, however, are a different matter, and it is debated whether they should be classified as part of the anaphoric or deictic uses of demonstratives. Lejeune uses as his main point of reference in his article the distribution of demonstratives in Attic inscriptions. According to him, Attic employs οὗτος for group A and ὅδε for groups B, C and D. However, he adds that sometimes Attic might use οὗτος instead of ὅδε to perform group B's functions if the reference to the document is to be understood as "the preceding decree" instead of "the present decree".<sup>86</sup> Diessel (1999a) 101 considers this particular use to be a subcategory of exophoric deixis, namely deixis in a strict sense. "Text deixis", as he calls it, should be distinguished from textual/discourse deixis (endophoric), for "it refers to linguistic entities treated as an object of the surrounding situation".<sup>87</sup> Dupraz (2012) 13-14, on the other hand, acknowledges the difficulty of clearly establishing whether a demonstrative is pointing to the referent as a material object or simply to a semantic/pragmatic aspect of the antecedent, and suggests that "text deixis" should be considered as a transitional use, close to discourse deixis. I agree with Dupraz regarding the complexity of this group. There does not seem to be a clear cut between endophoric and exophoric uses, and this is certainly a hybrid category. In the present study demonstratives referring to the document will be discussed as a single group, regardless of whether their referent can be interpreted as "the preceding decree" or "the present decree", and they will be acknowledged as a mixed class.

Unfortunately, Lejeune's classification is not exhaustive. There are other functions that a demonstrative can perform in inscriptions that are not included in groups A, B, C,

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<sup>86</sup> Lejeune (1943) 121-122.

<sup>87</sup> Diessel is referring to Lyons' "pure text deixis". Lyons (1977) 668.

and D, as well as other uses of textual deixis not covered by groups A and D: demonstratives can also be used to point to a) the actual speaker or addressee of the communication act, b) its current time, and c) its current place. Lejeune mentions very briefly only one of these functions; demonstratives referring to the “present day”, “present month” or “present year”, i.e. to the current time. He states that there are no examples in Arcadian, Cyprian or Thessalian of demonstratives performing such a role. However, he does not take into account the possibility of functions a) or c) above being represented in inscriptions. Moreover, his statements concerning the use of demonstratives in role b) are rather vague and lack clarity. Given that these demonstratives seem to be the same as the ones used in group C, namely the series of ὄδε, Lejeune affirms that references to the current time of the communication are in fact a variety of group C’s roles, a group that he had defined previously as demonstratives referring to the monument. He also mentions the fact that group C demonstratives are “demonstratives of the first person” (ὄδε), and that seems to him to support his argument that references to the current time, also represented by ὄδε, are part of group C.<sup>88</sup> However, as Lejeune himself points out, there are a couple of occurrences in Cyprian where a demonstrative other than ὄδε is employed to refer to the monument, i.e. ὀνυ.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, there are some examples in Arcadian, Cyprian and Pamphylian of the use of particles -νι/-νυ and adverbs employing particle -νυ instead of -δε to perform some roles or convey some meanings usually allocated to “demonstratives of the first person”.<sup>90</sup> The fact that both group C and references to the current time usually employ ὄδε, and that ὄδε is a demonstrative of the first person,

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<sup>88</sup> See Lejeune (1943) 120 n. 2.

<sup>89</sup> Lejeune (1943) 128-130. For an analysis of Cyprian demonstratives see below, II.2.

<sup>90</sup> For Arcadian, Cyprian and Pamphylian, and a discussion on particles -νι/-νυ, see Chapter II below.

does not imply that the latter is a variety of the former, but rather that they share some common ground. They both have the same type of reference, pointing to something that lies outside and beyond the boundaries of the written text.

As this study will show, there are a number of inscriptions in the various dialects performing functions and/or pointing to references that cannot be accounted for by Lejeune's categories. Consequently, I propose to approach the study of demonstratives in early Greek dialects working with the following classification, which is intended to be simple yet broad enough to include all potential cases. Demonstratives in inscriptions can refer to 1) the participants in the communication act, 2) the current time of the communication, 3) its current place (Locative), 4) the artefact,<sup>91</sup> 5) the document as such, and 6) the text of the document. In this role, the functions of the demonstrative include, but are not restricted to, pointing to a NP or section of text that is located before (anaphora) or after (cataphora) in the text.<sup>92</sup> Other uses within 6), textual deixis, will be mentioned and identified when appropriate.<sup>93</sup> It is worth noting that not all the categories in this classification will be represented in or illustrated by inscriptions of the same dialect. For some dialects we have more evidence than for others and some of the categories may not be represented at all in a number of them.

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<sup>91</sup> I have subsumed Lejeune's group C in a category I have defined as "referring to the artefact" instead of "the monument", in order to include a number of inscriptions that otherwise would not really fit into such a group. I have used the concept taking into account its archaeological definition, i.e. an artefact is an object or piece of work produced or shaped by human craft. Therefore, it includes not only buildings, temples, shrines and columns (i.e. the monument) but also a range of other objects such as various pieces of pottery, utensils, tablets, pieces of metalwork, tools, coins, jewelry, etc.

<sup>92</sup> Or as Bakker (2010a) 157 puts it, referring to shared information or information new/salient to the reader, respectively.

<sup>93</sup> The different functions will not be classified further into deictic/anaphoric or exophoric/endophoric categories, and throughout the present work they will be referred to clearly by their labels rather than a number to avoid confusion.

## ***I.2. Scope and limitations of this study***

### **I.2.1. Aims and objectives of the research**

This study seeks to identify and describe constituents, patterns and distribution of the system –or systems, of demonstratives of a representative selection of early Greek dialects. In order to draw reasonable conclusions it is essential to take into account the distribution of the different series of demonstratives, their occurrence by city/region, their frequency of use across time, and the type of text in which they appear. It is especially important, particularly with regard to the next purpose of the research, to observe whether they can be used in the same text.

This work also seeks to examine, describe and compare the syntactic functions and, where possible, pragmatic uses of every series of demonstratives in operation in the selected dialects, providing a classification capable of accounting for all uses cross-dialectally.

As a further objective derived from the first two, it also intends to offer a glimpse of the way in which deixis and anaphora seemed to work in early Greek dialectal inscriptions.

Finally, this study seeks to provide the basis for a cross-dialectal comparison of the structure and operation of the different systems of demonstratives, as well as to correct some general misconceptions about the scope, usage and inter-dialectal connections of some series of demonstratives, particularly with regard to Arcadian and Cyprian. The results of such a study might contribute towards the discussion of the classification and history of the evolution of early Greek dialects.

Due to time and space limitations, it was necessary to restrict the number of dialects to be approached in the study. The selection tried to be representative and to cover as many dialectal groups as possible. Some dialects were studied in more detail than others, in accordance with the complexity of the structure and operation of their system of demonstratives. The evidence was collected from dialectal inscriptions, not from literary dialects, and the inscriptions were selected according to the following criteria: they had to be written in the dialectal language prior to *koiné* influence, or, if influenced by or written mainly in *koiné*, they had to show evidence of dialectal features; they had to predate the definite establishment of *koiné* in the area –which varies depending on the dialect, and for many of them can be quite late, or they had to belong to a period of dialectal revival.<sup>94</sup>

### **I.2.2. Methods**

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives and arrive at well-founded, evidence-based, compelling results, it was imperative to follow a systematic procedure when approaching each dialect:

a) Collection of as many occurrences of demonstratives as possible in dialectal inscriptions, namely inscriptions written completely in the dialect –including dialect revival cases, or in inscriptions influenced by *koiné* Greek or written mainly in *koiné* but showing plenty of dialectal features.

b) Morphological and syntactic analysis of the corpus of occurrences collected.

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<sup>94</sup> There is abundant bibliography on *koiné* Greek and its grammar, see e.g. Brixhe and Hodot (1993). Inscriptions written in *koiné* and Hellenistic evidence will not be examined in this work.

c) Arrangement of the information obtained from a) and b) in analytical tables,<sup>95</sup> distributing the data according to the following entries: inscription identification, location, date, type of text, line number and form collected, morphological analysis and syntactic/pragmatic function.

d) Analysis of the information contained in the table and statistical presentation of the data collected in graphs showing percentages, frequency and distribution, making the results more visual and any patterns present more evident.

e) Analysis of the use of every series of demonstratives operational in the dialect as shown by the evidence collected, and comparison of the different series.

f) Drawing of conclusions concerning the structure and operation of the system of demonstratives of the dialect from the information collected in a) to e).

### **I.2.3. Structure of the present work**

This thesis comprises five chapters and an appendix. The introductory chapter presents and discusses core notions that constitute the theoretical basis of the present study. It addresses the issue of defining demonstrative pronouns, as well as the topic of deixis and anaphora in general terms. The exposition then turns briefly to the evolution of the system of demonstratives from Indo-European to “Ancient Greek”, and concludes with a presentation of the scope and limitations of the research.

Chapter II focuses on the analysis of demonstratives in the “Arcado-Cyprian” group, and includes a study of Arcadian and Cyprian demonstratives, as well as a discussion of particle  $\nu\iota/\nu\upsilon$  and a brief note on Mycenaean. The analysis of Pamphylian has also

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<sup>95</sup> See the Appendix.

been integrated into this chapter, given that Pamphylian  $\nu\iota$  is discussed together with Cyprian  $\nu\nu$  in section II.4.

Chapter III examines the system of demonstratives of the “Aeolic” group; Lesbian, Boeotian and Thessalian, and includes some references to literary works.

Chapter IV concentrates on a selection of West Greek dialects: Elean, Cretan, Laconian, Cyrenaean and Theran. The selection tried to be as representative as possible, including both “Doric” dialects and what is traditionally identified as “Northwest Greek”. Elean is normally classified under the latter, and given the particular status that Bartoněk assigns it in the West Greek group, it seemed the best choice.<sup>96</sup> Concerning the other four, Laconian appeared to be a good representative of the Doric group, being a rather conservative dialect, Cretan was the dialect with the largest corpus, and with regards to Cyrenaean and Theran, it was interesting to see what the situation of the system of demonstratives would be in two dialects closely related. However, as with every selection, this was arbitrary too, and it was made taking into account the existence of an adequate amount of evidence for the dialects selected.

Chapter V presents the conclusions drawn from the analysis presented in Chapters I to IV, as well as some general remarks indicating possible implications of the research.

Finally, the Appendix contains the tables of data corresponding to each of the selected dialects, as described in section I.2.2 above.

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<sup>96</sup> See Bartoněk (1979) 125. He classifies it as a strict Doric dialect that also shows features of Northwest and even Aeolic influence (130). For the classification of Greek dialects see I.1.3.6 above.

## CHAPTER II. THE “ARCADO-CYPRIAN” GROUP

### *II.1. Demonstratives in Arcadian*

#### **II.1.1. Introduction**

Amongst the vast corpus of Arcadian inscriptions, only 16 written in the Arcadian dialect showed the use of a demonstrative. The 16 inscriptions contained a total of 55 demonstratives, distributed as follows: 23 occurrences of ὄνυ; 11 of ὄνι; 3 of either ὄνυ or ὄνι (the final vowel cannot be clearly identified); 17 of ὄδε and only 1 of οὔτος.<sup>97</sup> The distribution shows a clear predominance of the peculiar dialectal forms ὄνυ and ὄνι, representing 67 % of the total and surpassing both the number of occurrences of ὄδε, 31%, and οὔτος, 2% (See Figure 1 below).<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> τάνυ (IG V<sup>2</sup> 3.14; 4.5; SEG XXV 447.13, 23); τῶινυ (DGE 664, fifteen times: 11 (twice), 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 (twice), 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26 and 28); ταῖνυ (SIG 306.30); τῶνυ (SIG 306.59); ταννύν (SIG 559.48); τοςνύν (SIG 559.49). τωνί (IG V<sup>2</sup> 6.36; SIG 306.15); ταν[ν]ί (IG V<sup>2</sup> 6.53; SIG 306.9, 51, 55); τωνί (DGE 664.8, 9); ταινί (SIG 306.56); ταινί (SIG 559.44); ταινί (SIG 559.47). τῶνν[ ] (IG V<sup>2</sup> 262.23); τανν' (IG V<sup>2</sup> 343.51); τανν[νί] (SIG 306.36). ὄδε (SEG XI 1112.6); τόδε (IG V<sup>2</sup> 16.8; SEG XI 1112.7); τοῖδ' (IG V<sup>2</sup> 262.18); οἶδε (IG V<sup>2</sup> 1.9; 173.37; 262.1; 412.2; DGE 664.30, 31); τοῖσδε (IG V<sup>2</sup> 6.61, 72, 100; 358.2); ἄδε (IG V<sup>2</sup> 262.24); τάδε (IG V<sup>2</sup> 343.59, 78). τοὔτοις (IG V<sup>2</sup> 429.6). For details refer to the Appendix, Table 1.

<sup>98</sup> Both the accent and the *spiritus* of ὄνυ and ὄνι have been much discussed; there are no occurrences of any of these demonstratives in the nominative case to make clear whether one should write ὄνυ or ὄνυ. Some scholars prefer to accentuate ὄνυ, like ὄδε, because they consider that the ending -νυ is short. They argue that the iota in ὄνι is long and give it an oxytone accent to create a parallel between ὄδε-ὄδί and ὄνε [or ὄνυ] -ὄνι, since they consider that the iota contained in -νι is a deictic marker. See e.g. Buck (1955) 100. For explanations on long iota as a deictic particle, see DELG: 738. Oxytone accentuation is adopted by Baunack and Baunack (1886) 56; Smyth (1900) 68, 85; Bechtel (1921) 358 and Schwyzer (1923) 312-327. Lejeune, Ruijgh and Dubois prefer to accentuate both ὄνυ and ὄνι like ὄδε, due not only to the fact that they consider that the iota of -νι is short (according to Ruijgh (1957) 64, Lejeune has proved the case. See Lejeune (1943) 120, n. 1) but also because they want to highlight the morphological similarities of the three series. See also Dubois (1986a) 124-125, specially 124 n. 842. Regarding the

The high frequency of use of ὄνυ and ὄνι suggests that they were well in use in the dialect and did not happen to be just some occasional or rather strange alternative to the use of either ὄδε or οὗτος. This would also suggest that they had a specific purpose in the structure of the dialect. On the other hand, the scarce use of οὗτος in Arcadian inscriptions is noteworthy, particularly if we take into account the high percentage of appearances of this demonstrative amongst other dialectal inscriptions, Attic for instance. Finally, the complete absence of the third series of the traditional “ancient Greek” demonstratives, ἐκεῖνος, may lead us to think that this form was not part of the Arcadian system at all. However, the case of ἐκεῖνος is to be considered with more caution, given that this demonstrative is not particularly recurrent in inscriptions. It may have been the case that it did not appear in Arcadian inscriptions because it was unnecessary on syntactical grounds, but existed nevertheless in the spoken dialect.<sup>99</sup>

The definite article in Arcadian does not seem to have been used with demonstrative force, and works roughly in the same way as the Attic article. It is used e.g. accompanying a noun + demonstrative, namely double determination (τὰ γ κοινὰν σύγγραφον ταν[ν]ί, IG V<sup>2</sup> 6.53, Tegea, 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), or accompanying and defining a noun, e.g. in τᾶι ἐπὲς τῶι ἔργοι γεγραμμέν[αι σ]υγγράφ[οι] (IG V2 6.54), where τᾶι σ]υγγράφ[οι] “the contract”, refers to a known contract, also defined by the

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*spiritus*, some scholars prefer to write a *spiritus asper*, emphasizing the similarities with ὄδε. However, as Buck (1955) 54-55 has argued, even if one could not affirm that Arcadian was a psilotic dialect, some irregularities in the dialect force us to think that either the *spiritus asper* was disappearing or was not very strong or consistent. Therefore, Buck chooses to write them with the *lenis*. I agree with Buck, and for the sake of the comparison with Cyprian, which was indeed a psilotic dialect, I will adopt the *lenis* but will leave out the accent, i.e. ὄνυ and ὄνι. Nevertheless, whenever I quote Arcadian inscriptions they will reproduce the choice of the editor of the text and not mine.

<sup>99</sup> More conclusive evidence will be brought into the matter after analysing the application of ἐκεῖνος in some dialects which did use this demonstrative in inscriptions. It is worth mentioning the fact that ἐκεῖνος does not appear in Arcadia in inscriptions of a later date either, i.e. written in *koiné* Greek, where this demonstrative was well in use.

participle in attributive position, and τοῖ ἔργοι refers to a particular piece of work mentioned before. The article works as expected with attributive expressions, which define the noun they qualify. They are added either between the article and the noun (τᾶι ἐπὲς τοῖ ἔργοι γεγραμμέν[αι σ]υγγράφ[οι], same example above), or after the noun with a repeated article (ἀπὸ τῶι ὄριοι τῶι πρὸς τῶι Μελαμποδέοι τῶι..., IPArk 14.5, Orchomenos, 369 BC). Both uses are common in Arcadian inscriptions.

The evidence seems to point, therefore, to four series of demonstratives in use: ὄδε, ὄνυ, ὄνι and οὗτος, of which οὗτος would have been the least frequent. Three of the series (ὄδε, ὄνυ, and ὄνι) are very similar morphologically speaking,<sup>100</sup> and one may be tempted to assume that they were syntactically similar as well.<sup>101</sup> However, as will be shown below, the series served different purposes and were used in different syntactical constructions.

## II.1.2. Distribution of Arcadian demonstratives

§1. The 55 demonstratives collected do not correspond to the same era. They belong to different inscriptions coming from a variety of cities and periods.<sup>102</sup> The earliest inscription dates from ca. 525 BC (SEG XI 1112), whereas the latest from ca. 207 BC (SIG 559), a period of revival of the Arcadian dialect. It was very illuminating to

<sup>100</sup> As several scholars have stated (see e.g. Buck (1955) 100; Bader (1973) 36-7; Sihler (1995) 389; Chantraine (1967) 127; DELG: 738-9; Risch (1969) 840), ὄνυ and ὄνι appear to be morphologically constructed on the same basis as ὄδε, i.e. they derive from the definite article ὁ ἢ τό (going back to PIE *\*so*, *\*seh<sub>2</sub>*, *\*tod*) plus the addition of particles -νι or -νυ in the place of particle -δε (see I.1.3.2 above). Possible origins, functions and meanings of the particle νυ/νι are discussed in II.4 below.

<sup>101</sup> E.g. Schwyzler (1950) 208; Buck (1955) 100. ὄδε was frequently found as the meaning of ὄνυ in dictionaries. See e.g. Herwerden (1910) 1043. Referring to particle -νυ, Herwerden stated: “νυ: voculam Cyprii more homerico adhibent, praeterea cum Arcadibus o-nu dicentes pro ode” (1000).

<sup>102</sup> For details on dates and locations of the inscriptions, see the Appendix, Table 1.

observe the distribution over time of the 55 demonstratives selected, but it was most revealing to compare them with the distribution of 45 demonstratives found in inscriptions of a later date. Although the inscriptions lacked dialectal features, I have none the less included the late 45 demonstratives in Figure 2 below, in order to show a more complete and certainly clearer picture of the development of the system of demonstratives in the area. The Figure shows a clear cut in time in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, where dialectal demonstratives ὄνυ and ὄνι seem to have stopped being used. On the other hand, around the same time, οὔτος starts showing a continuous and progressive development.

The oldest demonstrative attested in Arcadian is ὄδε, 525 BC (ὄδε and τόδε, SEG XI 1112.6 and 7).<sup>103</sup> Our first evidence of Arcadian ὄνυ dates to ca. 460 BC (τῶννυ IG V<sup>2</sup> 262.23). This means that both ὄδε and ὄνυ are demonstratives of old date, and that ὄνυ was not a recent creation. The most significant evidence for this demonstrative is DGE 664, an inscription dating from 369-61 BC, with fifteen occurrences of ὄνυ. The inscription also provides us with the first evidence of the use of ὄνι in Arcadian (τῶννι in lines 8 and 9). ὄνι is certainly less recurrent than ὄνυ and has a relatively short life. Since we have evidence of ὄνυ, but not ὄνι, from a very old date, and since the first occurrence of this demonstrative is its timid appearance among an overwhelming number of ὄνυ in the same inscription, it does not seem implausible that the original form had been ὄνυ, and that ὄνι had appeared later as a variant development of the former. As Figure 2 shows, both demonstratives disappear completely by the late 3<sup>rd</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> For a discussion about the dating of the inscription, see Thür and Taeuber (1994) 269. They date the inscription to 525 BC following Jeffery (1961) 207-209; 213-214. Dubois (1986b) 195, dates it ca. 500 BC. Robinson (1943) 191, Beattie (1959) 66 and Buck (1955) 196 indicated a more extensive period, 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

century BC. It is precisely at this point that the use of οὔτος starts to be seen in Arcadian inscriptions. The distribution of the four series across time seems quite clear: ὄδε is the oldest demonstrative in use; ὄνυ is introduced at a not much later stage (with a subsequent variation ὄνι); ὄδε continues to be used along ὄνυ and ὄνι; ὄνυ and ὄνι disappear and a new series, οὔτος, is introduced; ὄδε and οὔτος continue to be used.

When ὄνυ reaches its highest frequency, ὄδε seems to increase in use as well. This could be a good indicator that ὄδε and ὄνυ did not clash with each other. This may also indicate that they served different functions. On the contrary, οὔτος appears at the same time as ὄνυ and ὄνι disappear, and this could mean that the three series were employed for the same purposes and that the latter were replaced by the former.<sup>104</sup> This can be supported by the fact that whereas ὄδε and ὄνυ/ι, or ὄδε and οὔτος, can appear together in the same text, ὄνυ/ι and οὔτος never occur simultaneously. Inscriptions have either ὄνυ/ι or οὔτος, and the series seem to be mutually exclusive. The evidence of an early use of οὔτος in Arcadia, a single occurrence in an inscription from Phigaleia (IG V<sup>2</sup> 429.6: τούτοις), does not invalidate the previous statement. There has been some discussion about the dating of this inscription. Because of the type of alphabet it uses, still not Ionic but more developed than the one found in older inscriptions, Dubois (1986b) concludes that the inscription must belong to a period between 390 BC and 369/2 BC, and he proposes dating it from 380 BC.<sup>105</sup> However, in an earlier study, Cooper (1975) had suggested that the inscription should be dated to

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<sup>104</sup> See Lejeune (1943) especially 125, 129. He argues that ὄνυ and ὄνι oppose ὄδε in the same way as οὔτος does, and that in the regions in which οὔτος is used, ὄνυ/ι is not, and viceversa.

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion on the dating of this inscription see Dubois (1986b) 259-260.

370-325 BC.<sup>106</sup> In fact he supported a date closer to 325 BC, since there were many other examples of manumissions like this one (i.e. engraved in bronze and punched in letters in a similar style to IG V<sup>2</sup> 429), from the second half of the fourth century BC onwards and especially during the third and second centuries BC.<sup>107</sup> If the inscription were to be dated to 325 BC, it would be broadly consistent with the general picture, in the sense that the last inscription using  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$  before the “dialect revival” of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC dates from 324 BC (SIG 306). Thus, one could assume that the replacement of the dialectal demonstratives would have started around this period and that this would be the earliest evidence of the beginning of a change in the system. In any case, even if the earlier dating proposed by Dubois was correct, there is still the fact that the inscription from Phigaleia does not show many dialectal features apart from the use of digamma, which could be pointing to an early influence of *koiné* in southwest Arcadia. However, as this is the only evidence we have of a demonstrative in that city,<sup>108</sup> there is no other way of either verifying or refuting the case.

§2. The 16 inscriptions selected come from nine different places, thirteen from eastern Arcadia and three from western Arcadia (See Figure 3 below). Of the thirteen, two are from Orchomene (IG V<sup>2</sup> 343 and DGE 664), one from Stymphalos (IG V<sup>2</sup> 358), seven from Tegea (IG V<sup>2</sup>1, 3, 4, 6, 16, 173 and SIG 306), one from Mantinea (IG V<sup>2</sup>262), one from Megalopolis (SIG 559) and one from, probably, Pheneos (SEG XI 1112). The remaining three come one from each Thelphousa (IG V<sup>2</sup>412), Alipheira (SEG XXV 447) and Phigaleia (IG V<sup>2</sup>429).<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> See Cooper (1975) 228 and 232.

<sup>107</sup> I agree with Cooper’s dating. He studies in detail the alphabet in use in the inscription, the type and style of the letters, the style of the engraving itself, the material used, etc. It seems to me that he proves his point in a more convincing way than does Dubois, who simply refutes Cooper’s thesis by saying it is too vague (p. 260), but he himself proposes a vaguer date out of not much compelling evidence.

<sup>108</sup> See below.

<sup>109</sup> In the present work, the spelling of names of cities and settlements follow Hansen and Nielsen (2004).

Orchomene provides us with the largest number of demonstratives of the series  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$ : a total of 18 occurrences in only two inscriptions. There are 12 occurrences of the series  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$  in Tegea, all of them found in inscriptions dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. There is only one occurrence of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$  in Mantinea, the oldest evidence of the demonstrative in Arcadian. The four occurrences of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$  from Megalopolis date from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, quite a late date for these series, but as was previously said, it seems to have been a dialect revival accompanying the recovery of the Arcadian League.<sup>110</sup> The last two occurrences of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  are from Alipheira, (SEG XXV 447.13, 23) also dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, i.e. the revival period.

The two occurrences of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  in Alipheira and the single occurrence of  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in Phigaleia constitute the only evidence of these two series in western Arcadia. Before the decree of Alipheira was published, Lejeune had asserted that  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  and  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  were equivalent, but for a “regional” difference: whereas  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  was used in eastern Arcadia,  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  was employed in western Arcadia.<sup>111</sup> When  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  appeared in western Arcadia as well, Dubois proposed a syntactical difference instead:  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  would have been used as a deictic or expressive pronoun, whereas  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  would have been used as an anaphoric pronoun.<sup>112</sup> In his review of Dubois’ book, Lillo suggested very sensibly that the only thing that the Alipheira decree had proved was that Lejeune was wrong in affirming that  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  was only used in eastern Arcadia, but not that the pronouns had two different

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<sup>110</sup> Buck (1955) 146.

<sup>111</sup> Lejeune (1943) 125.

<sup>112</sup> Dubois (1986a) 126: “ $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  et  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota$  seraient-ils des pronoms déictiques et expressifs tandis que  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ne serait qu’un simple pronom de rappel? Dans cette seconde hypothèse, qui est la plus probable, la coexistence des deux pronoms  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$  et  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  n’aurait rien de suprenant”.

functions.<sup>113</sup> As there are no inscriptions from western Arcadia containing both demonstratives it is impossible to prove Dubois' theory. However, we may be missing two essential points. The Phigaleia inscription can be dated back to ca. 325 BC. If so, then the assumption that οὗτος was used in western Arcadia in the place of ὄνυ would be erroneous, and the appearance of οὗτος there could be simply explained as due to *koiné* influence. On the other hand, the Alipheira inscription corresponds to a period of dialect revival. Consequently, the occurrence of ὄνυ in the text may be explained as a kind of “hyper-arcadism”, as a means to emphasize those features of the Arcadian dialect that set it apart from the others, but it would not prove that ὄνυ was in use in that region in the previous centuries. Unfortunately, until new evidence comes to light it is impossible to take the argument any further.

§3. As Figure 4 below shows, the 16 inscriptions selected correspond to three different types of text: decrees (14), funerary inscriptions (1) and manumissions (1). Unfortunately, there are no examples of dedications or any other type of text in the Arcadian dialect, or further examples of funerary inscriptions or manumissions that contain demonstratives.<sup>114</sup> Nonetheless, the extensive length of the decrees in which they appear and the frequency with which they are used, are enough to allow us to assess their functioning fairly accurately.

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<sup>113</sup> Lillo (1983) 200.

<sup>114</sup> Examples of dedications from Arcadia are not written in the dialect and have not been included in this Chapter.

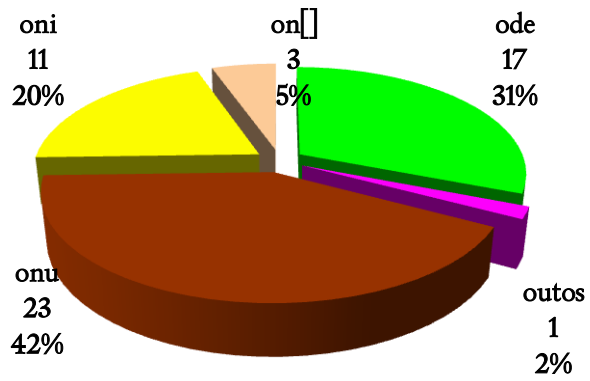


Figure 1. Demonstratives in Arcadian inscriptions

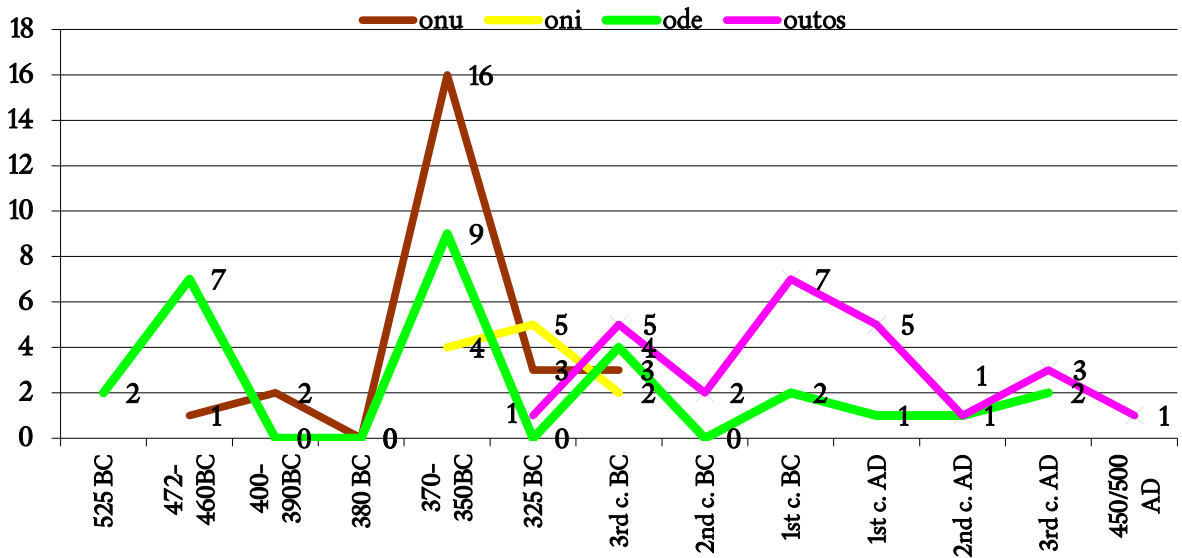


Figure 2. Distribution of Arcadian demonstratives across time



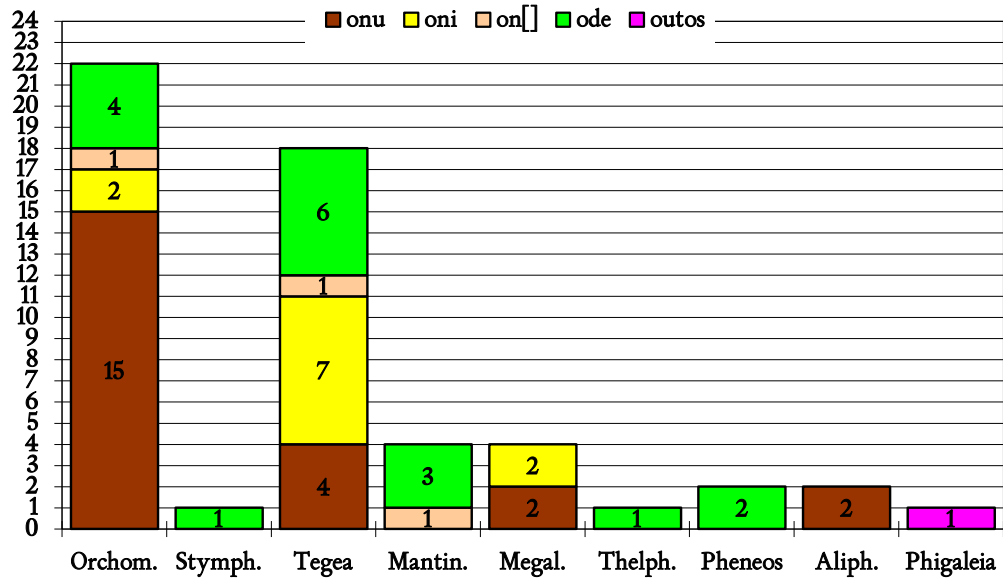


Figure 3. Distribution of Arcadian demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions

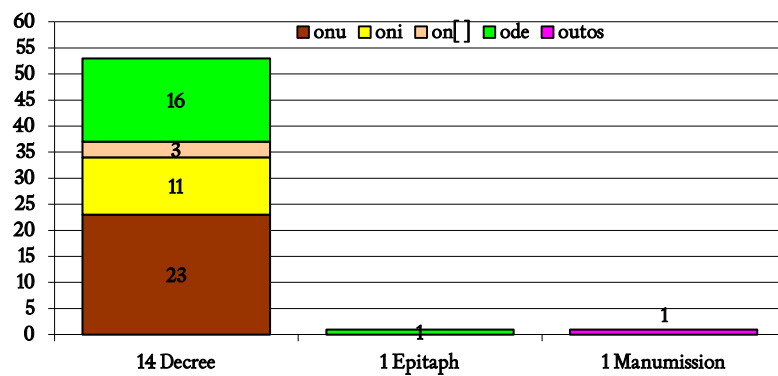


Figure 4. Distribution of Arcadian demonstratives according to type of inscription



## II.1.3. Syntax of Arcadian demonstratives

### II.1.3.1. ὄδε

There are 17 occurrences of ὄδε in Arcadian inscriptions. The oldest evidence we have of this series in the dialect, or as a matter of fact of any demonstrative in it, belongs to SEG XI 1112, a 6<sup>th</sup>/ 5<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription from Pheneos: ὄδε (line 6) and τόδε (line 7). Both demonstratives are used pronominally, which brings the challenge of identifying their reference.<sup>115</sup> The inscription deals with clothing regulations concerning the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros. The text presents many reading difficulties, particularly because of its fragmentary left edge, and multiple interpretations have been proposed over time. It was first published by Robinson (1943), and the section containing the demonstratives was edited as follows:

καὶ ὅζις τότ' ἔδαμιοφόργε,  
ἀφάε]σται δαρχμὰς τριάκοντα. εἰ δὲ μὲ ἀφάετοι,  
ὀφλὲν] τὰν ἀσέβειαν. ἔχε ὄδε κῦρος δέκο φέτεα ἕνα-  
γίζειν] τόδε. (SEG XI 1112.4-7)

...and whoever was demiurgus at the time, is to remit thirty drachmas. And if he does not remit, he is to be charged with impiety. Let him have authority for ten years to expiate this matter (4-7).<sup>116</sup>

The edition of the text was later corrected by Beattie (1959), and the interpretation changed slightly:

εἰ δὲ μὲ ἀφάετοι  
μῆδ' ἴν] τὰν ἀσέβειαν ἔχε ὄδε κῦρος δέκο φέτεα ἕνα[ι

<sup>115</sup> For the dating of the inscription see note 97. Following Jeffery (1949) 30-31, Dubois (1986b) 197 attributes the inscription to Pheneos. For arguments supporting this hypothesis see Jeffery (1961) 209. Thür and Taeuber (1994) 270 acknowledge the possibility that the inscription may have come from Kleitor or Lousoi as well as from Pheneos.

<sup>116</sup> Both the edition of the text and the translation belong to Robinson (1943) 192.

ἵνα γές] τόδε.

If the Demiurgos does not pay, or if he does not have authority over the impious act, ten years shall be the duration of the curse in this latter event (5-7).<sup>117</sup>

However dissimilar, both editions considered that ὄδε was referring to the “demiourgos”, previously alluded to in the text (line 4), and τόδε to the impious act regulated by the inscription.<sup>118</sup> Beattie acknowledged the strange position, but not function, of ὄδε in this sentence, and argued that it had been placed there to make clear that this part of the regulation was dealing with the demiourgos and not the woman referred to at the beginning of the inscription. He stated the same regarding τόδε: the demonstrative would be referring to the latter offence (i.e. the demiourgos not paying) and not the initial offence committed by the woman. Thus, it would have been placed at the end of the sentence to clearly separate both situations.<sup>119</sup> Later editions of the text proposed a different reading. Following Buck (1955) and Guarducci (1959-1960), Dubois (1986b) affirmed that the most sensible option was to consider ὁ νόμος as the reference of ὄδε, not the demiourgos, and to interpret the text accordingly as “this law”. Regarding τόδε, he proposed τὸ χάλκωμα (“bronze tablet”) as a suitable reference for the demonstrative.<sup>120</sup>

εἰ δὲ μὲ ἀφάετοι,  
[ὀφλὲν] τὰν ἀσέβειαν· ἔχε ὄδε κῦρος δέκο Φέτα· ἔνα[ι]

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<sup>117</sup> The edition and translation belong to Beattie (1959) 71.

<sup>118</sup> Beattie (1959) 72. Robinson even suggests that we should have expected τάνδε instead of τόδε, in agreement with ἀσέβειαν. See Robinson (1943) 199.

<sup>119</sup> See Beattie (1959) 72.

<sup>120</sup> See Buck (1955) 196-197; Guarducci (1959-1960) 239-242; Jeffery (1961) 408; Dubois (1986b) 195-202; Thür and Taeuber (1994) 269-272. Dubois follows mainly Guarducci (1959-1960) 241, who proposed either νόμος or θεσμός as a reference for ὄδε, and χάλκωμα for τόδε. Also Thür and Taeuber (1994) 272.

[δ' ἱερὸν] τόδε.

S'il ne la verse pas, qu'il soit convaincu d'impiété. Que cette loi soit en vigueur pour dix ans. Que cette plaque de bronze soit sacrée (5-7).<sup>121</sup>

If Guarducci's readings were correct, and the τόδε in line 7 was not referring to the general content of the inscription but to the plaque carrying it, this would actually be the only existing evidence in Arcadian of a demonstrative used to refer to the artefact.<sup>122</sup> This would not be surprising given that ὄδε is the demonstrative with the highest frequency of use for this particular function in most Greek dialects.<sup>123</sup> However, we would still be left with the problem of interpreting ὄδε. Following Guarducci's and Dubois' readings, Mills (1984) 258-259 assumes that the demonstrative is connected to a masculine elided noun such as νόμος or θεσμός, referring to the decree engraved on the tablet, but she acknowledges the interpretative problems of the text and draws attention to the fact that there are still doubts regarding what is to have authority for the established period: "the law? the curse? the impiety of the demiourgos who has been derelict in his duties?". Nouns such as νόμος or θεσμός can certainly be accompanied by a demonstrative, but as far as I am aware, they are not elided from the NP of which

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<sup>121</sup> For the edition and translation of the text see Dubois (1986b) 196 and 202. The underlining is mine.

<sup>122</sup> Lejeune (1943) 125 proposes IG V<sup>2</sup> 513: Αἰσιό[τ]όδε σᾶμα as his only example of function C in Arcadian, but the inscription, presumably from Soumateion, does not have a clear dating and has therefore not been considered here. There are several other examples of demonstratives referring to the artefact in verse inscriptions –mainly epitaphs and dedications, attributed to Arcadian sources and which fall within the time period considered in the present work. See for instance Ebert (1972) 14.b1 (Olympia, 472 BC): Τέλλων τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε Δαήμ[ονος υἱός ὁ πύκτας]; Ebert (1972) 21.1-2 (Olympia, 460 BC): Πύ[κ]τα[ς] τόνδ' ἀνέθεκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξιο [Κ]ύνισκος Μαντινέας νικῶν; Dittenberger and Purgold (1896) IvOl. 266.1, 4 (Olympia, ca.465 BC): Πραξιτέλες ἀνέθεκε Συρακόσιος τὸδ' ἄγαλμα (...) καὶ Ὡι μνᾶμα τὸδ' ἔστ' ἀρετᾶς; and SEG XI 1064.1 (Tegea, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC): Ἐρμᾶ σοὶ τόδε [π]α[ιδὸς] ἀναστάσας ἐχάρα[ξα]. However, verse inscriptions are generally very formulaic, mainly written in poetic language and not making use of dialectal features. Therefore, they have not been considered here. For the classification of these verse inscriptions as Arcadian, see Hansen (1975) 37-38.

<sup>123</sup> In this sense, based on her studies of Greek dialects and Greek verse inscriptions, Mickey (1981b) 54 affirms that if a demonstrative were to be used in Arcadian to refer to the artefact, that demonstrative would be ὄδε.

they are head –unless perhaps there is a previous or subsequent mention of the noun.<sup>124</sup> However, in the case of this particular tablet, there is no mention at all of a law, regulation, decree or agreement, or any other indication that would allow us to understand the elision of such a noun there. The difficulty arises mainly because of the use of the masculine demonstrative alone. There are many examples of demonstratives accompanying νόμος, θεσμός/ τεθμός or ὄρκος, for instance. See e.g. IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 3:609.Aa1,14 (Lokris), τεθμός ὄδε περὶ τᾶς γᾶς βέβαιος ἔστο, ὄδε τεθμός ἰαρός ἔστο; SEG 34: 1173.109 (Miletos), ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἔστω ὄδε; IG XII 7: 309.7-9 (Amorgos), πᾶσι γὰρ ἀν|θρώποις οὗτος| ἔπεστι νόμος, but I have not found any parallel examples of elided νόμος/ θεσμός in inscriptions. The situation seems to be different with neuter demonstratives, which can imply nouns such as δόγμα or ψάφισμα, or an agreement or decisions arrived at. The demonstrative normally co-occurs with the noun, as in e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1343.45 (Attica), τόδε τὸ δόγμα κύριον εἶναι; SEG 28: 103.51-2 (Eleusis), κύριον δὲ εἶναι τόδ|[ε τὸ ψ]ήφισμα; SEG 3: 674.18 (Rhodos), τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα κύριον ἔστω, but it can also be used pronominally, as in IG II2 15.10-11, τοῦτο κύριο[ν ε]|[ῖναι]. The use of ὄδε in this particular inscription is perhaps better understood along the lines proposed by Beattie. According to our classification of functions, ὄδε would be used here to refer to the text of the document (i.e. the demiourgos implied by δαμιοφοργῆ in line 4; Guarducci's edition), but not simply as anaphora, namely pointing back to a previous section of text, which would be unlikely for this series of demonstratives, neither cataphora, as the demonstrative is not pointing forward or marking new information, but rather, as Beattie understood, to

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<sup>124</sup> I thank Dr Probert for alerting me to this difficulty at the confirmation of status stage.

differentiate this section of discourse from the previous and to point to a salient piece of information. This would agree with Bakker's suggestion that in textual deixis demonstratives are also used to punctuate the discourse; ὅδε is employed both when there is need to refer to something salient, and at moments of discourse discontinuity, which would fit our case in both respects.<sup>125</sup>

Unlike ὅδε in the previous example, in IG V<sup>2</sup> 16, an inscription from Tegea dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (ca. 218 BC), the occurrence of ὅδε unambiguously refers to the engraved decree, as is clearly shown both by the co-occurrence of the noun ψάφισμα and the use of ἀνγράφαντας:<sup>126</sup>

καὶ ἀνγράφαντας τὸ ψάφισμα τότε τὸς στραταγὸς τὸς περὶ  
Στρατέαν εἰς στάλαν ἀνθῆναι ἴν τὰν ἀγορὰν,

...and having engraved this decree, let the magistrates of Stratea put it  
on a pillar in the agora... (IG V<sup>2</sup> 16.7-9)<sup>127</sup>

The text has evidence of many dialectal features, but due to the late date of the inscription it also shows some influence of *koiné* language. Given the fact that there is also an example of the use of ὄνι conveying the same function,<sup>128</sup> this inscription should be treated with caution. However, the possibility that ὅδε might have been used in Arcadian to refer to the document should be also considered.<sup>129</sup>

In the remaining 13 occurrences of ὅδε the demonstrative is employed again to refer to the text, but this time to anticipate new information, pointing forward, cataphora. In

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<sup>125</sup> Cf. Bakker (2010a): 157-158, 160. See section I.1.3.4 above.

<sup>126</sup> See Dubois (1986b) 84.

<sup>127</sup> Translations of Greek texts throughout this work are mine unless otherwise stated. They will be provided only when necessary and relevant to the argument.

<sup>128</sup> See below.

<sup>129</sup> The inscription was dismissed by Lejeune (1943) 122 n. 2 and 124 n. 1.

this sense, Arcadian seems to conform to what Lejeune had stated about Attic, i.e. that ὄδε was the only demonstrative employed to convey such meaning. This seems to be the case regardless of region (the inscriptions come from Tegea, Orchomenos, Mantinea, Thelphousa and Stymphalos) and/or period (the inscriptions date from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC).<sup>130</sup>

IG V<sup>2</sup> 262, an inscription from Mantinea dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC shows the oldest occurrence of ὄδε in this function. The demonstrative is used three times to refer to the new information that follows, its first occurrence being the most common way in which ὄδε can appear performing this role in Arcadian –and other dialectal inscriptions: the demonstrative is used pronominally, standing alone, usually in the nominative plural masculine, and followed by a semicolon and a list of names.

[Fō]φλῆασι οἴδε ἴν' Ἀλέαν·  
 [Σί]συρνος  
 [Σ]ο[κλ]ῆς  
 [Φ]ιλομελίδας  
 Θεό[κ]οσμος  
 Ἀριστόμαχος...

These (i.e. the following people) are liable to pay a penalty to Alea: Sisyrnos, Sokles, Philomelidas, Theokossmos, Arisstomachos... (IG V<sup>2</sup> 262.1-6)

According to Bakker (2010a) 158, the pronominal use of ὄδε in textual deixis in isolation (namely without interacting with οὗτος to punctuate the text), would indicate “the particular salience of a piece of information being introduced”, which is normally the case when the demonstrative introduces a list of the people affected by a particular

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<sup>130</sup> For details refer to the Appendix, Table 1.

regulation. The same use of ὄδε and a similar morphological/syntactical structure is found also in IG V<sup>2</sup> 1.9 (δαμιοργοὶ οἶδε ἦσαν· Τεγεᾶται· Φαιδρέας· Ἀριστοκράτης· Νίκαρχος, etc), IG V<sup>2</sup> 6.61, 72, 100 (τοῖσδε in each case. Although the inscription is fragmentary at the point in which the demonstratives appear, it is quite clear that they were followed by a list of names), IG V<sup>2</sup> 173.37 ([γαῶς ὕπερ] οἶδε [φίλας βίον ὤλεσα]ν ἀντία βάντες] / [τοῖς Σπ]άρτας. The edition of the text proposes another οἶδε at the beginning of the inscription –line 3, also followed by a list of names), IG V<sup>2</sup> 412.2 (ἄξια σοῦ, Θέλφουσα, καὶ Ἑλλάδος ἄνυσαν ἔργα μαρνάμενοι πάτρας οἶδε περὶ σφετέρας· The inscription was probably followed by a list of the dead) and IPArk.14.30, 31 (Ὀρχομενίων θεαοροὶ οἶδε· Μνασίας Ἡραῖος Κλεόδικος Ἀτέκμαρτος Σάαιθος· πολέμαρχοι οἶδε· Νικέας Κάμπος Εὐδοξος Φιλόδαμος Τιμοστρατίδας).

The remaining five occurrences of ὄδε refer also to something that follows. However, in these cases what follows is not a list of names but the terms of the contract/law/decreed/oath. The following example belongs to an inscription from Stymphalos, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC:

[Λου]σιάταις ἐ[ἴδοσαν Στυμφάλιοι]  
ἐπὶ τοῖσδ[ε πολιτείαν τὰν]  
[Σ]τυμφαλίω[ν (IG V<sup>2</sup> 358.1-3)

The Stymphalians gave their citizenship to the Lousians on these (the following terms)...

Also in IG V<sup>2</sup> 262.18, 24: εἰ τοῖς Φοῦλεῖκοσι ἐπὶ τοῖδ' ἐδικάσαμες, “if we judged for those liable to pay on this (the following term)”, εὐχοῶν [δ'] ἄδε ἔ[σ]ετοι, “and this (the following) is to be the prayer”, and IG V<sup>2</sup> 343 (=IPArk.15) 59, 78: ὤμοσαν οἱ Εὐα[ι]μνῖων τάδε, “and those of the Euaemonians swore these (the following oaths)”, ὤμοσαν Ἐρχ[ο]μῖνιοι τάδε, “and the Orchomenians swore these (the following oaths)”.<sup>131</sup>

### II.1.3.2. ὄνυ/ι

The morphological similarities between ὄδε and ὄνυ/ι could perhaps make us think of the dialectal forms functioning either as a substitute for, or an alternative to, ὄδε. In fact, according to Chantraine,<sup>132</sup> the particles employed to construct the series ὄνυ and ὄνι in Arcadian (ὄνε in Thessalian), may have originally made them function as such.<sup>133</sup> However, their use in inscriptions in fact *opposes* them to ὄδε.<sup>134</sup> All the occurrences of ὄνυ and ὄνι but for one (employed to refer to the document, see below) are used to refer to what comes before in the text or is known/shared by both participants in the communication act, namely anaphora. That is a total of 36 demonstratives. The only potential occurrence of οὗτος in Arcadian (IG V<sup>2</sup> 429.6) would belong to the same group as well.<sup>135</sup> These figures clearly argue against Dubois’ suggestion that ὄνυ and ὄνι might have been deictic/expressive demonstratives whereas οὗτος may have acted as their anaphoric counterpart. ὄνυ and ὄνι were not

<sup>131</sup> Line numbers correspond to Dubois (1986b) 148.

<sup>132</sup> DELG: 738.

<sup>133</sup> Presumably due to their morphological structure, so close to ὄδε. See also Lejeune (1943) 129 and Hooker (1965/1966) 171.

<sup>134</sup> This was actually Lejeune’s main thesis, and also his most relevant contribution to the study of Arcadian demonstratives. See Lejeune (1943). See also Risch (1969) 841 and Dubois (1986a) 125.

<sup>135</sup> For a discussion on the validity of this inscription and its dating refer to section II.1.2 §1. For the use of οὗτος there, see below, II.1.3.3.

deictic/expressive demonstratives in opposition to οὔτος; they were an alternative to οὔτος working nearly always in a strictly anaphoric function.<sup>136</sup> ὄνυ, ὄνι and οὔτος were syntactically equivalent, and their distribution within the corpus of inscriptions from Arcadia (and I mean “found in Arcadia” as opposed to “written in the Arcadian dialect”) was temporal: ὄνυ and ὄνι were used in inscriptions written in the Arcadian dialect until their disappearance in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. By this time οὔτος had started to appear in inscriptions from Arcadia either written in or influenced by *koiné* Greek.

In SIG 306, an inscription from Tegea dating from ca. 324 BC, there are eight occurrences of ὄνυ and ὄνι altogether:

ὄσαι δὲ γυναῖκες τῶν φυγάδων ἢ θυγατέρες οἴκοι μίνονσαι  
 ἐγά[μ]αντυ, (...) ταννὶ μήτ' ἀ[πυδοκ]ιμάζεσθαι τὰ πατρῶια  
 μήτε τὰ ματρῶια μηδὲ τὸς ἐσγόνος

As many wives and daughters of the exiles as remaining home got married (...) *these* (i.e. the wives and daughters mentioned before) are not to be rejected either in the paternal or the maternal properties, and neither are their descendants. (48-53)

ταννὶ is employed here to refer to the people mentioned immediately before in the text, pointing to shared information or, to use Bakker's words,<sup>137</sup> to information that is now “with the reader”. There are three more examples of both series performing the same anaphoric function later in the inscription: ταννί again (55), ἐς ταννὶ (56) and τῶννυ (59). The three have exactly the same reference, namely the wives and daughters mentioned earlier in the text. What strikes us the most is that both ὄνι *and* ὄνυ are used in the very same inscription to convey exactly the same function and point

<sup>136</sup> Dubois (1986a) 126.

<sup>137</sup> Bakker (2010a) 157.

to exactly the same reference. There is sufficient evidence in Arcadian showing that ὄνυ/ι and ὄδε can appear together in the same inscription, each series performing a different function, namely ὄνυ/ι is used in an anaphoric role, and ὄδε in a cataphoric role.<sup>138</sup> However, we do not normally find two demonstratives belonging to two different series (οὗτος and ὄνυ for instance) performing the same role (e.g. referring to something mentioned before in the text) and working simultaneously in the same inscription. But, as this inscription shows, it is possible to have ὄνυ and ὄνι working together in such a manner. Among the corpus of Arcadian inscriptions there are three in which both demonstratives co-occur: the inscription above (SIG 306), SIG 559 and IPArk 14. This evidence is crucial for our understanding of the two series, since it is possible to see both demonstratives working in the same environment, dating from the same period, coming from the same city and appearing in the same type of text (and presumably engraved by the same person).

In the inscription we have just seen (SIG 306) there are eight cases of ὄνυ/ὄνι:

(9) τᾱ(ν)νὶ	Genitive Feminine Singular
(14) τῶνι	Genitive Masculine Singular
(30) τᾱῖννυ	Dative Feminine Plural
(36) τᾱιν(νὶ/ιν)	Dative Feminine Plural
(51) τᾱννί	Accusative Feminine Plural
(55) τᾱννί	Genitive Feminine Plural
(56) τᾱιννὶ	Dative Feminine Plural
(59) τῶννυ	Genitive Masculine Plural

As it is very clear from the morphological analysis of each form, there is no pattern for the use of one ending or the other: we have feminine and masculine with -νυ, feminine and masculine with -νι; genitive and dative with -νυ, genitive and dative with

<sup>138</sup> See for instance IG V<sup>2</sup> 6, IG V<sup>2</sup> 262, IG V<sup>2</sup> 343 and IPArk 14.

-vi. As regards their syntax, both the demonstrative ending in -vυ and the demonstrative ending in -vi are used to point to the same reference; see for instance lines 51, 55, 56 and 59, in which the four demonstratives refer to the women and their descendants. As far as lines 30 and 36 are concerned, both demonstratives are used in the same environment (they appear after the preposition ἰν) and show the same case, gender and number. Moreover, in both cases they have a similar reference. In the first case, the demonstrative is used pronominally, and its reference is ἀμέραις. In the second case the demonstrative is used adnominally accompanying precisely the noun ἀμέραις.<sup>139</sup>

The second inscription (SIG 559=IvM 38), a decree from Megalopolis, dates from a very late date (207/6 BC). Despite its lateness, it was written in Arcadian in a period of revival of the native dialect. The decree contains two occurrences of ὄνυ and two of ὄνι: (44) ταινί, dative feminine singular, (47) τοινί, dative neuter singular, (48) ταννὺν, accusative feminine singular and (49) τοσνὺν, accusative masculine plural.

...ἰν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τί δεῖ δίδοσθαι  
ταινί τᾶι θεαρίαι ἰνίς[τ]ιον ἐγκεκέχειρον,  
οἱ νομογράφοι οἱ ἰν τᾶι ἐπὶ Λυκίν[ωι] ἐτείαι γράψαν-  
τες ἐπιδειξάντων τᾶι πόλει, ὡς οἱ πολῖται βωλεύ-  
σανται περὶ τοινί χωρασάντων δὲ οἱ νομογράφοι  
ἰν τοῖς νόμος καὶ ταννὺν τὰ[ν ἐ]κεχειρίαν, καὶ τὸς  
ἀγῶνας τοσνὺν γραψάντων πὸς τὸς ἄλλος  
στεφανίτας,...(SIG 559.43-50)<sup>140</sup>

...and let the notaries who are in charge in the year of Lykinos show to the city which offering is necessary to give to this embassy as

<sup>139</sup> See SIG 306.28-37: εἰ δ' ἂν τι ὕστερον ἐφευρίσκωνσι, ἰν ἀμέραις ἐξήκοντα ἀπὺ τᾶι ἂν ἀμέραι τὸ δικαστήριον καθιστᾶ· εἰ δ' ἂν μηδ' ἰν ταῖνυ διαδικάσητοι, μηκέ τι ἐξέστω αὐτῶι δικάσασθαι (...) εἰ δ' [ἂν μῆ] διαδικάσητοι ἰν ταινὶν ταῖς ἀμέραις, μηκέτ[ι] ἦναι αὐτοῖ δικάσασθαι. The underlining is mine.

<sup>140</sup> The underlining is mine.

traveling allowance in the future, so that the citizens deliberate about this. And let the notaries register in the laws also this traveling allowance and let them write the above-mentioned contests after other (contests) in which the prize is a crown...

Even though the four demonstratives are very different morphologically speaking and do not share the same references, they are still used to perform the same function, namely to refer to something said before which, as the evidence shows, can be either a noun phrase or a whole section of text, with no distinction as to which demonstrative is used for each type of reference. ταινὶ τᾶι θεαρίαι (44) for instance, goes back to ἴν τ]ᾶν θεωρίαν (43); βουλευσάνται περὶ τοινί (47) refers to the deliberation on the facts just exposed before in the inscription; ταννὺν τὰ[ν ἐ]κεχειρίαν (48) alludes to ἐνεκέχειρον, just mentioned before (45) and τὸς ἀγῶνας τοσνύν (49) refers to τὸς ἀγῶνας previously mentioned (33).

Our evidence clearly shows no differentiation between both series of demonstratives as regards case, number or gender, reference to which they allude to or role they play in the sentence. The same seems to apply to the context in which they can appear. The two series can be used both pronominally and adnominally: ταννὺν τὰ[ν ἐ]κεχειρίαν “this (already mentioned) travelling allowance”, but also βουλευσάνται περὶ τοινί “deliberate about this (what has been mentioned before)”.<sup>141</sup> Regarding word order, there are examples of the use of Article + Noun + Demonstrative (τὸς ἀγῶνας τοσνύν) as well as Demonstrative + Article + Noun (ταινὶ τᾶι θεαρίαι), namely the expected predicative position for demonstratives, pre- and post-position, with both structures found indiscriminately in Arcadian inscriptions without a change in the

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<sup>141</sup> See below for examples of ὄνυ used pronominally and ὄνι adnominally.

syntax of the text.<sup>142</sup> There is, however, a semantic distinction. According to Crespo et al. (2003) 202, when the demonstrative is post-positioned, it seems to have an anaphoric meaning (“the above-mentioned X”), whereas when it is pre-positioned, it has a deictic meaning (“this X here”, as opposed to others).<sup>143</sup> In his detailed analysis of οὗτος and word order in Herodotus, Rijksbaron (1993) identifies three different possibilities: Demonstrative + Article + Noun would indicate that the topic is salient (“anaphore forte”) and that the reference is to “this precise entity and no other”; Demonstrative + δέ + Article + Noun would indicate that the topic is salient but the information provided is not, namely that this is additional information on the topic, whereas in the case of Article + δέ + Noun + Demonstrative, neither the topic nor the information provided are salient.<sup>144</sup> In our case, the pre-positioned demonstrative emphasizes the particular embassy being referred to, ταινὶ ταῖ θεαρίαι, “this embassy (and no other)” and puts it in contrast with other potential embassies.<sup>145</sup> The post-positioned demonstrative, on the other hand, refers to a non-salient topic, τὸς ἀγῶνας τοσούτων, “the contests mentioned above”, which need no further elucidation.<sup>146</sup> The topic is identified first by the noun and in second place by the demonstrative.

The following inscription comes from Orchomenos and dates from 369 BC (IPArk 14 = DGE 664). It contains by far the largest number of occurrences of ὄνυ and ὄνι of

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<sup>142</sup> According to Parenti (1997) 178ff. the demonstrative’s position, defined as “predicative position”, originates from the fact that the demonstrative stands independently in apposition to the cluster Article + Noun, which makes it possible for the demonstrative to be disjointed from the cluster.

<sup>143</sup> For Biraud (1991) 43, pre-position is normally used for strong anaphora (because of its contrastive value) and post-position when the demonstrative is deictic (as there is no need to identify the referent further or give it even more emphasis).

<sup>144</sup> The semantics of the distribution of Greek demonstratives has been thoroughly studied by Palm (1960). See also Biraud (1991) 43-46. For Biraud the difference between pre- and post-position is due to expressive and not syntactical reasons (19).

<sup>145</sup> For the contrastive value of pre-positioned demonstratives, Palm (1960) 23-24. Heath (1964) 437: “the pre-noun position does call for some special attention from the reader or hearer; an implicate or explicite contrast must be sought in such cases”.

<sup>146</sup> See also Biraud (1991) 43: “le démonstratif serait postposé lorsque le locuteur ne lui accorde pas une importance particulière, soit parce que l’identification est intelligible par elle-même”.

the whole corpus of Arcadian inscriptions. There are two occurrences of ἀπὸ τῶνι (dative masculine singular of the demonstrative, lines 8 and 9) and fifteen occurrences of ἀπὸ τῶινυ (lines 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28; also in the dative masculine singular). I have chosen this inscription precisely because it shows both demonstratives as a complement to the same preposition, in the same case, number and gender, behaving in exactly the same way, performing the same function and appearing in the same context.

ἀπὸ τῶι ὄριοι τῶι πὸς τῶι Μελαμποδέοι τῶι τῶν Ὀρχομενίων  
καὶ τῶν Τορθυνήων καὶ Μετ(υ)δριήων κοινῶ ἐπὶ τὸ  
Βουφαγέον μεσακόθεν τοῖς κράναιον· ἀπὸ τῶνι ἴν τὰν  
Πορθιέαν πρώταν· ἀπὸ τῶνι παρ μέσαν τὰν Πορθιέαν ἴν  
νηάταν· ἀπὸ τῶινυ ἴν τὰν ἄλωνα νηάταν· ἀπὸ τῶινυ ἴν τὸν  
λόφον τὸν ἴν τῶι κρομποι·(4-12)

From the boundary near the Melampodeon that is common to the Orchomenians and the Torthyneians and the Metydreians, to the Bouphageion (passing) between the two springs, from this point to the beginning of the Porthiea, from this point along the middle of the Porthiea to its end, from this point to the end of the plantation, from this point to the summit (located) in the *krompos* (?).<sup>147</sup>

The first time ἀπύ appears in the text (line 4), the preposition is followed by an extensive explanation of the boundaries it is referring to. After that, the first ἀπὸ τῶνι is used meaning “from these boundaries” or “from this point”, and it is followed by new directions which are taken in turn as the reference for the following demonstrative. The four demonstratives underlined in this extract are morphologically equivalent, all of them appear as a complement to the preposition ἀπύ, and all of them refer to some boundary previously mentioned. One may be tempted to think that the choice between ὄνυ and ὄνι might have been due to their context, i.e. to the previous or following letter

<sup>147</sup> Adapted from an incomplete translation by Buck (1955) 204.

or word, but as this inscription clearly shows, this is not the case. Both τωινί and τῶινυ appear following the preposition ἀπύ, and both τωινί and τῶινυ appear followed by the preposition ἰν. That is to say, the demonstrative does not change on the basis of the preceding or following vowel.<sup>148</sup> The demonstrative does not change because of the following consonant either. Take for instance ἀπύ τωινί πᾶρ μέσαν τὰν Πορθιέαν (lines 8-9) and the following two examples from an inscription from Alipheira, 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (SEG XXV 447.13-14; 23):

εἰ δέ τις πᾶρ τάνυ ποίη, ὀφλέτω μυριάς δραχμᾶς ἱερᾶς τα[ῖ]  
 Ἀθάναι καὶ κάταρος ἔστω(...). εἰ δέ τις πᾶρ τάνυ ποίη, ἴνοχος  
 ἔστω καὶ τ[ὸν νόμον (?)].

But if somebody acts beyond these (i.e. the above said regulations), let him pay 1000 sacred drachmas to Athena, and let him be accursed. (...) But if somebody acts beyond these (i.e. the previously stated regulations), let him be subject to [the law (?)].

Both occurrences of ὄνυ are followed by a π, just as the occurrence of ὄνι in the previous inscription was followed by a π.

The evidence seems to support the suggestion that there was actually no difference between series ὄνυ and ὄνι, and that they were in some way interchangeable. One may suggest that perhaps ὄνι originated as an emphatic variant of ὄνυ, similar to ὀδί for ὄδε or τουτί for οὗτος, and like its Attic counterparts fell into disuse, was later abandoned and disappeared altogether. However, there is no conclusive evidence that indicates that ὄνι was used more emphatically than ὄνυ. Even though the problem has not yet been solved satisfactorily, some scholars have suggested that the variation

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<sup>148</sup> i.e. ἀπύ τωινί ἰν did not change into ἀπύ τῶινυ ἰν because of the two neighbouring iotas, as the inscription clearly shows.

between the endings -vυ and -vι is not unparalleled, but conforms to similar oscillations between vowels υ and ι not only in Arcadian but also in Indo-European.<sup>149</sup> Dubois (1986a) 126 argues that this vocalic variation is not strange at all in Arcadian, and can be found in dual endings -ουv/-ουv and -αυv/-αυv, as well as in the preposition ὀπύ/ὀπί.

Finally, there is a single example of the use of ὀνι referring to the inscription as a document, as mentioned before when discussing the uses of ὄδε in Arcadian. The demonstrative appears in an inscription from Tegea dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (IG V<sup>2</sup> 6). It alludes to the type of text engraved in the inscription, namely a contract:

ὄτι (...) ὑπάρχεν τὰ γ κοινὰν σύγγραφον ταν[v]ι κυρί[αν]  
πὸς ταῖ ἐπὲς τοῖ ἔργοι γεγραμμέν[αι σ]υγγραφέ[οι].

...that (...) this general/common contract begins its authority in addition to the written contract related to the piece of work. (IG V<sup>2</sup> 6.52-54)

The use of ὀνι here does not seem to differ from the use and meaning of our above-mentioned, potential case of ὄδε in such a role: τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε (IG V<sup>2</sup> 16.7), where the demonstrative was used to refer to a decree. According to Lejeune's assumptions regarding Attic,<sup>150</sup> using ὄδε to refer to the document would indicate that the expression was to be understood as “the present (law/decreed)”, “this (law/decreed) here”, or “the (law/decreed) we are discussing”. On the contrary, the use of ὀνι would indicate a change in the meaning of the expression, to be understood instead as “the general contract above” or “the preceding general contract”. This argument could be supported

<sup>149</sup> See e.g. Ruijgh (1957) 64.

<sup>150</sup> See I.1.4 above.

by the fact that ὄνυ/ι is most frequently used to refer to what is before in the text, and that ὄδε is usually employed to refer to what comes after or to what is closer to the speaker, either physically or emotionally.<sup>151</sup> Unfortunately, there are no other examples of this use in Arcadian inscriptions to help us discuss the matter further.

### III.1.3.3. οὗτος

There is only one example of an early appearance of οὗτος in Arcadian, the inscription from Phigaleia discussed above, IG V<sup>2</sup> 429, dating from ca. 325 BC. If we were to compare the functioning of ὄνυ/ι in the examples above (except the last one) with the demonstrative used in the following inscription, we would find no difference at all, except that the demonstrative in use is not ὄνυ/ ὄνι but οὗτος.

θεός, τύχα.  
Κλένις · ἀφῆκε  
Κόμαιθον, Ἐλυθρον,  
Ὀμβρίαν, Χοιροθύωνα.  
εἰ δέ τις ἐπ[ιθ]ι(γ)γάνῃ  
τούτοις,...

God, good fortune. Clenis set free Comaithon, Eluthron, Ombrias and Choirothionas. If somebody lays hand upon *these* (i.e. the above named people)...

As ὄνυ/ι before, the demonstrative here points back to a piece of information already provided in the text. It refers to the people mentioned in the previous lines. Its use is evidently anaphoric, pointing to information already shared by “speaker” and “hearer”, namely those (the slaves) who have been individually named in the manumission.

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<sup>151</sup> Lejeune states that dialectal demonstratives ὄνυ and ὄνι are used to perform the functions of groups A (anaphora) and B (referring to the document) whereas ὄδε is employed to perform the functions of groups C (referring to the monument) and D (cataphora). See Lejeune (1943) 124-125.

There are no other occurrences of οὔτος in inscriptions written in the Arcadian dialect apart from this debatable inscription from Phigaleia. Consequently, οὔτος and ὄνυ or ὄνι never occur together in the same inscription. On the contrary, it is possible to find οὔτος and ὄδε together in any inscription written in *koiné* Greek, or ὄνυ and ὄδε, or ὄνι and ὄδε in inscriptions written in the Arcadian dialect.

#### **II.1.3.4. A note on adverbs**

Parallel to the existence of a distinctive ending for one of the dialectal series of demonstratives, namely ὄνυ, Arcadian shows some evidence of the presence of a similar ending for adverbs. There is only one occurrence of an adverb ending in -νυ in Arcadia: IG V<sup>2</sup> 113. However, as Dubois (1986a) 125 notes, there is a truly relevant remark by Hesychius in which he states that an adverb ending in -νυ (ῶννυ) and οὔτως were equivalent.<sup>152</sup> This would support the equivalence already pointed out regarding ὄνυ, ὄνι and οὔτος. Dubois suggests that ῶννυ would come from \*ῶς-νυ, showing the same phonetic change as some forms of the declension of demonstrative ὄνυ, namely assimilation of ζ to ν, e.g. \*τᾱσ - νυ > τᾱννί, \*ταισ - νυ > ταῖννι (but not in τοσνύν, SIG 559.49).<sup>153</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no evidence of adverb ῶννυ in Arcadian apart from Hesychius' remark. The adverb for which we have evidence in IG V<sup>2</sup> 113, an inscription from Tegea of unknown date, is τεῖδενυ.<sup>154</sup> The odd adverbial form shows on side b.1 of a column engraved with a similar inscription on another lateral side. The

<sup>152</sup> Hesychius' remark reads: ῶννυ· οὔτως <ῶς νῦν· ὄπως>. Schmidt (1867) 1583, n. 45.

<sup>153</sup> Dubois (1986a) 125. For ὄνυ's declension, see section II.1.3.2 above.

<sup>154</sup> Jeffery (1961) 215 suggests 500-475 BC.

adverb is constructed on the basis of the feminine dative singular of ὄδε plus the particle -νυ: τειδε-νυ (τειδε standing for τηιδε).

[τοῑ]ς Πανσιτιμ-	side a.1
[ίδαι]ς προηέδρ-	
[α] κέ̄πι τὰτέρο-	
[ι] ἀγῶνι.	
τ[ε]ιδένυ κέ̄πι θάτέροι ἀγῶνι	
τοῑς Πανσιτιμίδαις : προηέδρα	side b.1

To the Pansitimidaes (belongs) the front seat also in the other contest/game.  
 To the Pansitimidaes (belongs) the front seat here also in the other contest/game.<sup>155</sup>

The adverb τ[ε]ιδένυ has a locative meaning, i.e. “here”, “in this place”.<sup>156</sup> It is worth noting that the adverb appears to be constructed on the basis of the combination of two Arcadian demonstratives, ὄδε and ὄνυ. In a dialect that establishes a clear differentiation between one ending (-δε) and the other (-νυ) and allocates completely different functions to each of them, it is utterly strange to find a form that mixes both. As said before, ὄνυ was mainly used in strictly anaphoric roles and sometimes to refer to the document as a whole, whereas ὄδε was primarily used to refer forward in the text, to allude to the document (possibly) or to refer to the artefact. Lejeune had stated that there were no examples in Arcadian inscriptions of demonstratives pointing to exophoric references other than the monument, so that neither the speaker, nor its time or place were referred to in the text. However, as this inscription shows, there is at least one example of a demonstrative form (even if it is an adverb) performing such role. The

<sup>155</sup> The edition of the text belongs to Dubois (1986b) 17. The “other contest” probably refers to the fact that the *proedria* is permanent, namely it applies to every event, “this and also any other *agon*”.

<sup>156</sup> See Dubois (1986a) 128. Also Velsen (1917) 19. For locative adverb τειδε in Theran, refer to IV.4.3.1 below.

adverb is a deictic locative and points to a certain place determined by the text of the inscription, presumably the site where the column bearing the inscription was standing, i.e. the front seats of an open theatre. The adverb is eminently deictic. But its deictic force, as illustrated by the repeated use of deictic adverb τῆιδε in Attic and elsewhere, is provided by τ[ε]ιδέ itself and not by the ending -vυ. So why add an ending used in Arcadian to convey mainly an anaphoric meaning (i.e. -vυ as employed in ὄvυ) to an already deictic adverb? One explanation could be that the particle was added as a way of reinforcing the meaning of the adverb, or as a contrastive particle employed to provide the reference with more emphasis. Another possibility is to see τεῖδενυ as a case of “hyper-Arcadism”, with the peculiar dialectal demonstrative ending -vυ added to make the form look more dialectal. Unfortunately, thus far the oddity of this adverb has not been fully or satisfactorily explained.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> The functions of particle vυ in Cyprian, particle vι in Pamphylian and some related particles in other dialects/languages will be discussed in detail in II.4 below.

## ***II.2. Demonstratives in Cyprian***

### **II.2.1. Introduction**

The data collected for the Cyprian dialect belongs to 34 different inscriptions.<sup>158</sup> They contain a total of 48 demonstratives distributed as follows: 42 occurrences of ὄδε (*o-te*); 3 of ὄνυ (*o-nu*) and 3 of ὄνε (*o-ne*) in various cases.<sup>159</sup> As regards οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος, there is no epigraphic evidence to date showing their use in the dialect. Given that their syntactical functions are entirely performed by the other series, it would be reasonable to assume that they did not belong in the Cyprian system of demonstratives.

There is a noticeable difference between our Cyprian and Arcadian evidence. Whereas for Arcadian we had demonstratives in only sixteen inscriptions, in Cyprian the number is more than double. The larger number of Cyprian inscriptions as well as the variety of their dates and locations perhaps would provide us with a wider and more accurate understanding of the system of demonstratives in the dialect. However, the

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<sup>158</sup> The corpus of Cyprian inscriptions has not been compiled in a single volume, but appears scattered among several publications. Text quoted here will reproduce the edition proposed by the author of the publication, which will be identified clearly, e.g. ICS = Masson (1983a), NK = Mitford (1980). See the list of abbreviations at the beginning of the present study. When included, other readings will be properly acknowledged. The inscriptions will be identified according to the number given to them in that particular edition. The most comprehensive collections of Cyprian inscriptions to date are Masson (1983a), and the extremely thorough, very recent study by Egetmeyer (2010). Previous editions of inscriptions are quoted when necessary. A number of inscriptions not compiled in Masson (1983a) appear in Mitford (1961), (1971), (1980) and Masson and Mitford (1986).

<sup>159</sup> *o-te*: ICS 2.2; 3.2; 8.6, 7; 9.1; 11.2 (not a demonstrative pronoun but an adverb); 37.1; 84.2; 92.3; 108.1; 184.1; 185.1; 217.A7, A11, A13, B17, B24 (twice), B25, B26 (twice), B28, B29, B30 (twice); 220.2; 265.1; 273.1; 275.a-b; 276.2; 283.2; 295.1; 296.1; 311.2; 338.3; ISKP I.1; IK 218.3; NK 117b; 133b; 217b; 218b, 225b; 267b.2. *o-nu*: ICS 4.2 ICS 215.1; 216.1 (doubtful, 327.B15). *o-ne*: ICS 306.2, 5, 7. For details refer to the Appendix, Table 2. A few cases of ὄδε have not been included here due to the fact that they were either too hypothetical and obscure because of the fragmentary state of the inscription, e.g. ICS 318 A.II.1 and NK 190b, or appeared in alphabetic verse inscriptions and were not in the Cyprian dialect, e.g. ICS 83.a4. See Peek (1955) 105, inscription 424. Regarding accentuation, I will write ὄδε with *spiritus asper* and ὄνυ with the *lenis* (see note 98 above). Following the accentuation proposed by Masson (1983a) in his collection of inscriptions, and taking into account that Cyprian seems to have been a pisolitic dialect, I will write also ὄνε with the *lenis*.

number of demonstratives is smaller than in Arcadian, due mainly to the fact that quite a few of the inscriptions are dedications engraved on pieces of pottery, which were very short and contained only one demonstrative.

If we examine the distribution of demonstratives in Cyprian as illustrated in Figure 5 below, it strikes us how very different it looks from their distribution in Arcadian. Whereas in Arcadian the recurring series was that of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon/\iota$ , in Cyprian there is a marked predominance of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ . On the other hand, whereas both dialects seem to coincide in their use of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$ , in Cyprian there is not  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota$  but  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon$ . Despite these obvious differences, the idea that the two dialects behaved in a similar way regarding their use of demonstratives was a repeated statement in early studies.<sup>160</sup> Cyprian and Arcadian share indeed many linguistic features and isoglosses that suggest that they belonged to the same dialectal group and developed from the same proto-dialect, often referred to as “Proto-Arcado-Cyprian”.<sup>161</sup> The fact that a rare form  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  appeared as a demonstrative both in Arcadian and in Cyprian deceived scholars into believing them to be equivalent. However, as Lejeune demonstrated, Arcadian  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  and Cyprian *o-nu* =  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  served very different purposes.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, the whole system of demonstratives was organized in both dialects in a completely different manner. Unfortunately, the erroneous assumption that Arcadian  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  and Cyprian  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  behaved in the same way can still be found as an implicit thought in some recent studies. Whenever the subject of dialectal demonstratives is approached, Arcadian and Cyprian are mentioned briefly together, usually stating that as an equivalent for  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ , or as a particular form of a

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<sup>160</sup> See for instance Buck (1907) 269; Herwerden (1910) 1043; Bechtel (1921) 358, 429. The same identification was still claimed by Buck (1955) 100, 144 and Gonda (1957) 99.

<sup>161</sup> For the discussion on the classification of dialects, see I.1.3.5 above.

<sup>162</sup> Lejeune (1943) 127-130.

demonstrative, there is “Arc.-Cypr. ὀνυ”.<sup>163</sup> Such a statement is truly misleading. Morphological similarity does not necessarily involve syntactical equivalence, as one might be inclined to infer from a quote like that. As we shall see, both the syntax and the system are completely different in the two dialects.

## II.2.2. Distribution of Cyprian Demonstratives

§1. The inscriptions collected here date from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC/middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. As Brixhe (1988a) 168 points out, there is evidence of *koiné* influence in Cyprus from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and a whole century without any evidence of the Cyprian dialect in inscriptions (from ca. 325 BC to 225 BC), during which *koiné* Greek seems to have displaced the dialect entirely. In spite of this, the inscriptions included in the present chapter were all written in the local dialect.

As Figure 6 illustrates, ὄδε shows continuity in the dialect throughout time. The earliest occurrence dates from the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c BC, approximately the same period for which we also have the earliest evidence of that very same demonstrative in Arcadian. On the other hand, evidence of the use of ὀνε and ὀνυ is very poor and scattered. There is only one inscription dating from the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BC for ὀνε, and three dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC for ὀνυ. It is worth noting that this is precisely the period in which ὀνυ appears to reach its highest peak of frequency in Arcadian: sixteen occurrences dating from 369-361 BC, coming from the same inscription, two dating from ca. 400 BC and belonging to two other inscriptions. ὀνυ is certainly of old date in Arcadian. It first

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<sup>163</sup> See e.g. Chantraine (1967) 127; Sihler (1995) 389; Schmitt (1977) 87, 123. In her *Lexicon to the Cyprian Syllabic Inscriptions*, under the entry “o-nu” Hintze (1993) 51 quotes “Arc. ὀνυ”.

appears in dialectal inscriptions about a century earlier than in Cyprian (IG V<sup>2</sup> 262, ca. 460 BC). However, there is evidence of the presence of a morphologically close form  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon$  in Cyprian since about 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c BC, much earlier than the first occurrence of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu$  in the dialect. We cannot deny the existence of a link between the Arcadian and Cyprian forms that must have originated from the period of Proto-Arcado-Cyprian, but later in time the two forms seem to have developed independently in both dialects.<sup>164</sup> If we take into account how differently both demonstratives fit into the system of their own dialects, the idea of independent or parallel development does not seem at all implausible.

§2. The 34 selected Cyprian inscriptions come from 13 different cities. Figure 7 shows the distribution of demonstratives according to provenance, type of demonstrative and number of occurrences per city. The cities have been arranged according to district: Paphos, located southwest of the island (Nea Paphos, Kouklia –old Paphos-, Rantidi, Salamiou, Dhrymou and Marion); Limassol, to the south of Cyprus (Kourion); Nicosia, at the centre of the island (Tamassos, Idalion and Kafizin); Larnaca, located to the southeast (Golgoi and Pyla); and Famagusta, to the northeast (Salamis).

As illustrated by Figures 5, 6 and 7, there is a clear predominance of demonstrative  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$  in Cyprian. The occurrences of both  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon$  are not only very rare but also limited to a couple of cities. The vast majority of Cyprian inscriptions, regardless of district or city of origin, seem to record almost exclusively the use of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ . All the five districts record at least one occurrence of this series, as do eleven of the fourteen cities to which the inscriptions discussed here have been attributed. Secondly, in Cyprian

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<sup>164</sup> It is worth examining the behaviour of particle  $-\nu\nu$  in Arcadian and Cyprian and its relationship with particles  $-\nu\iota$  and  $-\nu\epsilon$  in Pamphylian and other Greek dialects. The particle seems to be freely combinable and to possess certain characteristics that make it not only comparable to particle  $-\delta\epsilon$  but also a suitable alternative to it for creating demonstratives in combination with the article. See II.4.

there seems to be only one single form of demonstrative per city (apart from Nea Paphos, see below II.2.3.2). When we compare Figure 7 (Cyprian) with Figure 3 (Arcadian), we notice that practically every column of the chart is monochromatic, whereas in Arcadian half of the columns show at least two colours, i.e. the cities represented by those columns had at least two different forms of demonstratives in use.

This may of course be due to the fact that surviving inscriptions happened to record the use of only one demonstrative of a system that had in fact some more elements. However, as we shall see, the variety of roles that such a demonstrative was able to perform in the same inscription or the same city makes it very clear that there was no need for the use of a second element.

§3. The nature of the document or text in which a demonstrative appeared is also relevant to our understanding of the system. Figure 8 shows the distribution of Cyprian demonstratives according to type of inscription. Unlike Arcadian, where there were no examples of demonstratives used in dedications written in the local dialect, the majority of our Cyprian inscriptions belong precisely to this category. In Arcadian, decrees make full use of the complete range of demonstratives available in the same inscription, whereas Cyprian decrees record the use of only one type of demonstrative per inscription per city. In Idalion, for instance, 13 of the 14 occurrences of ὄδε appear in the same decree. Given that the text is long and complex, one would expect the demonstrative to be used in a variety of roles. There is also evidence of the use of ὄδε in a dedication from the same city, which may support the theory that there was only one Cyprian demonstrative per city capable of performing all the roles required. In this sense, it is worth noting that there are a couple of dedications using ὄνυ instead of ὄδε

coming from Tamassos, where no occurrences of ὄδε are recorded, but Nea Paphos seems to record the use of both ὄνυ and ὄδε.<sup>165</sup>

Even though there seems to be three series of demonstratives in use in the island (ὄδε, ὄνυ and ὄνε), it appears that the use of one form excluded the use of the others.<sup>166</sup> If indeed each series of demonstratives was able to perform the various syntactical functions that in other dialects are usually distributed amongst two, three or four different series, we could be dealing here with a unique case in ancient Greek of a single-term system of demonstratives.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> See II.2.3.2 below.

<sup>166</sup> Apart from the case of Nea Paphos. However, there is no evidence in the whole of the Cyprian corpus of the use of two different series of demonstratives in the same inscription.

<sup>167</sup> Lejeune (1943) 127-130.

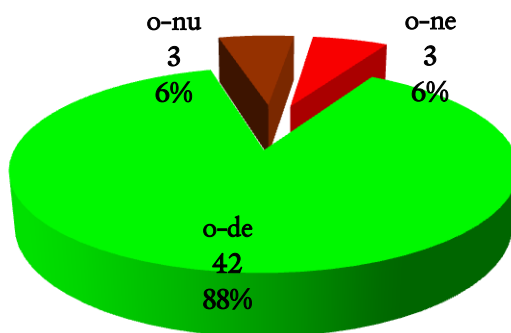


Figure 5. Demonstratives in Cyprian inscriptions

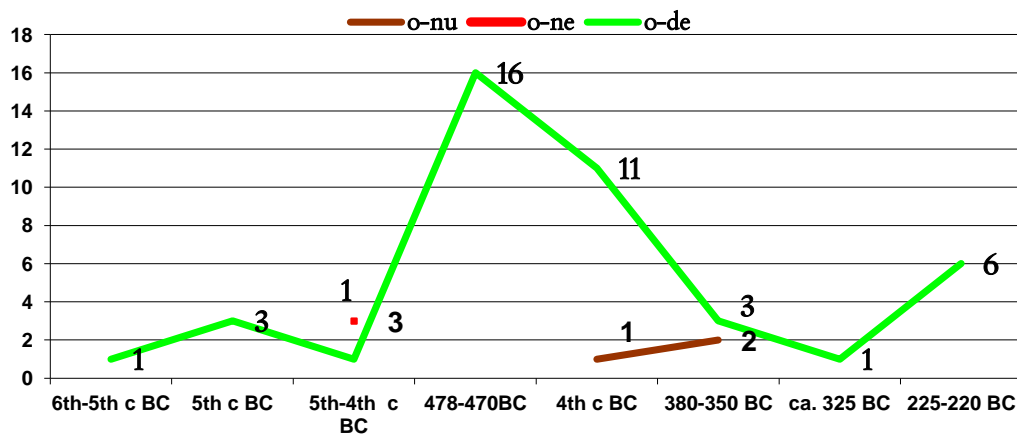


Figure 6. Distribution of Cyprian Demonstratives across time



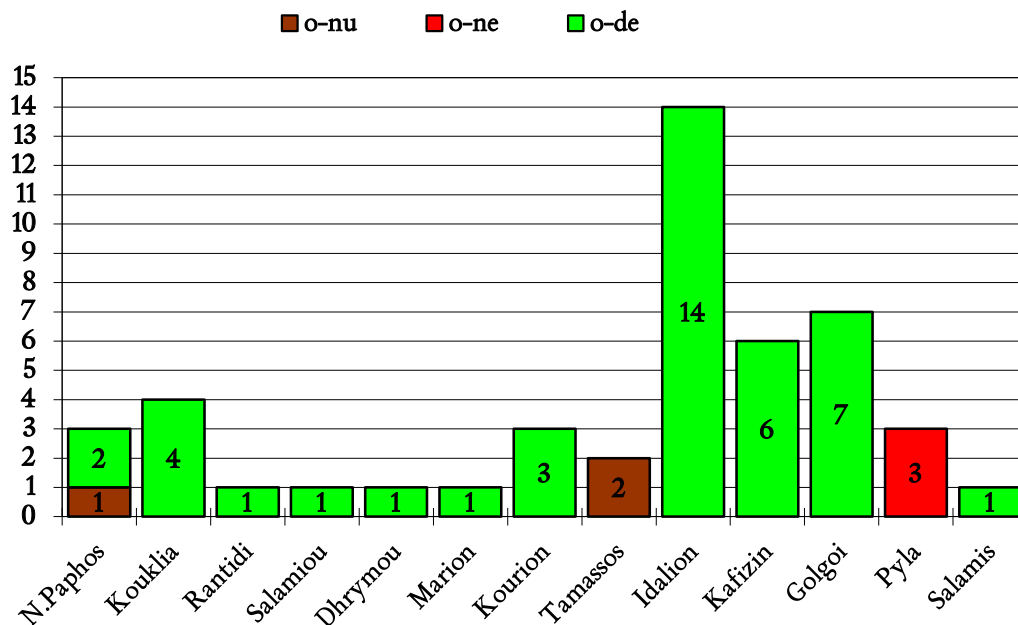


Figure 7. Distribution of Cyprian Demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions

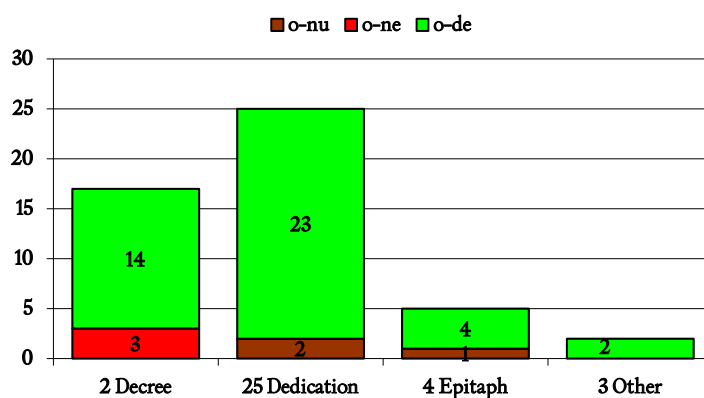


Figure 8. Distribution of Cyprian Demonstratives according to type of inscription



## II.2.3. Syntax of Cyprian Demonstratives

### II.2.3.1. ὄδε (o-te)

Referring to the artefact seems to be the most frequent role of ὄδε in Cyprian inscriptions. This fact is of course related to the large number of dedications recording demonstratives in the dialect, 25 out of 34. However, there is evidence of its use in some other types of inscription, which means that the function is not associated exclusively with dedications; there are also two occurrences in epitaphs, one in a decree and one in a *tabella defixionis*.<sup>168</sup> The oldest evidence we have of Cyprian ὄδε performing this role is ISKP 1, a dedication from Palaipaphos (Old Paphos, Kouklia), dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> -early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>169</sup> Masson and Mitford (1986) 19-20 suggested the following reading:

]–? pa–po pa–si–le–wo  
]–re–te–o–se i–ni–se  
]–te ka–te–sa–tu  
– – – – [ό] Πάφω βασιλῆο(ς)  
– – – – – κ]ρέτεος ἱνις  
[τό(ν) βωμὸ(ν)(?) τό(ν)]δε καθήσ(σ)ατυ

...the son of ---kretes, king of Paphos, erected this (pedestal).

Despite the fragmentary state of the left side of the inscription, the reading of a demonstrative in line 3 is secure, even though it is not clear from the inscription whether the demonstrative is τό(ν)]δε or τόδε. They proposed reading the noun

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<sup>168</sup> Some inscriptions are too fragmentary to securely propose a function for the demonstrative (ICS 273, 275, 283, 295, 296). However, given that they appear in short dedications, it is not unlikely that they are referring to the artefact.

<sup>169</sup> See Masson (1983a) 102. Mitford (1958a) 114 had proposed a *terminus ante quem* of 499 BC for the inscriptions found in the Kouklia siege-mound, which included this one. Egetmeyer (2010) 741-742: 550-498 BC. His edition does not suggest any noun accompanying τό(ν)]δε.

βωμὸ(ν), given its frequency in this type of inscription, therefore assuming that the demonstrative is accusative masculine τόνδε.

The same use can be seen in a dedication from Golgoi from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (ICS 276), engraved on the base of a figurine:

a-ne-te-ke [--] ta-we-i-ko-na-ta-te-ne-a-po-[lo-ni]  
ἀνέθηκε [---] τὰ(ν) *W*εικόνα τὰ(ν)δεν (?) Ἀπό[λ(λ)ωνι]<sup>170</sup>

...dedicated...this image to Apollo.

Both inscriptions illustrate an important issue concerning the Cyprian use of demonstratives: most occurrences are adnominal, and practically all adnominal demonstratives appear in post-position, namely with the structure (article) + noun + demonstrative, regardless of function, place, date or type of inscription.<sup>171</sup> There are plenty of examples of this arrangement amongst dedications.

ICS 92, a dedication from Salamiou (ca. 450BC) reads:

(1) a-ri-si-ta-ko-ra-i (2) to-o-na-si-wo-i-ko-e-pe-sa-ta-se-o-pa-sa  
(3) ka-se-o-i-ka-si-ke-ne-to-i-o-a-u-to-to-ma-na-i- ?-n-to-te  
Ἀρισταγόραι | τῶ Ὀνασιφοίκῳ ἐπέστασε ὁ πᾶς  
κας οἱ κασίγνητοι ο(ί) αὐτῶ τὸ ..... τόδε.

For Aristagoras, (son) of Onasiwoiko, the son and his siblings erected this (monument).

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<sup>170</sup> The demonstrative shows a strange final -ν (syllabic sign -ne-). Masson (1983a) 289-290 reckons that we should read the -ν simply as an accusative ending and not as a particle -νε or a movable -ν.

<sup>171</sup> This arrangement is especially evident in the “Bronze of Idalion”, the largest Cyprian inscription to date, where all the demonstratives show exactly the same word order. See below.

Masson (1983a) 148 (also Addenda 395 and Addenda Nova 409) does not agree with any reading for ma-na-?-? and leaves a blank in his edition, but Egetmeyer (2010) 805, following Neumann (2003) 133, reads ma-na-ma-ne = *mnāman*.<sup>172</sup>

The numerous inscriptions from the Nymphaeum of Kafizin show the same arrangement as well. It seems that Cyprian preferred demonstratives in post-position. Despite being of a very late date (225-218 BC,<sup>173</sup> i.e. likely to be influenced by *koiné* Greek), whenever a demonstrative is used it appears always adnominally and following the same word order: (article) + noun + demonstrative. Almost all the inscribed artefacts found at the Nymphaeum of Kafizin have two inscriptions, one alphabetic and the other syllabic, of roughly the same content. Amongst our selection, only NK 225 is entirely a syllabic inscription. The only demonstrative in use is ὄδε, which appears in every case accompanying the name of the artefact that carries the inscription dedicated to the Nymph: NK 117b to po-ro-xe-ni-o to-te, τὸ προξένιο(ν) τόδε (“this frying pan”), NK 133b a-ta-ro-po-ro] to-te, ἀθαροφόρο(ν) τόδε (“this porridge bowl”), NK 267(b).2. u-ti]-RI-wi-o to-te, ὑδ]ρί(ν) τόδε (“this pitcher”), NK 217b ki-to-ro-po-ko to-te, χιδορόβ(ρ)οχο(ν) τὸδε (“this wheaten groat soaker”); the same noun recurs in NK 218 b, ki-to-ro-po-ro-ko-to-ta, χιδορόβροχο(ν) τόδε, and again in NK 225 ki-to-ro-po-ro-ko] to-te, χιδορόβροχο(ν) vac. τόδε.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> For the reading ma-na-ma-ne (i.e. *μνᾶμα* for *μνημα*), see Neumann (2003) 133. Also Egetmeyer (1992) 87. See also ICS 338 sa-ma-ne = *σαῖμαν*, for *σημα*; Masson (1957) 76 n.4.

<sup>173</sup> Mitford (1980) 251, 266.

<sup>174</sup> Egetmeyer (2010) 646, 654, reads: NK 133b and NK 225 as [...] to-te, without providing any other interpretation, but he reads a demonstrative nevertheless. His reading of NK 267b is, on the other hand, completely different: ]-ri-wi-o-to-te-ka-a-i-la-se, [...] *tode ka aila*, “ceci et d’autres” (656).

This structure is seen again in ICS 84, a brief epitaph from Dhrymou of unknown date: ku-po-ro-ko-ra-ti-wo-se | e-mi | o la-o-o-te, Κυπροκρατίῳς ἡμὶ ὁ λᾶο(ς) ὄδε, “Here I am, this stone of Kyprokratis”.<sup>175</sup>

The use in dedications of adnominal demonstratives in pre-position was not strange to either Attic or *koiné* Greek, which suggest that the Cyprian arrangement might have been a dialectal feature. There are a few exceptions to this word order in the Cyprian corpus. In ICS 338, a 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC epitaph of unknown origin,<sup>176</sup> the demonstrative appears before the noun: so-ke-re-te-o-se |to so-ka-ri-o-se |to-te-sa-ma-ne, Σωκρέτεος τῶ Σωχάριος τόδε σᾶμαν, “Of Socrates, son of Socharis, (is) this memorial”, as it does again in ICS 311, an obscure inscription from Salamis dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC: te-a-no-re te-o-ke-le-o-se ka-sa-ta-mo-ri-se ? tu-si-? to-te-a-ko-se, Θεάνωρ Θεοκλήος κὰς ??? τόδε ἄγος “Theanor son of Theokles and (?)...this curse (cursed object?)...”.<sup>177</sup> Also in ICS 265, a dedication to Apollo dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, from Golgoi. Masson (1983a) 668 considered the text too difficult and obscure and did not provide a transcription for the first section, but Neumann (1999) 76 read: to-o-na-si-ja | to-te | li-na // o-ne-te-ke, τῶ Ὀνασίγα τόνδε λῖνα (80).<sup>178</sup> The noun λῖνα, a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, would refer to the tablet or plaque; τῶ Ὀνασίγα being a possessive genitive.<sup>179</sup> As we saw in Arcadian inscriptions, the difference between pre-

<sup>175</sup> The edition of the text was established by Hall (1878) 206. Deecke (1880) 82 provided the same reading but for a sign. However, his transcription of the signs and general interpretation of the inscription proved to be incorrect. For Masson’s transcription, followed here, see Masson (1983a) 140. For the interpretation of o-la-o- ὁ λᾶο(ς) as “stone” (in this case tombstone), related to Homeric λαᾶς, see Bowra (1934) 62.

<sup>176</sup> For the dating see Masson (1957) 76.

<sup>177</sup> Masson (1983a) 313-314. See also ICS 37 below, to-te (2) to to-ma, τόδε τὸ δῶμα. Egetmeyer (2010) 534 identifies four possible word order cases: o X ode, ode o X, X onu and ode X (sic), but does not comment on the frequency of use of the different arrangements.

<sup>178</sup> See also ICS 37 below: to-te-to-to-ma, τόδε τὸ δῶμα.

<sup>179</sup> See Neumann (1999) 80. Also Egetmeyer (2010) 612.

and post-positioned demonstratives entailed a difference in meaning that had to do with emphasis. The demonstrative pointed to salient/no salient information. However, the context was different: the Arcadian examples were not dedications; the text of the inscriptions was long and the demonstrative was used in textual deixis. In our Cyprian examples, on the other hand, the text of the inscription is very short and the demonstrative is used to point to the actual object carrying the inscription; the structure is deictic and emphatic by default; the “information” is always salient: “this memorial/object, etc. here” (and no other). There does not seem to be a difference between the example of ICS 84 and the one in ICS 338. Is one truly more emphatic /deictic than the other? Unfortunately, we cannot draw further conclusions until more evidence is discovered.<sup>180</sup> It is worth noticing, however, that the longest inscription in Cyprian, ICS 217 discussed below, has abundant examples of the use of ὄδε, but not a single occurrence of the demonstrative in pre-position.

With regard to pronominal occurrences of the demonstrative, there are not many examples either. ICS 184 and ICS 185 are two inscriptions from Kourion dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BC respectively. Taking into account that both dedications were engraved on the base of “temple boy” statuettes and that the number of signs corrupted or missing corresponded perfectly to his interpretation, Mitford (1961) 26 and (1971) 47-51 suggested [τὸ(ν) κοῦρο(ν)] τό(ν)δε Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι θεῶ[ι for ICS 184, and [τὸ(ν) κοῦ]ρο(ν)? τό(ν)δε Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι for ICS 185.<sup>181</sup> Mitford supported his reading of κοῦρον precisely by referring to the way in which the Cyprian system of

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<sup>180</sup> Egetmeyer (2010) 606 translates ICS 84 without mentioning the demonstrative at all (“Je suis la pierre...”). As regards inscriptions with a post-positioned demonstrative, he translates some as “ce/cette X” (ICS 92, ICS 216, ICS 220), whereas some others are translated as “le/la X que voici” (ICS 265, ICS 276, NK 117b) in a seemingly arbitrary manner. He does not seem to identify a difference in meaning between one position of the demonstrative and the other, as ICS 338 is also translated as “la tombe que voici” (821).

<sup>181</sup> Masson (1983a) 198-99 considered the inscriptions “of obscure interpretation”.

demonstratives seemed to have been structured. He emphasized the fact that the use of a lone demonstrative seemed to be alien to the Cyprian dialect, and for that reason a co-occurring noun was needed.<sup>182</sup> If, as the evidence seems to suggest, Cyprian had indeed a single-term system of demonstratives, the unambiguous identification of a demonstrative's reference, not necessary in systems with two or more elements, might have been required. As ICS 217 shows (see below), even in cases of clear anaphora, where the reference is fully expressed immediately before the demonstrative, the noun is none the less repeated, co-occurring with the demonstrative. Mitford's readings might, of course, be mistaken, and ICS 184 and 185 might actually be examples of pronominal demonstratives. There is evidence of at least one other inscription in which the demonstrative might be working pronominally, IK 218 (=ICS 180b), which will be discussed below.<sup>183</sup>

Besides pointing to the artefact, Cyprian ὄδε is also used to refer to the current place, namely it acts as a locative. There are 4 occurrences of ὄδε in this role: ICS 2, 3, 37 and IK 218.<sup>184</sup> Three inscriptions are dedications, and one a decree. ICS 2 and 3 date from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and came from the city of Nea Paphos. ICS 37, from Rantidi (district of Paphos), dates from the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and represents our earliest evidence of the use of a demonstrative in the dialect. IK 218, from Kourion, district of Limassol, dates to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. ICS 2 and 3 were found at an underground sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Nea Paphos. One of the inscriptions was placed above the entrance to the *dromos* and the other on a wall at the back of the first

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<sup>182</sup> Mitford (1971) 48.

<sup>183</sup> ICS 273, NK 133b, NK 267b and NK 190b (the demonstrative here is doubtful) are too dubious, as the signs before the demonstrative (or after in the case of ICS 273) are difficult to read, meaning that they could be adnominal and not pronominal.

<sup>184</sup> I have included in the table of data (Appendix, Table 2) one example of a demonstrative adverb in this role, ICS 11. It illustrates two of the alternatives for demonstrative endings in Cyprian, -δε and -νυ. Each hypothesis reconstructed a different demonstrative: *i-ta-nu=* ἴ(ν)θα νυ and *i-ta-tē* equivalent to Att. ἐνθα ἄδε. Masson (1983a) 107.

chamber.<sup>185</sup> The inscriptions are almost identical, and the NP containing the demonstrative is exactly the same.

ta-ra-pa-se | o-a-ra-ko-se | o-me-ka-ke-u-e-?-se | e-pi-pa-si-ne|  
to-se-pe-o-se | to-te-e-ke-re-se | a-po-lo-ni | u-la-ta-i |  
Ταρβας(?) ὁ ἀρχὸς [ὁ] μεγα(?).....ς ἐπίβασιν | τῷ σπηῖος τῶδε  
ἔκερσε Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι Ὑλάται. (ICS 3)

Tarbas, the great chief (?)... dug out the entrance of this grotto to Apollo Hylates.<sup>186</sup>

The deictic reference to the underground sanctuary is evident; τῷ σπηῖος τῶδε (again with a post-positioned adnominal demonstrative) undeniably alludes to the actual location where both inscriptions were found, and the noun provides a clear identification of the type of location the demonstrative is referring to, namely a cave.<sup>187</sup>

ICS 37 was found at a rural sanctuary in the area of Rantidi. The same can be said regarding this inscription: the adnominal demonstrative (this time in pre-position) points to the actual site where the inscription lay.<sup>188</sup>

(1) a-po-lo-no-se to-te (2) to to-ma lo-ki-o-ne  
Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνος τόδε τὸ δῶμα λόγιον.

This dwelling (is) the oracle of Apollo.<sup>189</sup>

IK 218 is a fragmentary inscription from Kourion found in its Acropolis. Even though the noun co-occurring with the demonstrative is an uncertain reading proposed by Mitford (1971) 380, it is worth noting that Mitford suggests that the inscription might have been placed over a doorway and therefore refer to a precise piece of

<sup>185</sup> See Masson (1983a) 96-97.

<sup>186</sup> ICS 2 adds a second verb: e-ke-re-se | ka-se | ka-te-se-ke-wa-se, ἔκερσε καὶ κατεσκεύασε, “he dug out and arranged”.

<sup>187</sup> For the use of σπέος in Homer and its relationship to Cyprian σπηῖος see Bowra (1934) 65-66.

<sup>188</sup> The reading of the all the signs seems to be uncertain according to Masson (1983a) 128.

<sup>189</sup> Or: “of Apollo, this oracular house”, Masson (1983a) 128.

land/location, and that the author insists in restoring a noun to accompany the demonstrative, given that, he insists, the demonstrative “*simpliciter*” would be a most unusual construction in the dialect.<sup>190</sup>

(1) [ - - ]-re-te-se| o-sa-ta-[ - - ] (2) [ - ]-i-ni-se| o-ko-ri-o| pa-si-  
le-[u-se] (3) [- ] ta-mo-te-ro-ne| ta-te| e-te-mi-[ - - ]  
[ - - κ]ῥέτης ὁ Στα[σι - - ] | [ - ] ἱνις ὁ Κωρίω βασιλε[ύς]  
|[ζᾱ(ν)]? δαμοτέρων τά(ν)δε ἐθεμί[σατυ]?

...the king of Kourion ordains that this [plot of land] shall be reserved for representatives of the people.<sup>191</sup>

Egetmeyer (2010) 670 does not supply a missing noun, but understands the demonstrative as pronominal, reading neuter plural *tade*, probably referring to something not mentioned yet in the inscription: “...krétès, le fils de Stasi..., le roi de Kourion... de la part du peuple a établi ceci...”.

As well as referring to the artefact and the current place, ὄδε can perform other functions in Cyprian; it can be used to refer to the document and to a section of text, either in a cataphoric or an anaphoric role. The largest and most important Cyprian inscription to date, the so-called Bronze of Idalion (ICS 217), dating from 478-470 BC, provides evidence of all these uses.<sup>192</sup> This inscription has proven essential to the study of the Cyprian system of demonstratives, especially because it provides us with plenty of evidence (13 occurrences) of a single series of demonstratives (ὄδε) being used in the same inscription to carry out a wide variety of functions. As mentioned before, all demonstratives in this inscription are adnominal and appear in post-position.

<sup>190</sup> Masson (1983a) 412, however, does not supply any reading for the signs missing.

<sup>191</sup> The edition and translation of the text belongs to Mitford (1971) 378-380.

<sup>192</sup> Masson (1983a) 45, 238. Schwyzer (1923) 328 proposes a later date, ca. 450 BC; Buck (1955) 210 dates the inscription to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Colvin (2007) 86 dates it to the period proposed by Masson, specifically to 475 BC.

The inscription starts with a brief account of the events which led to the arrangements described in the tablet: due to the services rendered by Onasilos and his brothers to the city of Idalion without charging a fee, the king and city decided to grant them a talent of silver as repayment for their assistance (ἀργύρο̄(ν) τά(λαντον) I τά(λαντον), ICS 217.A6).<sup>193</sup> The talent of silver is alluded to in the next line by means of the use of ὄδε, which is evidently performing an anaphoric function, referring to what was mentioned just before, i.e. shared information:<sup>194</sup>

ἔδου Wάν οἴνυ<sup>195</sup> ἀ(ν)τῑ τῶ| ἀργύρο̄ν τῶδε<sup>196</sup> τῶ ταλά(ν)τῶν  
 βασιλεὺς κὰς ἅ πτόλις Ὀνασίλωι κὰς τοῖς κασιγ|νήτοις ἀπὺ  
 τᾱι γᾱι τᾱι<sup>197</sup> βασιλῆ̄φος τᾱ(ι) ἰ(ν) τ(ῶι) οἰρῶνι τῶι  
 Ἄλα(μ)πριγᾱται τὸ(ν) χῶρον| τὸν ἰ(ν) τῶι ἔλει...(A6-9)

Now instead of this silver, the talent, the king and the city gave to Onasilos and his brothers, from the estate of the king which is in the district of Alampra: the land in the marshland...

The inscription tells us that “instead of *this* (above mentioned) talent of silver” the king and city granted them a piece of land of particular characteristics, which are described at length in the text. The description identifies and defines the piece of land (i.e. the reference) very precisely. Therefore, when the plot of land is referred to again a couple of lines later, once more by means of ὄδε, the identity of the reference is unambiguous:

<sup>193</sup> For a detailed discussion on the interpretation of the context of the tablet and on the possibility of a siege where Onasilos and his brothers would have rendered their services, see Masson (1983b) especially 261-267.

<sup>194</sup> For reasons of space, I will not provide the syllabic text for the quotes that follow, but only their alphabetic transcription and English translation. For the syllabic text see Masson (1983a) 236-237. The alphabetic transcription and English translation belong to Colvin (2007) 86-88.

<sup>195</sup> For a discussion on Cyprian e-tu-wa-no-i-nu (and e-to-ko-i-nu) and the possible use of particle -vu in Cyprian see II.4 below.

<sup>196</sup> The underlining is mine.

<sup>197</sup> Colvin (2007) 90 considers that the sign represents *ga*, not *za*, hence reads γᾱι and not ζᾱι, “from the land”. See also Egetmeyer’s transcription and transliteration: a-pu-ta-i | ga-i; apū tᾱi gᾱi. Egetmeyer (1993) 56-58. For the reading *za* see Masson (1983a) 54-55, 240.

ἢ κέ σις Ὀνασίλον ἢ τὸς| κασιγνήτο(ν)ς ἢ τὸς παῖδα(ν)ς  
 τῶ(ν) παίδων τῶν Ὀνασικύπρῶν ἐξ τῶι χώρῳι τῶιδε|  
 ἐξορύξη, ἰδέ παι ὅ ἐξορύξη πείσει Ὀνασίλωι κὰς τοῖς  
 κασιγνήτοις ἢ τοῖς παισὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τό(ν)δε· ἀργύρῳ(ν)  
 τὰ(λαντον) 1 τὰ(λαντον)· (A11-13)

If anyone expels Onasilos or his brothers or the sons of the sons of Onasikypros from this land, then the expeller shall pay to Onasilos and to his brothers or to his sons this sum: one talent of silver.

This extract clearly illustrates the diversity of uses that a single series of demonstratives can have in Cyprian.<sup>198</sup> ὅδε is used in the first occurrence to allude to a piece of information shared by both “speaker” and “hearer”; the plot of land identified before.<sup>199</sup> Such an anaphoric use of ὅδε would be very unusual both in Attic and Arcadian.<sup>200</sup> ὅδε does not normally refer to something previously said, but typically to something that comes after the demonstrative, it introduces new information. Precisely, immediately after its anaphoric use, ὅδε is used again, but this time to perform the opposite role. Instead of referring to what was mentioned before in the text, it is used to point to what is about to be mentioned: “he will pay this (following) silver: one

<sup>198</sup> To support his claim that a single demonstrative could carry out different functions in Cyprian, Lejeune (1943) 128 n.1 referred to a fragmentary inscription from Kouklia (ICS 8) dating from 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC. He considered that the first demonstrative of the inscription was working as cataphora whereas the second was most likely an anaphora. He interpreted the last two lines of the inscription as something like “(...) I have sworn this (following) oath: I will truly (keep?) this (previously mentioned) oath”: (6) *o-mo-mo-ko-ne | to-no-ro-ko-ne | to-te | ma na-i | e-ko* (7) *[to-no]-ro-ko-ne to-te*, (6) ὁμώμοκον τὸν ὄρκον τό(ν)δε· μὰ ναὶ (?) ἐγὼ, (7) [τὸν ὄ]ρκον τό(ν)δε. I believe it makes more sense to understand both demonstratives as simply referring to the document: “I have sworn this oath and I will (keep) this oath”, with the second mention being most likely anaphoric. However, the inscription is quite fragmentary and obscure to provide a clear interpretation.

<sup>199</sup> For more examples of the use of ὅδε in this role see lines A11, B17, B24 (two cases), B29 and B30 (two occurrences).

<sup>200</sup> See II.1.3.1 above.

talent”.<sup>201</sup> However, the versatility of the demonstrative in ICS 217 does not end there.

At the end of the inscription ὄδε performs two additional roles:

ἰδὲ τὰ(ν) δάλτον τά(ν)δε, τὰ Ἐπίγια τάδε ἰναλαλισμένα,  
Ἰβασιλεὺς κὰς ἅ πτόλις κατέθησαν ἰ(ν) τὰ(ν) θιὸν τὰν  
Ἀθάναν τὰν περ Ἐιδάλιον, σὺν ὄρκοις μὴ λῦσαι τὰς  
Ἐρήτα(ν)ς τάσδε ὑφαῖς γᾶν(?). ἴ ὅπι σίς κε τὰς Ἐρήτα(ν)ς  
τάσδε λύση, ἀνοσίγια Ἐοι γένοιτυ· τὰς κε ἰ(30) γᾶ(ν)ς τάσδε  
κὰς τὸς κάπο(ν)ς τόσδε οἱ Ὀνασικύπρων παῖδες κὰς τῶ(ν)  
παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἔξο(ν)σι αἰφεῖ, ο(ἰ) ἰ(ν) τ(ῶ)ι οἰρῶνι τῶι  
Ἐδαλιῆφι ἴωσι. (B26-31)

Behold, the king and the city have set up this tablet, with these words inscribed upon it, to the goddess Athena, who protects Edalion, with oaths not to break these undertakings for ever. Whoever does break these undertakings, may a curse befall him! These (30) lands and these gardens the sons of Onasikypros and the sons of their sons shall hold for ever, those who shall be in the land of Edalion.

ὄδε occurs six times in this extract. In its first occurrence, ὄδε appears to be pointing to the artefact, i.e. the tablet containing the inscription. The use of the noun δάλτον, “tablet”, calls attention to the actual corporeality of the inscription, as it undoubtedly refers to the type of artefact carrying it. In the second occurrence, “these words inscribed upon it” (τὰ Ἐπίγια τάδε ἰναλαλισμένα), the demonstrative points to the inscription as a document, the “words inscribed” representing the text of the inscription as a whole.<sup>202</sup> Also in the next example, τὰς Ἐρήτα(ν)ς τάσδε (from Ἐρήτρας),<sup>203</sup> translated by Colvin as “undertakings”, duties. Ἐρήτρα is a contract, agreement or treaty.<sup>204</sup> Therefore, the phrase alludes to the document, to the nature and characteristics

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<sup>201</sup> There is another example of this role, B25: ἰδὲ ὁ ἐξορύξη πείσει Ὀνασίλωι ἢ τοῖς παισὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τὸ(ν)δὲ· ἀργύροδιν πε(λέκεφας) IIII πε(λέκεφας) II δι(δραχμα) Ἐ(δάλια), “...then the expeller shall pay to Onasilos or to his sons this (following) money: four axes of silver and two Edalian didrachms”.

<sup>202</sup> See Lejeune (1943) 128.

<sup>203</sup> For the interpretation of Ἐρήτρα see Masson (1983a) 243.

<sup>204</sup> Colvin (2007) 92.

of the text of the inscription. Even though the inscription is a tablet (δάλτον) as regards its material substance, it is also a series of agreements (Φρήτας) when we look at it as a written document. The second time τὰς Φρήτα(ν)ς τάσδε is used, however, it appears that the demonstrative is functioning as anaphora, pointing back to the agreements that the text has just mentioned. The last two occurrences of ὄδε refer back to the plots of lands and sites that have been mentioned throughout the inscription, summarizing the content of the agreements and providing a final conclusion for the text.

Unfortunately we cannot draw any conclusions from the position of the demonstratives in the NP, since it is always the same. As regards Lejeune's suggestion that the reference to the document could be interpreted as "the preceding X" or "the present X" depending on the demonstrative used (see I.1.3.6. above), we cannot comment either, as each Cyprian inscription seems to have only one series of demonstratives in use.

### ***II.2.3.2. ὄνυ (o-ny)***

As well as ὄδε, there is evidence of the use of an additional series of demonstratives in the island, ὄνυ. However, the evidence is scarce; there are three occurrences of this demonstrative in Cyprian inscriptions, potentially four if we take into account ICS 327, an inscription supposedly from the region of Aphrodision, near Akanthou (district of Famagusta), dating from ca. 400 BC,<sup>205</sup> which appears to contain an occurrence of demonstrative ὄνυ, even though mostly conjectural.<sup>206</sup> Mitford identifies the form τὰ(ν)νυ. (line 15),<sup>207</sup> but Masson reckons that the interpretation of the text is too dubious, as are many of the reconstructed words in the inscription, and considers the

<sup>205</sup> Egetmeyer (2010) 575: 650-500 BC.

<sup>206</sup> For details on the location and date of the inscription see Masson (1983a) 323ff.

<sup>207</sup> See Mitford (1961) 38-45, particularly 41.

text to be too enigmatic and of doubtful interpretation.<sup>208</sup> Masson agrees with the reading of a series of names at the beginning of the text, but some of the words proposed by Mitford are still not convincing, particularly those in the line where  $\tau\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\nu\upsilon$  occurs. According to Mitford's reading, the demonstrative would be adnominal, accompanying the noun  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau(\theta)\iota\nu$ , interpreted as a form for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ , perhaps referring to a layering of branches. In his edition, the demonstrative would be performing an anaphoric function, since there seems to be some reference to "torches" earlier in the inscription (la-pa-to-ne,  $\lambda\alpha(\mu)\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\nu$ , line 4): (14) a-ri-si-to-wa-[-]-xe (15) i-te-ka-se ka-ti-ne ta-nu [- -] to-ma, (14) Ἀριστοῦ  $W\alpha[\nu\alpha]\xi$ , | (15) ἰ(ν)θήκας  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau(\theta)\iota\nu$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\nu\upsilon$ . [ $\iota(\nu)$  τὸ] δῶμα, "Aristowanax, having put? this layering of branches? in the house". Unfortunately, the text is too uncertain. Nevertheless, Egetmeyer (2010) still reads the form *ta-nu* in line 15, but does not provide an interpretation for it. On the other hand, he considers *la-pa-to-ne* to be a name, *Lapatōn*.

Two secure occurrences of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$  appear in bilingual inscriptions written in Phoenician and Cyprian, found at the sanctuary of Apollo at Phrangissa, to the southwest of Tamassos (ICS 215 and 216). There are actually three bilingual inscriptions from Cyprus, written both in Phoenician and Cyprian, which contain a demonstrative, ICS 215, ICS 216 and ICS 220. The first two have evidence of the use of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon$ , whereas ICS 220, from Idalion, shows evidence of the use of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ . ICS 215 was dated to ca. 362 BC, 216 to ca. 375 BC and 220 to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>209</sup> that is to say, they belong roughly to the same period. It is interesting to compare the Phoenician and

<sup>208</sup> Masson (1983a) 402-3.

<sup>209</sup> Masson (1983a) 225 suggests as *terminus ante quem* for ICS 215 362 BC. He acknowledges the fact that several scholars dated ICS 220 to ca. 375-380 BC but considers it should be dated earlier. See Masson (1983a) 225 n. 2; 247. Egetmeyer (2010) 636: 388 BC.

Cyprian versions of the text, as they show some similar arrangements that might illuminate our understanding of the system of demonstratives in the dialect:<sup>210</sup>

- (a) (1) sml 'z 'š ytn wytn (2)' · mnḥm · bn bnḥdš bn mn- (3) ḥm bn 'rq l'dny l[rš]p (4) 'lyyt byrh 'tnm bšnt (5) šlšm 20+10 lmlk mlkytn · mlk (6) kty w'dyl · kšm' ql · ybrk  
 (b) (1) to-na-ti-ri-a-ta-ne | to-nu · e-to-ke-ne (2) ka-se · o-ne-te-ke-ne | ma-na-se-se (3) o no-me-ni-o-ne | to-i ti-o-i (4) to-i a-pe-i-lo-ni | to-i e-le- (5) ta-i | i tu-ka-i

τὸν ἀ(ν)δριᾶ(ν)ταν τόν(ν)υ ἔδωκεν | καὶς ὀνέθηκεν Μνάσης | ὁ Νωμηγιῶν τῶι θιῶι | τῶι Ἀπειλῶνι τῶι Ἑλεί|ται ἰ(ν) τύχαι.

This statue gave and dedicated Mnases, son of Nomenios, to the god Apollo Heleitas, in good fortune.<sup>211</sup> (ICS 215)

- (a) (2)...sml] 'z 'š ytn wytn' · 'dn · blr[m] (3) [bn bdmlk l'l]y lršp mkl · k šm ql ybrk  
 (b) (2)... to-na-ti-ri-ya-ta-ne | to-te ka-te-se-ta-se | o wa-na-xe (3) [..6?..]-o a-pi-ti-mi-li-ko-ne | to a-po-lo-ni | to a-mu-ko-lo-i (...)

(...) τὸν ἀ(ν)δριᾶ(ν)ταν τό(ν)δε κατέστασε ὁ Φάναξ | [Βααλωμος] ὁ Αβδιμίλκων τῶ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τῶ Ἀμύκλωι (...)

...this statue erected Lord Baalrom, son of Abdimilkon, to Apollo Amyklos...(ICS 220)

- (a) (3) ty w'dyl sml 'z 'š ytn 'b- (4) dssm bn ... l'dny lršp '- (5) lhyts hndr 'š ndr kšm ' (6) h' ql ybrk  
 (b) (1) a-ti-ri-a-se | o-nu-to-ne-to (2) ke-ne · a-pa-sa-so-mo-se · o-sa (3) ma-wo-se · to-i a-[po-lo]-ni to-i (4) a-la-si-o-ta-i · i tu-ka-i

Ἀ(ν)δριᾶς ὄνυ, τὸν ἔδω|κεν Αψασωμος ὁ Σα|μαῤφος τῶι Ἀ[πόλ(λ)ω]νι τῶι Ἀλασιώται ἰ(ν) τύχαι.

(Here is/Behold) this statue, which Apsasomos, son of Samawos, dedicated to Apollo Alasiotas, in good fortune. (ICS 216)

<sup>210</sup> The edition of the text (Phoenician, Cyprian, and Greek) belong to Masson (1983a). Translations and underlining are mine.

<sup>211</sup> Nicolaou (1971) 15 provides a similar translation for the Cypriot text, but misses the demonstrative completely (i.e. “The statue was given and dedicated by Mnases...”). Nicolaou explains that the two texts are different, in that the Cyprian version does not include the date and the dedicator’s genealogy.

There are a number of interesting features in the Phoenician version worth considering. Near demonstrative 'z “this”, common in most Phoenician dialects,<sup>212</sup> appears in the inscriptions above always in the same context: “sml 'z 'š ytn wyṭn”, where *sml* is the noun “image”,<sup>213</sup> 'z is the near demonstrative “this”, and š a relative preceding the coordinated verbs *ytn wyṭn*. We could translate the phrase as “this image that (someone) gave and erected”. Phoenician demonstratives might be used adnominally or pronominally, but in the three examples above the demonstrative is always shown in adnominal position accompanying the noun *sml*.<sup>214</sup> The repeated noun phrase “sml 'z”, with a post-positioned demonstrative, shows precisely the preferred order for adnominal demonstratives in Cyprian. However, according to Krahmalkov (2001) 79, in normative Phoenician the post-position seems to have been compulsory.<sup>215</sup> Krahmalkov (2001) explains that in Phoenician the demonstrative did not take the definite article, except for only two exceptions coming from the Cyprian city of Kition-Idalion, and that when a demonstrative followed a noun, the presence of the article accompanying the noun seems to have been optional, as illustrated by the inconsistency of its use in Phoenician inscriptions.<sup>216</sup> In the examples above, none of the three inscriptions takes the article. On the contrary, in two of the Cyprian versions the noun is used with it.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> See Lipiński (1997) 320; Segert (1997) 177. Some dialects, like the Phoenician dialect of Byblos, added a prefix or suffix to the demonstrative, e.g. *-n*, as *zn* in Byblos. Segert (1997) 321.

<sup>213</sup> Mitchell (1988) 272 includes *sml* within “Products: Statuary”, together with *mš*, *sml* meaning “image” and *mš* “statue”. Later (277), the author affirms that both terms refer to human representations, but sometimes they could represent a god.

<sup>214</sup> Krahmalkov (2000) 166-167; Krahmalkov (2001) 77ff.

<sup>215</sup> Krahmalkov (2000) 167: “Adjectival 1. In normative Phoenician and Punic usage, the demonstrative follows the noun and does not receive the definite article; the use of the definite article with the noun is optional”.

<sup>216</sup> See Krahmalkov (2001) 79, 81, 90

<sup>217</sup> In the Cyprian of Idalion at least, the noun taking the article seems to have been the preferred choice. The thirteen occurrences of ὄδε in ICS 217 show always the same arrangement: article + noun + demonstrative.

The use of the relative is also interesting. The Phoenician text shows always the same structure: noun + demonstrative + relative + verb(s). The relative in each case introduces the main verb(s) of the inscription, and the noun phrase seems to be placed before it in a somehow emphatic position, the whole arrangement acting in the manner of a presentative, as if introducing something: “(Here is/ behold) this image, which...”. In the Cyprian version of the texts there is only one occurrence of the structure noun + demonstrative without the use of the article preceding the noun (ICS 216), but it occurs precisely in an inscription where the Cyprian text appears to mirror the Phoenician structure. However, in place of the relative, the Cyprian version has an article. Even though it is true that the article might be functioning here as an anaphoric “pick up” pronoun, i.e. “it”, like in Homer, the article could be working also as a relative introducing the main verb *e-to-ke-ne*. This function of the article is not uncommon. There are plenty of examples in Homer and Herodotus of definite articles being used as relatives,<sup>218</sup> and according to Buck (1955) 101, there are some examples in Arcadian and Cyprian inscriptions as well.<sup>219</sup> Masson (1983a) 227 draws attention to the fact that a nominative is used in this inscription instead of an accusative, as in ICS 215, but the change of case obviously corresponds to a change in the syntax. In ICS 215 there is one unit with the structure OBJECT (article + noun + demonstrative, all in the accusative) + VERB(S) + SUBJECT (in the nominative) (τὸν ἄ(ν)δριᾶ(ν)ταν τόν(ν)υ ἔδωκεν | κὰς ὀνέθηκεν Μνάσης). In ICS 216, on the contrary, we have two different units; a) NOUN PHRASE (noun + demonstrative in the nominative) without a verb, and b) OBJECT (article/relative in the accusative) + VERB + SUBJECT (in the nominative)

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<sup>218</sup> The article used as a relative in Homer usually appears when the antecedent of the relative is definite, Smyth (1956) 285. In the Cyprian inscription the antecedent is made definite by the use of the demonstrative; in the other two inscriptions by both the use of the article and the demonstrative. For “double definiteness” and double determination, see Lyons (1999) 77-85, 119-120.

<sup>219</sup> For some examples in Cyprian, Bechtel (1921) 442. Thumb (1959) 168 quotes DGE 685 (ICS 264) in addition to ICS 216. Egetmeyer (2010) 814 takes *-to-* to be a relative.

(Α(ν)δριὰς ὄνυ, τὸν ἔδωκεν Αψασωμος). The initial noun phrase is used emphatically, introducing the following sentence and functioning as the antecedent of the relative/anaphoric pronoun. However, the content of both structures is the same, except that in ICS 216 the object of the verb seems to have been extricated from the sentence and made into a separate unit, just as in the Phoenician version.

Finally, it is worth observing the way in which the Cyprian version renders the Phoenician demonstrative in each case. The Phoenician text shows the use of the same “near” demonstrative ‘z in all three examples, but in the Cyprian version the demonstrative changes; the same function is rendered in a different way depending on the provenance of the inscription. In the two inscriptions coming from Tamassos (ICS 215 and 216), the demonstrative selected to refer to the artefact is ὄνυ, but in the inscription from Idalion (ICS 220) is ὄδε. This difference in the Cyprian version of the text constitutes a strong argument in support of the hypothesis that Cyprian would have had only one demonstrative in use per location. In the Bronze of Idalion there is only one demonstrative in use to perform many different functions, ὄδε. Therefore, one would expect any other inscription from Idalion to use ὄδε as well. Likewise, one would expect inscriptions from Tamassos to record the use of ὄνυ. Unfortunately our evidence from Tamassos is reduced.

The remaining case of ὄνυ is found in what appears to be an epitaph from Nea Paphos dating to 350-300 BC, ICS 4. The use of ὄδε in Nea Paphos is recorded in ICS 2.2 and ICS 3.2, which would mean that there were two different demonstratives at work in the same location.<sup>220</sup> This is unrecorded anywhere else in the Cyprian corpus,

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<sup>220</sup> For a discussion of the possible situation of the system of demonstratives at Nea Paphos, see Egetmeyer (2010) 544. Even though there would be evidence of more than one series of demonstratives

but it may well be the case that the reading of the inscription is incorrect. Masson's edition of the text (1983a) 99, had left out a sign on the second line due to its obscure context, so his edition read "to-?-". Neumann (1994) 1-3, revisited the inscription and interpreted the missing sign as "nu", therefore proposing to read demonstrative *to-nu*:

- (1) o-i-je-re-se-ta-se-a-na-sa-se  
 (2) ?-ma-ra-ko-se-to-nu-mo-na-i-o-ro-si-a

Ὁ ἱερεὺς τᾶς ἀνάσσας | ...μάρχος. τόνυ μοναὶ Ὀρσία.

...marchos, der Priester der Herrin. Dies (ist) die Ruhestätte des Orsias.<sup>221</sup>

As Neumann (1994) 3 emphasizes, if his interpretation of the sign was correct, this would be the only example of the neuter form of this demonstrative in Cyprian. In spite of the lack of agreement in gender and number with the noun, τόνυ would be working pronominally as a predicate, and it would be performing a different role than the demonstrative in the inscriptions from Tamassos, namely it would be referring to the current place: "this is the resting place of Orsias".<sup>222</sup>

If the reading of ὄνυ in the inscription from Aphrodision (ICS 327) were correct and the demonstrative were indeed working in an anaphoric function, that would indicate that ὄνυ was able to perform a further role apart from referring to the artefact and the current place, just as ὄδε did in Idalion.<sup>223</sup> There is certainly evidence of the third series of demonstratives in use in the island, ὄνε, performing roles normally allocated to

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in the region, Egetmeyer states: "chaque attestation pourrait représenter un usage propre à un endroit et à un époque spécifiques", therefore not ruling out the possibility that Cyprian had had a single-term system of demonstratives, namely one series of demonstratives at a time.

<sup>221</sup> The edition of the texts and translation belong to Neumann (1994 1-3). Egetmeyer (2010) 730: to-nu-mo-na-i-o-ro-si-a.

<sup>222</sup> Neumann (1994) 3, *mo-na-i* would be related to μονή and μένω, with the sense of either dwelling or resting place.

<sup>223</sup> Dubois (1986a) 126 n. 845 takes into account only ICS 215 and 216 and concludes that Cyprian ὄνυ is equivalent to ὄδε (i.e. ὄδε as in Attic Greek).

different series of demonstratives in other dialects, which might support the theory that ὀνυ might have worked in a similar way.

### **II.2.3.3. ὀνε (o-ne)**

ICS 306, a decree from Pyla dating to the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC constitutes the only secure evidence we have of the use of demonstrative ὀνε in the Cyprian dialect.<sup>224</sup> The reading of a demonstrative τάν(ν)ε in ICS 8.4 as edited by Masson (1980) 77 was later abandoned, and the demonstrative was replaced by the article τάν (Masson (1983a) 105).<sup>225</sup> In his edition of the text, Egetmeyer (2010) 734 reinstated the demonstrative as a possibility, *ta-ne = t̄ān/t̄ān(n)ne* (?). However, as he pointed out, the text was fragmentary and dubious (544-545). If *ta-ne* was to be read as another occurrence of demonstrative ὀνε, we would have not only ὄδε and ὀνυ but also ὀνε in use in the region of Paphos. Moreover, as ICS 8 already has evidence of the use of a demonstrative (ὄδε: ([*to-no*]-*ro-ko-ne*/ ? *to-te*, τὸν ὄρκον τό(ν)δε, line 7), this would represent a unique case in Cyprian of an inscription showing the use of two demonstratives. Both situations –a region with three different demonstratives in use and an inscription with more than one series recorded- would be unprecedented in Cyprian and contrary to most of the evidence. Egetmeyer rejects the idea of an article there, as according to him the article would have demonstrative value, which would be too archaic for a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription. However, there is evidence of a comparable use of the article in another inscription of similar date, ICS 216 above, so the presence of an article in ICS 8 would not be implausible. Unfortunately, due to the lack of conclusive evidence we cannot take the discussion further.

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<sup>224</sup> Egetmeyer (2010) 786: 400-325 BC.

<sup>225</sup> The same applies to ICS 217.B27, where *ta-ne* had been read first as τάν(ν)ε, but the reading was refuted by Lejeune (1943) 127 n.4. See Masson (1983a) 243.

Because of its dating, it is unlikely that the use of ὄνε in the inscription from Pyla (ICS 306) had been a recent creation. According to Masson (1983a) 304 the inscription is of difficult interpretation, even though the reading of the signs seems to be quite straightforward.

(1) a-ri-si-to-ma-ko-se (2) e-ke-ra-to | to ko-ro | to-ne (3) a-u-to | a-ta-u-to (4) i-te ka | o-i-ko na-o-ne (5) to ko-ro | o-ne | o-u-ki te-le-sa (6) to a-ra-ku-ri-o | to-e-na-(?) (7) i to ta-la-mo | to-ne | i-te | (8) ko-i-ki-si | pe-i-se | to no-mo

Ἀριστόμαχος | ἐχρᾶτο τῷ χώρῳ τῶνε | αὐτὸ(ς) ..... | ἰδὲ κα(ς) οἶκο(ν) νάων | τῷ χώρῳ, ὄνε οὐχὶ τελέσ(σ)α | το ἀργύριο(ν) δοένα | τῷ θαλάμῳ τῶνε ἰδὲ κοῖκισι(ν) πείση τῷ νόμῳ. (ICS 306)

Aristomachos had the usage of this plot of land here himself...and then inhabiting a house of the plot of land, this (man mentioned above) did not succeed to pay the silver for this (above-mentioned) dwelling; then he must pay for the housing according to the law.<sup>226</sup>

The first occurrence of ὄνε in this inscription, the demonstrative in the dative, τῷ χώρῳ τῶνε, seems to point to the current location. There is no previous mention of the land to which the demonstrative refers that could make us think of an anaphoric function. τῶνε must be referring to the actual site in which the inscription was placed. The circumstances of the discovery of this document of legal character are unknown,<sup>227</sup> but it is likely that the inscription was placed at the entrance of the dwelling referred to by the text. Egetmeyer (2010) 786 emphasizes the deictic nature of the reference by translating it as “Aristomachos avait la jouissance du présent terrain”. The second occurrence of ὄνε has been read by most scholars as the nominative singular masculine

<sup>226</sup> The edition of the text corresponds to Masson (1983a) 304. The translation and underlining are mine.

<sup>227</sup> Masson (1983a) 304.

of the demonstrative,<sup>228</sup> and interpreted as referring back to Aristomachos, namely performing an anaphoric role: “This (man mentioned before) was not able to pay the silver”.<sup>229</sup> Alternatively, Mitford (1958b) 43 proposed to read a demonstrative adverb, ὦν(ν)ε, based upon the model of ὦννυ, as quoted by Hesychius: ὦννυ· οὕτως <ὡς νῦν· ὅπως>,<sup>230</sup> and to translate it as “in these circumstances”. The text would then be translated as: “Aristomachos had the usage of this plot of land (here) himself...and also inhabited a house of the plot of land, in these circumstances (i.e. this being the situation) he did not succeed to pay the silver for this (previously mentioned) dwelling; and now he must pay for the housing according to the law”.<sup>231</sup> The third use of ὄνε (τῶ θalάμῳ τῶνε) seems to be anaphoric as well. The demonstrative refers back to some known/shared information, the οἴκο(ν) mentioned before, even though the demonstrative appears accompanied by a different noun (θαλάμῳ).<sup>232</sup>

It is clear from the use of demonstratives in this inscription, that as ὅδε and ὄνυ before, Cyprian ὄνε was also able to perform roles normally allocated to two different series, in this case both a deictic (referring to the current location) and an anaphoric role (referring to a previous section of text). However, as our evidence of the use of ὄνε in Cyprian is limited to a single inscription, we cannot draw more significant conclusions.

#### ***II.2.3.4. A note on the Article***

A brief note on the use of the article is particularly relevant in the case of Cyprian. The article seems to have maintained some of its original demonstrative force in almost

<sup>228</sup> See Beattie (1959) 169, Masson (1983a) 304, Egetmeyer (2010) 786.

<sup>229</sup> Masson (1983a) 306.

<sup>230</sup> Schmidt (1867) 1583, n. 45.

<sup>231</sup> Even though the presence of a nominative demonstrative in line 5 is generally agreed, it is an odd occurrence. In Attic Greek a demonstrative in that position would probably not be needed; the text would simply carry on. Mitford’s interpretation is therefore attractive.

<sup>232</sup> “L’idée exprimée par οἴκος paraît être reprise l. 7 par θalάμῳ...”, see Masson (1983a) 306.

every Greek dialect, Cyprian included. It is therefore worth looking at its behavior in a dialect that seems to have possessed only one series of demonstratives in use at a given location/ a given inscription, to determine whether or not the article may have functioned as a second series.<sup>233</sup>

Given its length and complexity, our best source for analysis is ICS 217, the tablet from Idalion. When comparing the use of the article in ICS 217 with the use of the article in Attic, for instance, the results show that the Cyprian article behaves almost exactly as its Attic counterpart. The presence of the article is recurrent in this inscription, but it does not seem to be working as a demonstrative, and it most certainly does not cover all the roles that a demonstrative such as ὄδε in Cyprian can perform. In the following extracts we see the article working both as particular and as generic, both used and omitted in accordance with what we would expect from the article in Attic. It is used with proper names, either human or divine; it appears with nominalizing power and as a possessive pronoun, and even functioning like a relative pronoun.<sup>234</sup>

(A 1-13) (1) ὅτε τὰ(ν)<sup>1</sup> πτόλιν Ἐδάλιον κατέφορον Μᾶδοι κὰς Κετιῆρες ἰ(ν) τῶι<sup>2</sup> Φιλοκύπρον φέτει τῶ<sup>3</sup> Ὀνασαγόρου, βασιλεὺς Στασίκυπρος κὰς ἄ<sup>4</sup> πτόλις Ἐδαλιῆρες, ἄνωγον Ὀνάσιον τὸν<sup>5</sup> Ὀνασικύπρον τὸν<sup>6</sup> ἰατήραν κὰς τὸς<sup>7</sup> κασιγνήτο(ν)ς ἰᾶσθαι τὸ(ν)ς<sup>8</sup> ἄ(ν)θρώπο(ν)ς τὸ(ν)ς<sup>9</sup> ἰ(ν) τᾶι<sup>10</sup> μάχαι ἰκλιμαμένο(ν)ς ἄνευ μισθῶν κὰς παι εὐφορητάσату βασιλεὺς κὰς ἄ<sup>11</sup> πτόλις Ὀνασί(5)λωι κὰς τοῖς<sup>12</sup> κασιγνήτοις ἄ(ν)τι τῶ<sup>13</sup> μισθῶν κὰ(ς) ἄ(ν)τι τᾶ(ς)<sup>14</sup> ὑχίρων δοφέναι ἐξ τῶι<sup>15</sup> Φοίκωι τῶι<sup>16</sup> βασιλῆφος κὰς ἐξ τᾶι<sup>17</sup> πτόλιφι ἀργύρῳ(ν) τά(λαντον) ἰ τά(λαντον)· ἔδυσάν οἶνυ ἄ(ν)τι τῶ<sup>18</sup> ἀργύρῳ τῶδε τῶ<sup>19</sup> ταλά(ν)των βασιλεὺς κὰς ἄ<sup>20</sup> πτόλις Ὀνασίλωι κὰς τοῖς<sup>21</sup> κασιγνήτοις ἀπὸ τᾶι<sup>22</sup> γᾶι τᾶι<sup>23</sup> βασιλῆφος τᾶ(ι)<sup>24</sup> ἰ(ν) τ(ῶ)ι<sup>25</sup> οἰρῶνι τῶι<sup>26</sup> Ἀλα(μ)πριγάται τὸ(ν)<sup>27</sup> χῶρον ἰ(ν) τῶι<sup>29</sup> ἔλει τὸ(ν)<sup>30</sup> χραιόμενον Ὀ(γ)κα(ν)τος ἄλφῶ(ν) κὰς τᾶ<sup>31</sup> τέρχνιᾶ τᾶ<sup>32</sup> ἐπιό(ν)τα | (10) πά(ν)τα ἔχεν πανώνιον ὑφαῖς

<sup>233</sup> For an analysis of the uses of the article in Cyprian, see Egetmeyer (2010) 430-433; 531-534.

<sup>234</sup> For uses of the Attic article see Smyth (1956) 286-293.

γᾶν (?) ἀτελήν· ἢ κέ σις Ὀνασίλον ἢ τὸς<sup>33</sup> | κασιγνήτο(ν)ς ἢ τὸς<sup>34</sup> παιῖδα(ν)ς τῶ(ν)<sup>35</sup> παίδων τῶν<sup>36</sup> Ὀνασικύπρῶν ἐξ τῶι<sup>37</sup> χώρῳ τῶιδε | ἐξορύξη, ἰδέ παι ὃ ἐξορύξη πείσει Ὀνασίλωι κὰς τοῖς<sup>38</sup> κασιγνήτοι |ς ἢ τοῖς<sup>39</sup> παισι τὸν<sup>40</sup> ἄργυρον τό(ν)δε· ἀργύρῳ(ν) τά(λαντον) 1 τά(λαντον)· | (...)

(...) (B27) βασιλεὺς κὰς ἄ<sup>41</sup> πτόλις κατέθιαν ἰ(ν) τὰ(ν)<sup>42</sup> θιὸν τὰν<sup>43</sup> Ἀθάναν τὰν<sup>44</sup> περ Ἐιδάλιον<sup>235</sup>

The particular article denoting a well-known “object” is used in case 1 (“the city of Idalion”). But in later mentions πτόλις is used always with the article, not just because it is well known but because it refers to something already mentioned in the text and that we as readers can identify; this is the case of examples 4, 11, 17, 20 and 41. The article is used as an unemphatic possessive pronoun in examples 7, 12, 21, 33, 38 and 39, and it is used to identify the genealogy of Philokypros and Onasilos, implying “the son of”, in cases 3 and 5. It is used to mark a noun and define it as an object that the reader already knows and that is “specially present to the senses or mind”<sup>236</sup> (i.e. “*the* physician”, “*the* battle”, “*the* state”, “*the* land/plot of land”, “*the* marshland”, etc) in examples 6, 10, 15 22, 27, 29, 31 and 34. A description follows many of these examples, particularizing or identifying the previous reference unmistakably, as in 2, 9 (where the article is also nominalizing the participle), 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 32, 35 and 36. The article is added to identify something already mentioned (i.e. definite) in 13, 14 and 19, and is used together with a demonstrative (hence in its definite-making role) in 18, 37 and 40. In example 8 the article appears to mark a class of objects or beings, in this case “*the* men”, those wounded in the battle. Finally, in occurrence 28, the article appears to be working as a relative, namely with an elided verb (“the land *that* (is) in the marshland”), but it may be simply another example of the article adding a defining

<sup>235</sup> The edition of the text belongs to Colvin (2007) 86-87.

<sup>236</sup> Smyth (1956) 287.

description as in cases 2, 9, 16, 23.<sup>237</sup> In the case of the mention of Athena, the name of the goddess takes the article not only because it is emphatic but also because it alludes to a precise cult of the goddess: the one in Idalion. The article is then marking a well-known “object” and identifying it (τὰ(ν) θιὸν τὰν Ἀθάναν), but also particularizing it by adding a further description (τὰν περὶ Ἐιδάλιον). As regards the omission of the article, in Μᾶδοι and Κετιῆες it is due to the fact that they are not only used as the proper name of a nation but to denote their entire people; every occurrence of βασιλεύς omits the article after βασιλεύς Στασίκυπρος (the first mention, as expected, does not take the article either) because the noun is treated like a proper name, alluding to a particular person; the article is also omitted with names of people and places, Φιλοκύπρῳ, Ὀνασαγόρα, Ὀνάσιλον, Ὀνασικύπρῳ, Ἀλα(μ)πριάται, Ὀ(γ)κα(ν)τος, Ἐιδάλιον, this being normal use.<sup>238</sup>

Even though in ICS 217 the definite article does not seem to perform a demonstrative role, there is evidence of this use elsewhere in Cyprian inscriptions. However, as one might have expected, the article does not appear in inscriptions that contain other forms of a demonstrative. Also, the inscriptions are mostly of archaic date.

In her enlightening paper on article and demonstrative, Morpurgo Davies (1968) had already argued that ICS 177, an inscription from Kourion inscribed on a silver cup, showed evidence of an article that had preserved some of its original demonstrative

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<sup>237</sup> For an extensive and detailed account of the occurrence of the article in the bronze of Idalion see Hall (1880). Despite being out of date and having some inaccuracies, his analysis is worth considering, since it provides us with a comprehensive picture of the morphology (not so much of the syntax) of the article in Cyprian. Hall recognizes the use of the article as a potential relative in lines 12, 21 (possibly twice), 25 and 31, but does not consider the case in line 9 to be a relative. See Hall (1880) 55-57.

<sup>238</sup> Smyth (1956) 288-290. In the case of Ἐιδάλιον, in line A1 the name of the city appears without the article because it is used as attributive, accompanying πτόλι. Smyth (1956) 291.

force. She compared it with ICS 84, an inscription of similar syntax but later date (ICS 177 is of archaic date, 675-625 BC), which also had the article, but co-occurring with demonstrative ὄδε.<sup>239</sup> The article in ICS 177.2 appears to be used to refer to the artefact, just as ὄδε in ICS 84: (1) e-pi-o-ro-wo-e| (2) a-pi-a-la-e, (1) Epiorwō ē(mi). (2) Ἄ p<sup>h</sup>ialā ē(mi) (“J’appartiens à Epiorwos. Je suis la coupe que voici”).<sup>240</sup>

Egetmeyer (2010) 531 also proposes to consider ICS 327, another archaic inscription (650-600 BC, Akanthou), as an example of preserved demonstrative value: *to-a-ma-[re]* / *to āma[r]*, “this day”, B.17, although the reading is conjectural.<sup>241</sup> One may perhaps observe the same demonstrative force in ICS 90, a dedication from Paphos (Ayia Moni) of more recent date, 325?-309: *ta-se-ki-jo-na-u-se-ne-a-se* (4). “The new columns” might be interpreted better as “*these* new columns”, i.e. “The king of Paphos dedicated these new columns”.<sup>242</sup>

Even though we find occasional cases of articles with preserved demonstrative force in Cyprian, the article does not seem to have worked in the dialect as a fourth series, namely a further alternative to ὄδε, ὀνυ and ὀνε.

<sup>239</sup> For ICS 84 see section II.2.3.1. For the article as an original demonstrative, refer to I.1.3.2 above.

<sup>240</sup> The edition and translation of the text belong to Egetmeyer (2010) 668. For further discussion on the topic, see Morpurgo Davies (1968).

<sup>241</sup> ICS 18 is also suggested, but Neumann (2003) 137-138 considers it to be too dubious. Other possible cases are ICS 346 and ICS 347, also archaic (beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC), but again the reading seems improbable. See Egetmeyer (2010) 431, 531.

<sup>242</sup> For the text see Egetmeyer (2010) 594. However, he translates “les nouvelles colonnes”.



## ***II.3. Demonstratives in Pamphylian?***

### **II.3.1. The evidence: articles and demonstratives**

Before the publication of *Corpus des inscriptions dialectales de Pamphylie, Supplement V* in 2000,<sup>243</sup> it was believed that there were no occurrences of any form of a demonstrative in Pamphylian.<sup>244</sup> Pronouns were very rare in the dialect, as was the article, which was thought to appear only once in Pamphylian inscriptions. Inscription DGP 3 in Brixhe's *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie* (1976) used to be regarded as the only evidence of an article securely identified in the dialect.<sup>245</sup> This inscription from Sillyon was dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>246</sup> Two of the inscriptions published in CIDP V, numbers 275 and 276, contained new evidence regarding the use of the article in the dialect and, in the case of 276, of the use of a demonstrative as well. CIDP V 275, from Belkis-Camiliköy (Aspendos), was dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. CIDP V 276, an inscription from Aspendos belonging roughly to the same period as DGP 3, was dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> / beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The fact that the inscription did not show many traces of *koiné* influence was extremely important, as it allowed us to consider the presence and behaviour of the two demonstratives and five articles found there as a truly dialectal feature.<sup>247</sup> Including the examples belonging to CIDP V 276, there are a total of eight occurrences of the article and two of

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<sup>243</sup> Cf. Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000).

<sup>244</sup> Brixhe (1976) 114.

<sup>245</sup> There is the possibility of an article at DGP 6.2, but the text is too obscure.

<sup>246</sup> Brixhe (1976) 167.

<sup>247</sup> As Brixhe affirms, the discovery of this new inscription constitutes a vital contribution to our very scarce knowledge of Pamphylian, since the text seems to have been hardly influenced by *koiné* Greek. Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 52, "le texte est à peine effleuré par la *koiné*".

demonstrative ὄδε amongst the selected inscriptions –and presumably within the whole of Pamphylian.<sup>248</sup>

Brixhe (1976) 114 classifies the article in DGP 3 amongst “Les démonstratifs”, as the Pamphylian article seems to have preserved some of its original demonstrative value.<sup>249</sup> In DGP3.13, the article accompanies a participle, ὁ βῶλέμενος, showing the characteristic closure of short o to υ, a distinctive feature of the so-called “Achaean” dialects,<sup>250</sup> which Pamphylian shares with Arcadian and Cyprian.<sup>251</sup> The article nominalizes the participle βῶλέμενος<sup>252</sup> and the phrase can therefore be translated as “the one/that one who wishes”, namely “whoever wishes” (Brixhe (1976) 179 “et celui qui le veut”). According to Brixhe (1976) 185, the first section of the inscription (lines 1-6) described the valuable actions of Manes, leader of one of the parties, who helped to pacify the city and solve the conflicts existing between the rival factions. The second section, where our article is located (lines 7-15), gives a brief account of the actions he undertook in order to do so, e.g. building an *andreion* for the use of all parties.<sup>253</sup> Colvin (2007) 177 translated the phrase as “and anyone who wishes”, emphasizing the fact that the nominalized participle seemed to be alluding to all members of all parties, identifying a class of individuals, and differentiating it from other possible classes.<sup>254</sup> The article in DGP3 nominalizes the participle just like the article does in e.g. Attic.

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<sup>248</sup> For details refer to the Appendix, Table 3.

<sup>249</sup> Brixhe (1988b) 169: “On notera tout d’abord l’absence d’article: ce peut être le reflet d’une caractéristique du dialecte, où le démonstratif ὁ/ἄ/τό risque de n’être jamais devenu outil de la détermination simple (“article”), mais d’avoir toujours servi à l’expression de la déixis, cf., dans la grande inscription de Sillyon *DGP* n° 3, l’absence totale d’article, sauf en ὁ βῶλέμενος”.

<sup>250</sup> López Eire and Lillo Alcaraz (1982) 245.

<sup>251</sup> However, neither in Arcadian nor in Cyprian does the article show the form ὁ, a very peculiar form of Pamphylian. See for instance Duhoux (1983) 27; Schmitt (1977) 96; Buck (1955) 27, 147. For a very good account on the position of Pamphylian amongst the Greek dialects see López Eire and Lillo Alcaraz (1983). For this particular isogloss see 22, 24.

<sup>252</sup> Brixhe (1976) 125.

<sup>253</sup> For the text of the inscription see Brixhe (1976) 168-169; Colvin (2007) 176-177. For a detailed analysis and interpretation of its content, Brixhe (1976) 169-185; Colvin (2007) 177-180.

<sup>254</sup> Colvin (2007) 176.

The same nominalizing function of the article occurs in CIDP V 276 in line 28: *κατὰ τὰ κεκραμμένα*, meaning literally “according to the ones/those (laws) that have been written”. The article appears in a very similar environment in line 29, this time introducing the participle in an attributive position: *ζαμίας τὰς κεκραμμένας*, literally “the penalties, the ones/those that have been written” (i.e. the penalties according to law).<sup>255</sup> According to Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 53 the article should indicate that the participle is an extension of the previous noun. A similar role seems to be performed by the article in CIDP V 275, the so-called “article of possession”:

Σφαρνις Νωμίνου καὶ Ἰαρέας  
 Ὑφρακενδεαυ καὶ Ἰαρέας Ματι-  
 ς καὶ Ἰαρέας Τέτανι Βερενίκα  
 τὰ Τιτι εὐχά<sup>256</sup>

Svarnis, son of Nominous, and Hiareas, son of Uvrakendeas, and Hiareas, son of Matis, and Hiareas, son of Tetanis (have dedicated) (this statue) of Berenika, daughter of Titis, as an offering.<sup>257</sup>

Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 24 explain that patronymics in Pamphylian epitaphs never take the article. Therefore, the presence of an article here would emphasize the syntactic difference between the previous names and Berenika, already suggested by the absence of *καὶ*. She is neither one of the dedicators nor the recipient of the dedication but, it seems, the “object” of the dedication itself. They consider that Berenika can be nothing else but the object of an implicit verb; therefore the name, the article and the complement to the object *εὐχά* would be all in the accusative singular, i.e. *Βερενίκα(ν) τὰ(ν) Τιτι εὐχά(ν)* (24). However, when examining the photograph of the inscription closely, the presence of a T at the beginning of line 4 is not completely

<sup>255</sup> Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 41 “les amendes/sanctions prévues par la loi”.

<sup>256</sup> For the edition of the text see Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 21.

<sup>257</sup> The translation of the text is based on Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 25.

secure.<sup>258</sup> Even though the left side of the stone is damaged, the characters are regular, and the initial characters on the lines above ATITI seem to start immediately above A. Consequently, the initial T in TATITI would be out of line. We may then have only ATITI, which one may interpret as another name. Although, unfortunately, there is no evidence of such a name, there is evidence of a name Ἄτις in the Peloponnesus (Argolis)<sup>259</sup> and in Asia Minor (Lydia).<sup>260</sup> Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 24 acknowledge the fact that *Tatiti* may be a reduplication of the name *Tati-*, but as there is evidence of a name *Titi-* in Asia Minor, they propose to read *ta + Titi* instead.<sup>261</sup> However, one might also suggest that the inscription has simply *Atiti*, a reduplication of the name *Ati-*.

With regard to the other occurrences of the article in the dialect, in CIDP V 276.30 the article clearly seems to be performing the role of a relative pronoun: κατεθέκετο Δάμαρχυς τὰ ἴστακε ἐν ἐγ[αίῳ], “Damarchos(?) gave in guarantee *what* he had placed in the land (?)”. The role of the article as a relative may be interpreted as an archaic feature of the dialect. Brixhe certainly emphasizes the somehow conservative nature of Pamphylian, claiming that the article does not seem to have ever developed into a proper article.<sup>262</sup> The actual relative occurs in the same inscription as well, and does so more often than the article in such a function (lines 26, 27, 29 and 33 for instance). Brixhe (2000) 52 suggests that this might be due to *koiné* influence, and does

<sup>258</sup> For the picture of the inscription see Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 20.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Fraser and Matthews (1997) 82.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Zgusta (1964) 105; Corsten et al. (2010) 87.

<sup>261</sup> For the name ΤΑΤΙΣ in Asia Minor, see Zgusta (1964) 496; for evidence of *Titi-* in Lydia and ΤΙΤΙΝ in Phrygia, Zgusta (1964) 516.

<sup>262</sup> See above. Also Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 30, 53. With reference to this, Brixhe (1988b) 233-234 emphasizes that the absence of an article next to ἐπίστασι in CIDP II 225, an inscription from Perge dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (the same can be said of DGP 17 and 18) may be due to the fact that the object in the inscription has been sufficiently defined by other means (i.e. its context of appearance) and does not need an article to fulfil that role, or –what is more likely, that there was actually no proper article in Pamphylian (ὁ ἄ τό never behave as such). Brixhe (1988b) 223: ἸανᾶΨαι Πρεῖαι Κλεμύτας Λφαραμυ Ἰασιφῶτὰς ἀνέθεκε : ἐπίστασι.

not represent a truly dialectal feature, but it is also possible that in Pamphylian both pronominal themes *\*so-/-to* and *\*yo-* had co-existed and had both been used to introduce relative clauses.<sup>263</sup>

Finally, CIDP V 276 records what seems to be the only evidence of the use of a demonstrative other than the article in the dialect. The demonstrative ὄδε is used adnominally, co-occurring with the noun in typical predicative position. The same nominal phrase occurs at lines 25 and 31 although within a different context: καὶ πρόσδοδ[υ καὶ] τὰ στάσι τὰδε ἀπὸς φιρῆ, at line 25 (“let them examine this situation”, referring to the land’s productivity and income mentioned before),<sup>264</sup> and τὰ στάσι τὰδε αἰφὲ περ’ ἀπὸς φῖ at line 31 (“let them make known? this situation always, with regard to the above-mentioned productivity”),<sup>265</sup> the form τὰδε corresponds to τήνδε, the whole phrase being in the accusative feminine singular. It is worth noting that the order of the elements in the phrase, article + noun + demonstrative, resembles the usual Cyprian arrangement with a post-positioned demonstrative. In both cases, the demonstratives seem to have an anaphoric function, pointing to something that has been mentioned before (i.e. the productivity and return of the land). Even though it is true that the presence of these demonstratives might be entirely due to *koiné* influence, the role performed here by ὄδε does not correspond to the expected behaviour of the series in *koiné* Greek.<sup>266</sup> If, on the other hand, the presence of ὄδε were not due to *koiné* influence, we might have evidence of the use of

<sup>263</sup> As Brixhe points out, there seems to have been a parallel situation in Lesbian. Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 42; Hodot (1990) 138.

<sup>264</sup> Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 36-37.

<sup>265</sup> Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 43. For the function and translation of ἀπὸς see below. The reading and interpretation of this part of the text is too obscure. A verb is assumed at the beginning of the sentence, probably a short imperative.

<sup>266</sup> On the contrary, this is a role that ὄδε was certainly able to perform in e.g. Cyprian.

two forms of a demonstrative in the same inscription, the article performing some roles and ὄδε others.<sup>267</sup> However, as the editors of the text point out, the transcription and interpretation of this inscription are still extremely uncertain, due also to the fact that the text has several *lacunae*, so they should be treated cautiously. Since these are the only two occurrences of a “proper” demonstrative (i.e. morphologically different from the article) in Pamphylian inscriptions, it would be too conjectural to draw further conclusions regarding their behaviour or place in the general structure of the dialect.

### II.3.2. αὐτός (ἄΜτύς)

Given the scarce evidence available for the dialect, it is worth considering the use of other forms that may be performing functions normally attributed to the definite article or to demonstratives. Concerning CIDP V 276, Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 53 affirms that αὐτός, the most frequent pronominal theme in the inscription, does not seem to be performing its usual role when accompanying a noun, namely representing identity or selfhood, but performing a defining/anaphoric role similar to that of the definite article and in one or two cases, we may add, similar to the role of the demonstrative pronoun.<sup>268</sup>

αὐτός occurs ten times in the Pamphylian corpus: nine times in CIDP V 276 (lines 18, 20, 22 twice, 24 twice, 25, 31 and 32) and once in DGP 3 (line 7). According to Brixhe (1976) 126, 174, the occurrence of αὐτός in DGP 3.7 is a comitative dative. The dative of accompaniment is a usual role of αὐτός in the dative, and it does not normally require the use of any preposition or article: ἀτρώποισι περτ(ι) ἴϙῆνι

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<sup>267</sup> However, if this were the case and the article in this inscription were behaving with demonstrative force, the two occasions in which the article appears accompanying the noun and co-occurring with the demonstrative would be problematic, as in both cases it behaves as a regular definite article. However, these cases could be due to *koiné* influence.

<sup>268</sup> For details on these occurrences refer to the Appendix, Table 3.

ἀνταῖσι ἡβόταισι, “For the adult men, with a view to peace, together with the youth...”.<sup>269</sup> Brixhe (1976) 174 argues that the feminine ending -αῖσι in ἀνταῖσι can be explained if we are to interpret ἡβόταισι as a collective noun ἡβότας, derived from the archaic abstract suffix \*-tā- (similar to Cretan ἄ νεότας, IC IV 163.6) and not as a masculine agent in -τάς.<sup>270</sup>

In the case of CIDP V 276 however, the behaviour of αὐτός does not seem to conform to its usual role. In line 18 we have ἀ[Ν]τὺς φέπος, where ἀ[Ν]τὺς (masculine nominative) would be presumably the subject and φέπος the object. It does not seem likely that αὐτός is referring either to selfhood or identity, but rather that it is simply used anaphorically as a third person pronoun, “he”. This use of αὐτός is not uncommon in Attic, but it is normally restricted to oblique cases, whereas in the nominative either οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος are used.<sup>271</sup> In line 20, αὐτός appears to be in the Genitive plural, a partitive Genitive: ἀντὸ τίς “one of them”; it seems to be referring back to something mentioned before and it would be therefore anaphoric, acting as a “picking-up” pronoun. In line 22, ἔ τις κατ’ ἐγαῖδ ἀντὸ ἔγαυ ἀντὸ ἐφάλ[ῶσε(?) ], αὐτός appears accompanying the same noun first in the genitive plural and then in the accusative (or perhaps genitive) singular.<sup>272</sup> In both cases αὐτός does not appear to mean “the same landed property” or “the landed property itself” but either simply “the

<sup>269</sup> The translation belongs to Colvin (2007) 177. Colvin (179) explains that the use of αὐτός plus the dative would suggest a particular bond between the men and the youth, probably that they belonged to the same group.

<sup>270</sup> See also Colvin (2007) 179.

<sup>271</sup> Nevertheless, the context is too obscure to be absolutely certain about one reading or the other.

<sup>272</sup> For details on the reading and interpretation of the occurrences of αὐτός see Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 25ff. ἀντὸ = αὐτῶν (31, 33).

landed property”,<sup>273</sup> defining the terms of what seems to be a lease contract, determining and identifying one of the elements involved, or “the landed property above-mentioned”, i.e. “this landed property”, given that ἔγαυ has already been mentioned in lines 9 and 19: “if with regards to the/the above-mentioned landed properties, one destroys the/the above-mentioned landed property...”. In lines 24-25, καὶ ἀϊτὸς ρῖ ἐγαίυ ἀϊτῦ καὶ πρόσσοδ[υ καὶ] τὰ στάσι τὰδε ἀϊτὸς ριϙῆ, αὐτός appears in the accusative plural as the repeated subject of infinitive ριϙῆ and in the genitive singular accompanying the noun ἐγαίυ as an attribute of ρῖ. Both ἀϊτὸς would correspond to the third person plural pronoun “they”, as they do not seem to be reflexive (“they themselves?”), perhaps anaphoric pointing to somebody previously mentioned, but again the context is obscure. However, ἀϊτῦ does seem to define the noun it accompanies or to refer to the land that has already been mentioned: “and let them examine/consider? the productivity of the/the above-mentioned land and (its) return and this (resulting) situation”.<sup>274</sup> Finally, in line 31, ]υ τὰ στάσι τὰδε αἰφὲ περὶ ἀϊτὰ ρῖ, ἀϊτὰ appears again joining the noun ρῖ. The “productivity” referred to by the text is without a doubt the productivity that had been mentioned before. ἀϊτὰ seems therefore to be fulfilling an anaphoric role: “let them make known?<sup>275</sup> always this situation concerning the above-mentioned productivity”, or to be used as a definite article to identify something already known: “concerning the productivity”.

<sup>273</sup> ἐγαίυ = ἔγγαιος, “qui se trouve dans/sur la terre”, “foncier”. For the interpretation of ἐγαίυ see Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 33.

<sup>274</sup> Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 37: “...qu’ils examinent le rendement du terrain et son revenue et la situation ainsi constatée (situation découlant de ρῖ et de πρόσσοδ[υ])”. A similar reading can be perhaps proposed for the pronoun in line 32: ἐ]γαίυ ἀϊτῦ, where it would be an attributive genitive of κόπρυσ, “manure”.

<sup>275</sup> Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 43 presuppose a verb in the subjunctive, [ἔδ]υ <ἔντων from ἴημι, “faire connaître”.

Unfortunately, the lack of further evidence prevents us from having a better, more accurate picture of the way in which the Pamphylian dialect might have rendered other functions normally allocated to the definite article and to demonstrative pronouns in other dialects.



## II.4. The particle *vi/vu*

### II.4.1. Introduction

Françoise Bader (1973) devoted a long article to the study of pronominal particles in Indo-European and its daughter languages.<sup>276</sup> There she proposed a classification of particles in three different pronominal themes: stops, semivowels and sibilants. It seemed to her that each theme had originally had the vocalism *e/o*, from where the vocalisms *a/u* would have originated.<sup>277</sup> Bader included the particle *\*ne/o* in the semivowels theme. This particle functions on its own in a tonic position (Skr. *ná*, Lit. *ne*, Gr. *νή*, *vū*, *vu*), but in an enclitic position it appears attached to the end of adverbs,<sup>278</sup> pronouns or demonstratives.<sup>279</sup> The particle, with vocalism *-u*, appears in Skr. *nú*, Av. *nu*, Lit. *nu*, Gr. *vū*, *vu*, Lat. *nu-per*, *nu-dius*, Goth. *nu*, Lith. *nù*, Hitt. *nu*.<sup>280</sup> According to Bader, the same particle would be found also with vocalism *-i*, i.e. *\*ni*, in an enclitic position in demonstrative *ὄνι* and in some adverbs, e.g. *ῆνίκα*.<sup>281</sup> However,

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<sup>276</sup> Bader (1973).

<sup>277</sup> Bader (1973) 30.

<sup>278</sup> E.g. Arcadian *τ[ε]ιδένυ*. See. III.1.4.

<sup>279</sup> Bader (1973) 39. In the case of demonstratives she is obviously referring to Arc. *ὄνυ* and Cyp. *ὄνυ*. For details on particles used as suffixes for the creation of demonstratives, see I.1.3.1 and I.1.3.3 above.

<sup>280</sup> Bader (1973) 69. According to Bader, the particle *\*no* possessed a form with vocalism *-u*, which might appear accompanied by an optional nasal, i.e. *\*nu(m)*, hence both Gr. *νυυ/vūv* and *νυ/vū*.

<sup>281</sup> Bechtel (1921) 358 considers that *\*ni* is probably a component of Boeotian *πρστηνί* as well. Earlier theses, e.g. Baunack's or Smyth's, did not treat *-vi* and *-vu* as particles on their own, but considered that *-vi* from *ταννί*, for instance, had been modelled from *τον-ίδ*, *ταν-ίδ*, which were then felt as composed of *το-νί* and *τα-νί*. The *-vi* particle would have been added to the rest of the cases; hence from *ταν + vi*, *ταννί*. See Smyth (1900) 68, 85. This theory however, did not take into account the obvious relationship between *-νε*, *-vu* and *-vi*. See also Baunack and Baunack (1886) 56. NK 266b provides us with a strong argument in favour of a connection and almost equivalence between the particles. Whereas the version of the text in *koiné* reads *ἔτι καὶ ἐκ [τ]οῦ νῦν*, the syllabic version has *(s)e-ti-e-se-to-a-ni*, transliterated as *(ἔ)τι ἐς τῶ ἀνι*, where the adverb *ἀνι* corresponds to the adverb *νῦν*. Mitford (1980) 204, 264. For the complete edition of the text see 202-204. See also Hintze (1993) 4. Brixhe (1976) 132 agrees with Bader (1973) and considers that particles *-νε*, *-vi* and *-vu* correspond to the same original pronominal theme (*\*ne/o*) probably belonging to the Achaeian substrate. See also Dubois (1997) 85.

the author emphasizes the difficulty of establishing a clear morphological relationship between the various vocalisms. It is not clear how vocalisms *a/u* function. Vocalism *\*i*, on the contrary, seems to be employed in forms with anaphoric uses, whereas vocalisms *\*e/o* appear frequently in demonstratives.<sup>282</sup> It is not clear what Bader means by “*démonstratifs*”, since she appears to be applying the term as an opposite of “*anaphoriques*”. This would indicate that by “*démonstratifs*” she is in fact implying the presence of a deictic element.

According to Ruijgh (1957), particles *vu* and *vi* seem to have had the same value.<sup>283</sup> López Eire and Lillo Alcaraz (1983) 16-17 also considered that *vi* was an “intensive particle” like *vu*, and that both were found in other Indo-European languages as well as in various other formations in Greek, namely demonstrative pronouns and temporal adverbs. With regard to the syntactic value of *vu*, several scholars emphasized the similarities between the uses of the particle both in Sanskrit and in Homer and its use in Arcadian demonstratives. Chantraine (1968) 758 stated that the adverb *vu* went back to Indo-European, appearing on its own in Greek exclusively in Homer, Boeotian and Cyprian. This adverb/particle seems to have had an emphatic value, strengthening the preceding word, regardless of whether such a word was a verb, as usually happens in Homer,<sup>284</sup> or a noun.<sup>285</sup> In Sanskrit the particle means “now, indeed, certainly”, close to the Greek meaning. Consequently, Gonda (1957) suggested that *òvu* should be understood as the combination of the definite article *ó* plus particle *-vu*, and that the

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<sup>282</sup> Bader (1973) 74-5. However, DELG: 738: Arcadian *òvī* ends in a deictic particle *-ī*. Also Schwyzer (1950) 612 and Frisk (1970) 295: “(...) mit deiktischem *-ī* ark. Gen. sg. *τω-νι = τοῦ-δε, τουδι*”.

<sup>283</sup> Ruijgh (1957) 64; Brixhe (1976) 131-132. Buck seems to underline the connection between both particles as well. Buck (1955) 106.

<sup>284</sup> See Bowra (1934) 169. Bowra affirms that in Homer the particle strengthens a verb, whereas in Arcadian the particle strengthens the definite article, transforming it into a demonstrative pronoun.

<sup>285</sup> According to Schwyzer Sanskrit *nū* appears after demonstrative pronouns. Schwyzer (1950) 612.

combination might originally have meant “that now, that then”.<sup>286</sup> Gonda seems to have given -vu almost a deictic meaning,<sup>287</sup> providing it with the ability to transform an article into a demonstrative, as Bowra (1934) had done before him. However, as Risch (1969) 837 stated in his meticulous study of particle -δε, what gives ὄδε (or in this case, ὄvu) its demonstrative value is not its suffix, but the original demonstrative force of the stem \*so-/\*to- in ὄ.<sup>288</sup>

#### II.4.2. The Particle νι in Pamphylian

Particle νι appears in Pamphylian seven times: DGP 3.12, 14, 17, 22 y 23 and CIDP V 276.21 and 35:<sup>289</sup> καί νι σκυδρὸ κατεφέροξοδν καὶ [— —14.5— —] (DGP 3.12), [κ]αί νι Νοῖκν π[ό]λις, ἐχέτῶ καὶ hOKA ΔE[— —17.5— —] (DGP 3.14), καί νι Νοῖκν π[ό]λ[ις —c.7—] (DGP 3.17), καί νι θεδ[υ — —16.5— —] (DGP 3.22), καί ν[ι] ΣΑΜΑΔΙΜΟΣΑΜΑΛ[—5.5—]ΟΙΣΙ (DGP 3.23), καὶ νι μῆρῆ ἄρχοδεσ Ἥ [, (CIDP V 276.21), καὶ ν(ι) ἰσμαίοδν (CIDP V 276.35). It usually accompanies a verb in the imperative and seems to perform an emphatic role. As Brixhe (1976) 131 points out, the particle is enclitic and usually appears in second place at the beginning of a phrase; it normally appears after καί, which occupies the first place; it is usually followed by an imperative; it is an emphatic particle that either reinforces the

<sup>286</sup> Gonda (1957) 99. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984) 120 seem reluctant to identify the particle contained in the Arcadian demonstrative with those present in Sanskrit and Homer, but as Ruijgh (1957) 64 demonstrated, there is plenty of evidence in support of the identification.

<sup>287</sup> Hooker (1965/1966) 170-171 expresses his reservations about this.

<sup>288</sup> For a discussion of PIE demonstrative stems and the original demonstrative value of the definite article, see I.1.3.1 and I.1.3.2. For the creation of new demonstratives in Greek, I.1.3.3.

<sup>289</sup> For details see Appendix, Table 3. Neither a full translation nor an accurate interpretation of either of the two inscriptions is completely possible due both to the fragmentary state of the text and to its obscurity and complexity.

expression of the process or emphasizes a single moment in the process; and it can also highlight the emergence of a new element (or theme).<sup>290</sup>

The occurrence of *νι* in line 12 (DGP 3) is a good example. It certainly illustrates the characteristics mentioned above. The particle is the second element of the phrase; it is preceded by *καί*; it is followed by an imperative (*κατεφέρξοδν <\*κατεφέρξοντον*, Att. *κατεφέργω*),<sup>291</sup> it emphasizes a single moment of the process that is being described, and seems to highlight or point out the appearance of the new theme. The inscription seems to be discussing some measures that had been taken to put an end to a period of civil conflict and to ease the tensions between two factions: building an *andreion* open to all and appointing some judges and treasurers for its administration.<sup>292</sup> Then, as a particular phase of the process, the new sentence emphasizes what the appointed people must do: “and let them indeed prevent/soothe the anger” (probably referring to the parties).<sup>293</sup>

The same characteristics are found in DGP 3.14 [*κ*]αί *νι* *Voĩκυ π[ό]λις ἐχέτō* (“and indeed/do let the city own the building”), DGP 3.17 *καί νι Voĩκυ πόλ[ις — c.7—]* (“and do let the city...the building”), DGP 3.22 *καί νι θεδ[υ — —16.5— —]* (“and do let them place/ establish?”), and DGP 3.23 *καί ν[ι] ΣΑΜΑΔΙΜΟΣΑΜΑΛ [—5.5—]ΟΙΣΙ* (“and do let...a memorial?...”), and also in CIDP V 276.21 *καὶ νι μῆρῶ*

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<sup>290</sup> See also López Eire and Lillo Alcaraz (1983) 16-17.

<sup>291</sup> Brixhe (1976) 178.

<sup>292</sup> Although the text is fragmentary and obscure, Brixhe (1976) 185 proposed a division into three sections: lines 1-6 describe the actions of the leader of one of the parties, Manes, to achieve peace; lines 7-15 talk about the construction of a public building and its administration; and lines 16-36 deal with the religious ceremonies related to the process of peace and erection of the building.

<sup>293</sup> Brixhe (1976) 177-178. Line 11: *ἰ πόλις ἐφιέλοδν [— —]ι δικαστέρεσσ[ι καὶ ἀργυροῖ] ταῖσι καὶ νι σκυδρὸν κατεφέρξοδν καὶ [—*. Colvin (2007) 177 translates the passage as “[...] in the city let them elect both judges and treasurers, and let them quell anger [...]”. He adds that *καί νι* “introduces a prescription with imperative”: 179. It is difficult to translate the particle, but its meaning can probably be expressed through “indeed”, “now” or perhaps in this case emphatic “do”, e.g. “and do let them...”.

ἄρχοδες Η [ ] (“and indeed the magistrates (ἄρχοντες) are not to let go? in anything/any respect?”) and CIDP V 276.35 καὶ ν(ι) ἰσμάϊοδν (“and do let them demand?”, ἰσμάϊοδν <\*ἰσμάϊοντον = 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural imperative of \*εἰσμάϊω = ἰσμάϊω). In each case the enclitic particle νι appears following καί, occupying the second place at the beginning of a new phrase, emphasizing something new or different in the process of what is being discussed and being followed by an imperative. At DGP 3.17, 22 and 23, and CIDP V 276.21 where the text is more fragmentary or obscure, an imperative is nevertheless assumed (DGP 3.17 and 23) or reconstructed (DGP 3.22, θεῖδ[ν] <\*θέντον = Att. θέντων; CIDP V 276.21, Η [ ] = h[έδν] < hέντον = ἔντων), due to the presence of καί νι at the beginning of the phrase.<sup>294</sup>

The classification of Pamphylian amongst the rest of the Greek dialects is a very difficult and disputed subject, and unfortunately has not yet been fully resolved. Amongst the difficulties encountered when trying to classify the dialect, there is the problem that it possesses many archaisms that make it a very conservative dialect and in some respects connect it to both Doric and Aeolic dialects. However, at the same time it shows some innovations that link it to other groups of dialects such as Mycenaean, Arcadian and Cyprian.<sup>295</sup> On the other hand, due to its geographical location the dialect was exposed to the influence of some neighbouring oriental languages, which added to its obscurity.<sup>296</sup> In this respect, it is worth noting the presence of a particle *ni* also in Phrygian. Already in 1909, R. Meister had pointed out the connection between

<sup>294</sup> See Brixhe (1976) 181-183; Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000) 32, 46.

<sup>295</sup> In this case, the use of a particle νι similar/related to particle νν. For the classification of Greek dialects see I.1.3.5.

<sup>296</sup> López Eire and Lillo Alcaraz (1982) 247-248 and (1983) 26-27 considered that Pamphylian must have originally belonged in the “East Greek” group of dialects together with Mycenaean, Proto-Lesbian, Proto-Ionic and Proto-Arcado-Cypriot. Pamphylian would have been the most conservative dialect of the group sharing a number of archaisms with the Doric dialects, a reason why it occupied a medial position between East and West Greek. The influence of oriental languages on the dialect contributed to the complexity of its classification.

Arcadian, Cyprian and Thessalian demonstratives ὄνι, ὄνυ and ὄνε and particle νι in Phrygian and Pamphylian.<sup>297</sup> However, Phrygian *ni* does not seem to possess the emphatic value that characterizes Pamphylian νι. Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985) 40 explain that Phrygian *ni* could be translated as “but” when it appeared alone, and as “or” when combined with *ai* to form the conjunction *ai ni* (see for instance OPhr. P-101 *ai ni*, B-01.4, B-05.11 *ayni* with a glide). Enclitic particle *ni* could also accompany the relative pronoun *ios* transforming it into an indefinite relative “whoever/whatever” (see e.g. OPhr. P-04a.2 *ios ni*, B-05.8 *yos niy*, *ni* with a glide because of the following vowel).<sup>298</sup> Evidently, although both enclitic particles were morphologically similar, the meanings and uses of Phrygian *ni* were not the same as those of Pamphylian νι.

### II.4.3. The particle νυ in Cyprian

There seem to be only two occurrences of particle νυ in Cyprian, both in the same inscription, ICS 217.<sup>299</sup> In both cases the particle seems to be used in an enclitic position attached to an adverb.<sup>300</sup> A third occurrence had once been read in ICS 11, where the sequence *i-ta-?-ke-i-tu-i* had been interpreted as *i-ta-nu-ke-i-tu-i* = ἴ(ν)θα νυ κείτοι.<sup>301</sup> However, this reading proved to be erroneous. Bowra (1934) 65 had once affirmed that Cyprian νυ appeared in the same context and was used to perform the same function as Homeric νυ, that is to say, it would have accompanied verbs to

<sup>297</sup> Meister (1909) 315ff, 323-324.

<sup>298</sup> The numeration of inscriptions corresponds to Brixhe and Lejeune (1984). Cf. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984) 244-245 for P-101; 235-238 for P-04; Brixhe (2004) 42ff. for B-05. Both *ai ni* and *ios ni* are frequent in Phrygian inscriptions, of both Old and New Phrygian. See Brixhe (1997) 57-58, 63.

<sup>299</sup> The presence of particle νυ in ISKP 4.2 is not certain. Masson and Mitford (1986) 15, 17, 28.

<sup>300</sup> For a similar use of particle νυ in Arcadian, e.g. τ[ε]ἰδένυ, see II.1.3.4. For the use of similar and/or related particles in Boeotian and Thessalian refer to III.2.3.2 and III.3.3.1 respectively.

<sup>301</sup> DGE 683.6. Same reading by Bowra (1934) 65 and Ruijgh (1957) 64.

strengthen them. His assumptions were based on ICS 11 as well as on ICS 21. However, none of the inscriptions seem to have actually contained an occurrence of *vu* in the presupposed role and/or position. With reference to ICS 11, the original reading of *vu* in the sequence was finally abandoned. Masson (1983a) 107 read *i-ta-te* = *ivθάδε*, for the Attic form *ἐνθάδε*, instead. If we take into account what seems to have been the normal distribution of demonstratives in Cyprian, namely that ICS 11 comes from Kouklia (old Paphos), a city where there was no evidence of the use of demonstratives ending in *-vu* but only in *-δε*, an adverb constructed using *-δε* instead of *-vu* would certainly constitute a more suitable option.<sup>302</sup> The Cyprian text, (1) *o-na-si-se-a-o-na-si-wo-se-ku-na* (2) *i-ta-te-ke-i-to-i*, was therefore transliterated as: Ὀνασίς ἀ Ὀνασίφος γυνὰ | ἰ(ν)θάδε κείτοι, “Here rests Onasis, wife of Onasis”.

As regards ICS 217, there are two occurrences of the particle: (A6) *e-tu-wa-no-i-nu* and (A16) *e-to-ko-i-nu*. Despite the different interpretations that these sequences have received, the three main theories to date acknowledge the presence of a particle *vu* one way or the other.<sup>303</sup> Whether the sequences are to be understood as optatives + *vu*<sup>304</sup> or aorists + *vu*,<sup>305</sup> as verbs deriving from *δίδωμι* or from *δεύω* and *δοκέω*,<sup>306</sup> the presence of the particle is not discussed. The particle is known to mean ‘now’ or ‘yet’, not only in Cyprian but overall in Greek, as well as in other Indo-European languages,<sup>307</sup> and seems to reinforce the word to which it is attached by giving the

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<sup>302</sup> See II.2.2 above.

<sup>303</sup> For an account and discussion of the main theories regarding these sequences, see Egetmeyer (1993) 41-47.

<sup>304</sup> Masson (1983a) 239, 242; Masson (1983b) 267-71.

<sup>305</sup> See Cowgill (1964) 353-354.

<sup>306</sup> See Meier-Brügger (1992) 129-130.

<sup>307</sup> See Frisk (1970) 325; Bader (1973) 39-40, 69; DELG 758.

phrase more emphasis.<sup>308</sup> But even if the reading of the particle is secure and has not been questioned, the interpretation of its role as a whole, as well as the general reading of both sequences, have been the object of much discussion and controversy. According to the original reading, traced back to Deecke (1881)<sup>309</sup> and supported by Masson (1983a), the sequences were transliterated as ἦ δὺϜάνοι νυ and ἦ δώκοι νυ respectively, where δὺϜάνοι and δώκοι were believed to be the present optatives of two *hapax* verbs \*δὺάνω/δὺϜάνω and \*δώκω.<sup>310</sup> As regards the particles, ἦ was considered to be either a conditional conjunction “if” (= εἰ) or a disjunctive conjunction “or/ otherwise”; and νυ was understood simply as an emphatic particle accompanying the optatives. The alleged optatives were considered by Brixhe (1976) 131 as “optatifs prescriptifs”, i.e. “imperative optatives”,<sup>311</sup> and the sequences were translated by Masson as “ou bien (le roi et la ville) donneront”, with a future sense. If we consider that particle νυ normally appeared in Pamphylian accompanying a verb in the imperative, a reading proposing an optative-imperative followed by a related particle νυ in Cyprian would undoubtedly be appealing, since it might be pointing to a common feature shared by both dialects and therefore supplying a further argument in favour of considering Pamphylian as a dialect related to the Arcado-Cyprian group of dialects. However, the reading was not without fault, and several objections were posed by Cowgill (1964) in an article in which he proposed a new interpretation of the sequences. According to Cowgill, the traditional reading of the text presented five main difficulties.<sup>312</sup> First of all, it supposed two new verbs –for which there was no other

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<sup>308</sup> Ruijgh (1957) 64.

<sup>309</sup> See Egetmeyer (1993) 41. For a detailed account of the origins and evolution of the interpretation of these sequences see Cowgill (1964).

<sup>310</sup> Masson (1983a) 239, 242.

<sup>311</sup> Colvin (2007) 90; “voluntativen Optative” Bechtel (1921) 439.

<sup>312</sup> See Cowgill (1964) 346-353.

evidence in Greek, with the same value and as a replacement to a well-known panhellenic δίδωμι, both appearing in the same inscription and in parallel constructions. Secondly, the suggested morphology for \*\*δυσάνω and \*\*δώκω was neither clear nor satisfactory and suggested the use of both a hardly productive suffix and unlikely or non-existent models for the derivation of the forms.<sup>313</sup> Thirdly, syntactically both passages required the use of aorist instead of present forms, given that the present optatives implied an aspectual difficulty hard to explain in the context in which they appeared. Moreover, the suggestion that the optatives had an imperative sense, even though not impossible, was uncommon enough to make the whole construction even more suspicious. Besides, the inscription was more likely to have recorded an agreement that indeed took place (for which the text needed two aorists) than a discussion over two possible future options (implied by the use of the optatives). Cowgill proposed that the sequences should be interpreted as two perfectly normal and common verbs in the aorist indicative, with their augment clearly expressed and accompanied by a particle or combination of particles or even an adverb, unattested elsewhere in Greek but built upon two well-known Greek particles. He considered therefore *e tuwanoi nu* to be *etuwan oinu* and *e tokoi nu* to be *etok oinu*. Both verbs would be aorists of the verb “to give”, meaning “they gave” in the first case and “he gave” in the second. The difference in number was explained on the basis that “king and city” might have been considered as a single unity and therefore have used a singular verb, or as a compound and have then chosen a plural form. However, it was also possible that the singular had agreed only with the nearest member of the

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<sup>313</sup> Carter (1953) 23-24 refuted a supposed derivation from an Indo-European root *\*dow-* and the use of a suffix *\*-wen-* for the construction of *duwanoi*, and suggested that *du-* might have been due to the raising of *o* to *u*, and *w* be the raising of digamma as a glide, common in Cyprian, which actually constitutes part of Cowgill’s later explanation of the derivation of the verb. However, Carter supposed the possibility of a suffix *-an-* added to the root *-do-*, still considering the verb to be optative *duwanoi*, failing to explain the form satisfactorily.

compound. *Etuwan* = ἔδουϜαν was explained as the athematic aorist plural of δίδωμι, where ἔ-δο-ν was remade as \*ἔδοαν -as implied by Arc. ἀπυδόας, with raising of ο to υ before α and Ϝ as an automatic glide similar to the *j* of κατέθηαν in line B27. *Etok* = ἔδωκ(ε) corresponded simply to the third person singular of the aorist of δίδωμι with elision of ε before a vowel, i.e. ἔδωκ'.<sup>314</sup> οἶνυ could be possibly explained as the combination of particles οἶν and νυ, where οἶν would be a Cypriot equivalent to Attic οὔν, provided that Attic οὔν had derived from an original \*όέν which through the Cypriot raising of ε to ι before a nasal would have then given οἶν.<sup>315</sup> With regard to the possible meaning of οἶνυ, Cowgill affirmed that the passages needed an adversative sense such as “but in fact” and not simply a “really, in fact” or “indeed” as represented by Attic οὔν. He therefore suggested that Proto-Greek \*όέν may have had a neutral meaning, “in fact”, that might have later acquired a confirmatory meaning in Attic (“and in fact” > “and so, therefore”) and a contradictory meaning in Cypriot (“but in fact” > “but”). However, the adversative meaning might as well have been implied by the particle νυ, given that there were some outcomes of PIE \*nu in which an adversatory value seemed to have prevailed over the most common “now”, e.g. Toch. B *no* and Toch. A *nu*, OCS *нъ*, all meaning “but”.<sup>316</sup>

In a later article, Masson (1983b) 268-271 raised several objections to Cowgill’s theory. He particularly regretted the absence of ῥ, given that it was not only needed as a

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<sup>314</sup> Cowgill (1964) 353-4.

<sup>315</sup> Cowgill (1964) 360ff.

<sup>316</sup> Cowgill (1964) 364-5. See also Hittite *nu* and Latin *num*. See Kloekhorst (2008) 607: Hitt. *nu* is a clause conjunctive particle meaning “and, but”; Latin *num* is translated as “but now”. For the meanings of Hitt. *nu* see also Carruba (1969) 54. For several examples of the use of Hitt. *nu* as an adversative particle see Hoffner Jr. and Melchert (2008) 390-92. See also the discussion above on related particle νι, as Phrygian *ni* seems to have conveyed an adversative meaning as well.

transition between the paragraphs but also to introduce the alternative to the payment of the talent, i.e. “sinon, ou bien”.<sup>317</sup> He also criticized the supposed adversative value of οἶνυ as well as its construction as a whole. On the other hand, he emphasized the fact that the elision of the -ε of ἔδωκε in a non metrical official Cyprian text was unacceptable, and pointed out that this was certainly the major weakness in Cowgill’s interpretation, namely that for ἔδωκε we should have had *e-to-ke*.

Despite Masson’s objections, Cowgill’s reading has been widely accepted.<sup>318</sup> In a recent edition of the text, Colvin (2007) affirmed that Cowgill’s reading was without doubt a more attractive solution to the problem posed by the two sequences than previous interpretations,<sup>319</sup> and had therefore adopted Cowgill’s interpretation for his transliteration and translation of both passages: ἔδυσσαν οἶνυ ἄ(ν)τὶ τῷ ἀργύρῳ τῷδε τῷ ταλά(ν)των, “Now instead of this silver, the talent, the king and the city gave to Onasilos and his brothers...”; ἔδωκ’ οἶνυ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄ πτόλις Ὀνασί|(B.17)λωι ἄ(ν)τὶ τῷ ἀργύρῳ(ν) τῷδε, “Now the king and the city gave to

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<sup>317</sup> Egetmeyer (1993) 45-46 affirms the opposite, namely that ἦ is not necessary in the context of the paragraph, given that the connection to the previous sentence is given both by οἶνυ and the position of the verb at the very beginning of the sentence. He also considers the construction of οἶνυ as plausible, but agrees with Masson regarding the difficulty that the elision of the final vowel of ἔδωκε poses, for which he does not have a satisfactory explanation. However, he considers the form as “acceptable” and affirms that Cowgill’s interpretation as a whole is the only one that has tackled the many problems posed by the sequences e-tu-wa-no-i-nu and e-to-ko-i-nu offering plausible solutions.

<sup>318</sup> Still, Meier-Brügger (1992) 129-130 defended the previous interpretation. However he proposed some changes, deriving *tokoi* from δοκεῖ and *tuwanoi*, which he reckoned to be a *hapax*, from a word family δεύω/δύη, meaning “lack”, “absence” or “shortage”. He therefore translated the sequences as “wenn er aber Mangel haben sollte” and “wenn er es aber gut finden sollte”, but his interpretation is not entirely satisfactory particularly because it would involve some syntactic and semantic difficulties. On the one hand we would need to imagine two elided main verbs for two new main clauses, as well as changes of subjects and objects. On the other hand, we would have two very different conditions (“but if he should have a lack (of the money)...” / “but if he should deem it good”) for what seems to be a parallel situation, plus we would still have the problem of talking about future hypothetical options whereas at the end of the inscription the text clearly states that Onasilos and his brothers were actually given the lands, since Onasilos and his household “will hold them forever”: οἱ Ὀνασικύπρων παῖδες καὶ τῶ(ν) παίδων οἱ πατῖδες ἔξο(ν)σι αἰεῖ (ICS 217 B 30-31). For a detailed analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of this theory see Egetmeyer (1993) 43-44.

<sup>319</sup> See Colvin (2007) 90.

Onasilos, instead of this money...”.<sup>320</sup> However, Colvin did not translate οἶνυ as Cowgill had originally suggested, namely as “but in fact” or “but in fact now”, but translated the combination οἶν-νυ as “now” rendering only the meaning implied by particle νυ.<sup>321</sup> I also see Cowgill’s interpretation as the best reading available. Even though some of his suggestions are debatable, they are still highly acceptable. As regards his interpretation of *o-i-nu* as οἶνυ, it is worth noting that the combination of particle νυ with other particles or adverbs does not seem to have been uncommon, and was certainly not alien to the Cyprian dialect;<sup>322</sup> see e.g. Arc. demonstrative ὀνυ, Cyprian demonstrative *o-nu*, and Arc. adverbs ὦννυ from \*ὦς-νυ, and τεῖδε-νυ from τεῖδε-νυ (= τῆδε-νυ).<sup>323</sup> Consequently, an adverb οἶνυ from οἶν-νυ (<\*όεν-νυ) would have been perfectly possible.

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<sup>320</sup> Colvin (2007) 86-88.

<sup>321</sup> Cowgill (1964) 360 proposed “but in fact now” as a first attempt of a translation, but a detailed discussion of the possible meanings of οἶνυ led him later to translate the adverb as “but in fact” (364-5). Egetmeyer (1992) 108 recorded only the former translation, i.e. “but in fact now”. However, he quoted “nun aber” as the main meaning for *o-i-nu*, evidently disregarding the value of \*oen = Attic οὔν, “really, in fact” pointed out by Cowgill (364), keeping only the adversative meaning. See also Hintze (1993) 46.

<sup>322</sup> One may object that an adverb built upon particle νυ in ICS 217, an inscription from Idalion, where no evidence of the use of demonstratives ending in -νυ has been found, may be problematic. As we saw above, Cyprian demonstratives ending in -δε or -νυ were unlikely to co-occur either in the same inscription or the same city. Compare, for instance, the case of ἰνθάδε, ICS11 above. However, it is likely that the construction of non-demonstrative adverbs had not been influenced at all by the existence of this alternative in the formation of demonstratives, and both -δε and -νυ had been freely combinable regardless of how the particles were distributed in the system of demonstratives.

<sup>323</sup> See II.1.3.4 above.

## II.5. A note on Mycenaean

Mycenaean texts do not provide us with much compelling evidence of the use of demonstratives in the dialect. Unfortunately, the tablets do not contain enough conclusive data to allow us to propose a plausible interpretation of the system of demonstratives –if there was one at all. The definite article is not attested, and our evidence is limited to a few and, in some cases, questionable occurrences of the old demonstrative  $\acute{o} \acute{\eta} \tau\acute{o}$  and to some peculiar occurrences of a duplicated form *to-to*.<sup>324</sup> It is nonetheless worth taking a quick look at some Mycenaean examples.<sup>325</sup> The two tablets below contain what has been interpreted as occurrences of demonstratives in oblique cases (derived from the stem *\*so-/to-*),<sup>326</sup> followed by conjunction *-qe = τε*.<sup>327</sup>

PY Eb 156.2    a3-ti-jo-qo e-ke-qe to-jo-ka au-to-jo [ ]ka-ma-e  
[    to-so-]de pe-mo GRA [<sup>328</sup>

And Aithiopoulos? holds (both) *kama* of this (and?) the same (*onato*), so much seed, GRA [

PY Na 520:    to-i-qe e-re-u-te-ra  
                  ] pu<sub>2</sub>?-te-re ki-ti-je-si SA 30.

[Place name:] the planters are bringing into cultivation, and there is a free allowance for these: thirty of *linen*<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> According to DELG: 770, Mycenaean does show evidence of demonstratives, even though some of them are dubious. See also Chadwick and Baumbach (1963) 225. It is worth noting that, as is normally the case in Homeric epic, these forms do not correspond to the classical definite article but appear in their original demonstrative value. If they were articles, as *Docs*: 87 and Sihler (1995) 388 suggested, they would be more frequent in Mycenaean. On the other hand, they are missing in certain positions/roles in which an article would be required. If they were indeed articles, we would find them in such contexts.

<sup>325</sup> For details refer to the Appendix, Table 4.

<sup>326</sup> For PIE demonstrative stems and  $\acute{o} \acute{\eta} \tau\acute{o}$  as an original demonstrative, see I.1.3.1 and I.1.3.2 above.

<sup>327</sup> Aura Jorro (1985) 359 considers both forms as demonstrative pronouns.

<sup>328</sup> For the edition of the text and translation see Bennet Jr. and Olivier (1973) 93.

<sup>329</sup> Text and translation by *Docs*: 299.

In the first case, *to-jo-ka* has been interpreted as *to-jo-qe*, a combination of the demonstrative masculine singular in the genitive case, *\*toyo* = τῶιο, and τε. The syntax of the passage, however, is difficult, as it is not clear why we should need a second *-qe* there. Nevertheless, the reading of *-ka* as *-qe* has been widely accepted.<sup>330</sup> Perhaps we should understand *-qe* to be connecting the two genitives, but the position of *-qe* after the first member and not the second would be odd. The demonstrative seems to be either accompanying the pronoun αὐτός, also in the genitive, or to be coordinated with it. It appears to be anaphoric and to be used to identify the portion of land (*onato*) mentioned in the previous line, whereas αὐτός would indicate the identity of both holdings: it is the same *onato*.

In the case of PY Na 520, the demonstrative appears in the dative plural (dative-locative), presumably masculine, but the context is not very clear.<sup>331</sup> *to-i-qe* seems to be standing for *toi(hi) k<sup>w</sup>e* = τῶσί τε.<sup>332</sup> The demonstrative appears to be referring anaphorically to the subject of the tablet, a masculine plural *pu<sub>2</sub>-te-re*, “planters”.

In the following set of examples, PY Eb 842.B and PY Ep 613.8, the demonstratives have been always considered together as alternative spellings of the same form, mainly because they appear in almost exactly the same context. However, there is no agreement regarding these forms, and some scholars have considered them as occurrences of a verb meaning “to pay”.<sup>333</sup>

PY Eb 842      A. sa-sa-wo e-ke-qe o-na-to ka-ma-e-u  
                   B. e-pi-qe to-e te-ra-pi-ke to-so-de pe-mo GRA 1 T [5]

<sup>330</sup> See Aura Jorro (1985) 359.

<sup>331</sup> See Bennet Jr. and Olivier (1973) 203.

<sup>332</sup> DELG: 770, the form *toihi*, masculine dative plural, is a secure case of a Mycenaean demonstrative. For *o-i* interpreted as dative locative plural *\*-oisi* with loss of intervocalic *\*s*, see Colvin (2006) 48.

<sup>333</sup> θῶη/θῶεν and θῶμεν, subjunctive/infinitive and infinitive respectively, derived from a root *\*dhē-/dhō-*. For bibliographical information and details of the discussion, see Aura Jorro (1985) 358.

PY Ep 613.8 sa-sa-wo ]o-na-to e-ke ka-ma-e-u e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-  
pi-[ke ] to-so pe-mo GRA 1 T 5

...and MALE NAME holds an *onato* (=a lease) as a *kama*-holder and  
in return for this he VERB,<sup>334</sup> so much seed: GRA 1 T 5<sup>335</sup>

In the first case, *to-e* is interpreted as *tōi* or *tōi-e* = τῶι or \*τῶι, similar to Boeotian τῶι. In the second case, *to-me* is interpreted as \**tosmei* > τῶημει > τῶηει.<sup>336</sup> Despite the difficulty of finding an adequate interpretation for both demonstratives, the text seems to indicate that both perform anaphoric roles, referring to some sort of condition or situation mentioned before, hence the reading of both demonstratives as neuter singular:<sup>337</sup> in return for *this*, i.e. “the holding of the *onato* as a *kama*-holder, mentioned above”, or simply referring back to the *onato*, “the above-mentioned *onato*”.<sup>338</sup>

Unlike the limited evidence we have of the use of demonstrative ὁ ἡ τό in Mycenaean texts,<sup>339</sup> the use of the demonstrative of quantity (*to-so*, *to-sa*, *to-so-de*, *to-sa-de*, *to-so-jo*)<sup>340</sup> is comparatively quite common, with *to-so* (τόσ(σ)ος) being the most frequent. Since most of the tablets are records and lists of commodities, offerings, etc., the repeated use of τόσ(σ)ος/ τοσ(σ)όςδε to introduce a subsequent amount is not at all surprising. It is worth mentioning, however, that in one of the occurrences of

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<sup>334</sup> *Docs*: 263 interprets te-ra-pi-ke as *therapiskei*, derived from θεράπων “to serve”.

<sup>335</sup> For the text and translation, see Bennet Jr. and Olivier (1973) 97 and 125 respectively.

<sup>336</sup> For this interpretation see Aura Jorro (1985) 358. *to-me* has also been interpreted as τῶι + particle μὲν. Thumb (1959) 350, comparing it to Homeric καὶ τὸ μὲν, “das nun”. Bartoněk (2003) 344, 607: *tō(h)ě(n)?*, *tō(i)-men?* or perhaps *tōm(m)ei*.

<sup>337</sup> Aura Jorro (1985) 358; Bartoněk (2003) 344.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. DELG: 803: *onato onata*.

<sup>339</sup> Bartoněk (2003) 344 mentions the possibility of a further demonstrative, *to-o*, *to(h)o?* = *to-jo?* (PY Un 1321.3). However, the form is too conjectural.

<sup>340</sup> For a detailed account of the occurrence of these forms, see Bartoněk (2003) 344-345. They will only be mentioned here as demonstratives of quantity are not the subject of the present work. See note 26 above. For a study on these forms, in particular *to-so*, *to-so-de* and *to-so-jo*, see Bader (1975).

this form, the final particle has been read as  $-v\varepsilon$  instead of  $-\delta\varepsilon$ .<sup>341</sup> It has been suggested that *to-so-ne* below might be interpreted as  $\tau\omicron\sigma(\sigma)\acute{o}(v)-v\varepsilon$ .<sup>342</sup>

MY Oe 118.1 to-so-ne qo-zo  
pe-ra-ko-no WOOL 15<sup>343</sup>

The tablet belongs to a series dealing with a particular commodity, “wool”. Some personal names both feminine and masculine are used, as well as names of different trades. Bennet (1958) 110 argues that the tablets of the series in which Oe 118 is included are too short and fragmentary to propose a secure translation. He considers *qo-zo*, understood as *pokoi* and translated as “fleeces”, to be particularly problematic, especially because *qo-zo* would be a very odd spelling for *pokoi*. Moreover, he argues that the final *-ne* in *to-so-ne* would be as abnormal as the spelling of *pokoi*.<sup>344</sup>

If indeed *-ne* in *to-so-ne* were to be interpreted as a particle attached to the demonstrative, this would imply that this particle, which was later used to create demonstratives in other dialects, e.g. Cyprian and Thessalian, was already in use in Mycenaean. It is also worth noting the occurrence of *to-so-o* in PY Xn 1342.1 and KN Od 666.a, where the form  $\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  + a particle  $-o$  (?) has been proposed.<sup>345</sup> This would support what was stated in I.1.3.1 to I.1.3.3 above, that demonstratives were built by adding particles selected from a variety of forms on hand, and would suggest that the choice between particles ( $-\delta\varepsilon$  and  $-v\varepsilon$ ) was already available in Mycenaean.

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<sup>341</sup> Lejeune (1997 (1979)) 237 n.14, affirms that  $\tau\omicron\sigma\acute{o}\nu\delta\varepsilon$  can be read both as  $\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu$  + adversative particle  $\delta\varepsilon$  and as  $\tau\omicron\sigma\acute{o}\nu\delta\varepsilon$ , but *Docs*: 587: it is difficult to see the connective force in every case. Also Aura Jorro (1985) 370.

<sup>342</sup> This tablet, however, needs to be treated with caution as its interpretation is obscure and other readings have been suggested and preferred. See Aura Jorro (1985) 370. Lejeune (1958) 115, and n. 133, agreed that  $\tau\omicron\sigma\acute{o}\sigma\nu\varepsilon$  was a plausible option, but other readings were possible, and suggested that *to-so-ne* might be actually a proper name, e.g.  $\theta\acute{o}\rho\sigma\omega\nu$ .

<sup>343</sup> Bennet (1958) 85. Same reading in Sacconi (1974) 35 and Melena and Olivier (1991) 66.

<sup>344</sup> Bennet (1958) 111 quotes Palmer (1955) 41, who reads *to-so-ne qo-zo* = *tosoi-ne pokoi*, “so many fleeces.” Bartoněk (2003) 345, on the contrary, reads *tos(s)on-ne*, nominative neuter singular.

<sup>345</sup> *Docs*: 587, Bader (1975) 85-86, and Aura Jorro (1985) 370.

There are two additional Mycenaean forms worth considering here; one has been interpreted as a demonstrative (*to-to*), and the other as comprising an initial demonstrative element (*za-we-te*).

Mycenaean provides us with nine occurrences of what looks like a demonstrative *to-to*, all belonging to PY Aq 64 (lines 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14 twice, 15 and 16):<sup>346</sup>

2.	]ja, mo-ro-qa, <u>to-to</u> , <u>we-to</u> , o-a-ke-re-se	ZE 1 *171 3
3.	ka-do-wo, mo-ro-qa, o-u-qe, a-ke-re-se	ZE 1
4.	ru-ro, mo-ro-qa, o-u-qe, a-ke-re-se	ZE 1
5.	ku-ru-me-no, mo-ro-qa, i-te-re-wa, ko-re-te, <u>to-to</u> , <u>we-to</u> ,o-a-ke-re-se	*171 6
6.	pe-ri-mo, ti-mi-ti-ja, ko-re-te, <u>to-to-we-to</u> ,o-a-ke-re-se	ZE 1 *171 3
7.	pe-ri-me-de-o, i-*6 5, po-so-ri-jo-no, te-ra-ni-ja, a-ke-re-se , <u>to-to-we-to</u> ,	*171 12
(...)		
12.	o-da-a <sub>2</sub> , ko-to-na e-ke-te	
13.	e-ta-wo-ne-u, <u>to-to-we-to</u> , o-a-ke-re-se	ZE 1 *171 6
14.	a-qi-zo-we, <u>to-to</u> , <u>to-to</u> , <u>we-to</u> , o-a-ke-re-se	ZE 1[
15.	ne-qe-u, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo, <u>to-to</u> , <u>we-to</u> , o-a-ke-re-se	ZE 1[
16.	me-wi, e-ru-ta-ra, me-ta-pa, ki-e-wo, <u>to-to-we-to</u> , o-a-ke-re-se	ZE 1[
17-23	<i>vacant</i>	

2. ] the share-holder this year took: one pair, three x.
3. Ka-do-wo the share-holder did not take: one pair.
4. Luros the share-holder did not take: one pair.
5. Klumenos the share-holder, mayor of I-te-re-wa, this year took: six x.
6. Perimos the mayor of Thimistia this year took: one pair, three x.
7. The son of Perimedes took... of Psolion, this year he took: twelve x.
- (...)
12. And the holders of land as follows:
13. Etawoneus this year took: one pair, six x.
14. A-qi-zo-we this year took: one pair, x x.
15. Ne-qe-u son of Etewoklewes this year took: one pair, x x.
16. Me-wi Eruthras at Metapa of Ki-e-u this year took: one pair, x x.<sup>347</sup>

Mycenaean *to-to* had been originally interpreted as a form of *\*touto*, a variant spelling without *\*-u-*.<sup>348</sup> However, this initial reading was later abandoned in favour of

<sup>346</sup> The dittography at line 14 appears to be due simply to a scribal error, and does not seem to give the demonstrative a different meaning. It is also worth noting that in some occurrences *to-to* and *we-to* are separated by a word-divider and in some others they are written continuously. However, this variation does not seem to imply a syntactic or semantic difference either. Unfortunately, our evidence is too limited to permit more than simply pointing out these anomalies.

<sup>347</sup> Edition and translation belong to *Docs*: 176. See also Probert (2008) 141-142. The underlining is mine.

<sup>348</sup> See e.g. Ruiperez (1957) 199; Thumb (1959) 350; Milani (1965) 421; Also, DELG: 841, *to-to* appears under οὔτος. However, Lejeune (1997 (1979)) 236-237 argues that a Mycenaean *\*to<u>to* would have written *\*-u-*, as *\*ou* is widely attested in the dialect. Since *to-to* is used nine times in our text, the absence of *\*-u-* cannot be explained as a spelling mistake.

a view that saw the form as a reduplication of the pronominal theme *\*to-*, and the use of double inflection.<sup>349</sup> In a very recent article on reduplicated demonstratives in Indo-European, de Vaan (2013) identified two types of PIE full reduplication: type I (*\*so-so*, *\*tom-tom*, *\*tod-tod*) and type II (*\*h<sub>1</sub>e-h<sub>1</sub>e*, *\*im-im*, *\*id-id*), corresponding to the two PIE demonstrative stems *\*so/\*to-* and *\*h<sub>1</sub>e/\*i-*. According to him (8), PY Aq 64 might represent our only evidence of the existence of a type I reduplicated demonstrative in Greek. The archaic Attic form TOTO in IG I<sup>2</sup> 919 (Dipylon, 8<sup>th</sup> century BC: *hoc v̄v orx̄ēstōv παντōv αταλōτατα παιζει | TOTOΔEK...N*), which was traditionally compared to Mycenaean *to-to* and interpreted as a parallel form that also showed the variant spelling without *\*-u-*,<sup>350</sup> has been, in recent times, reinterpreted as τὸ τόδε, with τὸ as an anaphoric correlative to *hoc* (in the previous line) in the genitive singular, and τόδε as the neuter demonstrative referring to the object carrying the inscription.<sup>351</sup>

In our Mycenaean text, reduplicated demonstrative *to-to* is used adnominally, co-occurring with noun *we-to* (*\*φέτος*), “this (current) year”, clearly making a deictic reference to the current time.<sup>352</sup> The verb *a-ke-re-se* can be interpreted as either aorist ἄγορησε or future ἀγορήσει,<sup>353</sup> but regardless of whether the verb implies a past or a future action, *to-to we-to* anchors either reference to the present time of the communication: “he took, this (current) year” or “he will take, this (current) year”. In

<sup>349</sup> Lejeune (1997 (1979)) 237; Aura Jorro (1985) 371.

<sup>350</sup> DELG: 841: reduplicated form of the demonstrative stem but without *-u-*. Also Schwyzer (1953) 611. TOTO is interpreted as either τούτο or τούτου.

<sup>351</sup> See Lejeune (1997 (1979)) 240-241. This reading had already been suggested by *Docs*: 587; supported as well by Guarducci (1993) who revisited the inscription more recently. Also de Vaan (2013): 8 n. 9: “of-him this”.

<sup>352</sup> As the evidence shows, demonstratives in Mycenaean could be used both pronominally and adnominally. Although we only have evidence of ὁ ἢ τό used pronominally and of *to-to* used adnominally, there is evidence of demonstratives of quantity occurring in both syntactic contexts. However, in the case of *to-so pe-mo* Aura Jorro (1985) 369 suggests that it would be better interpreted as adverb + accusative of respect than as adnominal demonstrative + noun.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. Probert (2008) 142.

his article on Mycenaean *to-to* and Sanskrit *táttad*, Lejeune (1997 (1979)) reflected on his previous interpretation of *to-to*, in which he had argued that the reduplicated form (neuter singular demonstrative *\*tod-tod* > *\*tottod*) corresponded to Sanskrit *táttad*, that it seemed to be the 1<sup>st</sup> person demonstrative “this”, and that it was used to mean “this (current) year”, and proposed a new reading, namely that the reduplication had an iterative-distributive semantic effect and that the phrase should be rather understood as “every year” or “year after year”.<sup>354</sup> However, I agree with de Vaan (2013) 9 that if Mycenaean used a repeated form *we-te-i-we-te-i* to express recurrence in time, an unrepeated form *we-to* would very unlikely be iterative as well.<sup>355</sup> Moreover, the recurrence would only work if the verb were in the future tense, and as we already mentioned, *a-ke-re-se* could be also an aorist. It is highly unlikely that the tablet is recording what X took “year after year” –for what reason or since when exactly?

Finally, the form *za-we-te*,<sup>356</sup> “this year” (neuter adjective *\*tsāwetes* < *\*kyā-wetes* used as an adverb, cf. Attic τῆτες, Ionic σῆτες, Doric σᾱτες),<sup>357</sup> comprising an initial demonstrative element *\*ky-*<sup>358</sup> and the noun *we-to*, and explained by Lejeune (1958) 123 as analogically created on the model of *\*kyāmeron*, “this day” (Doric σάμερον, Homeric σήμερον, Attic τήμερον),<sup>359</sup> provides us with further evidence of the use of various PIE deictic particles in Mycenaean to build demonstrative forms.

<sup>354</sup> Lejeune (1997(1979)) 240.

<sup>355</sup> de Vaan (2013) 9: “the scribe wanted to stress the deictic, exact meaning ‘in this very year’ by reduplicating *to*”.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. KN Fh 5451.a, PY Ma 225.2a. Possibly also in KN Ga 5088.a, KN X 658, KN Gg 5637.

<sup>357</sup> See Bartoněk (2003) 619; Morpurgo Davies (1963) 371-372; Aura Jorro (1985) 455-456: *\*kyāwetes* > *tsāwetes* > *σσάwetes*.

<sup>358</sup> PIE near deictic stem *\*kí-*. For PIE particles refer to I.1.3.1 above. For particle *\*kí-* in particular, I.1.3.3, especially note 62.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. DELG: 1115. For a discussion on some of the difficulties of interpreting *\*kyāwetes* as rebuilt on *\*kyāmeron*, see Morpurgo Davies (1985) 106. The author argues that *\*ky-* should have been considerably modified (become affricate?) before *\*kyāwetes* was formed, otherwise it would have led to *\*\*kiwetes*.



## CHAPTER III. THE AEOLIC GROUP

### *III.1. Demonstratives in Lesbian*

#### **III.1.1. Introduction**

Lesbian inscriptions show evidence of the use of 3 different series of demonstratives, ὄδε, οὗτος and κῆνος, as well as the use of ὁ ἡ τό with demonstrative force.

The main difficulty posed by Lesbian inscriptions is that they show increasing influence of *koiné* Greek from an early date. This gives as a result a number of mixed-dialect inscriptions and mixed-dialect forms within the inscriptions. There are two types of inscriptions included in this selection, a) written completely in the Lesbian dialect, and b) mixed dialect inscriptions bearing a number of dialectal features. I am aware of some problematic cases, but I have included them nevertheless because they behaved in the same way as the ones in proper Lesbian and did not contradict the way in which demonstratives seemed to be working in the dialect.

The evidence collected amounted to 67 demonstratives. As Figure 9 below shows, the vast majority of them are occurrences of οὗτος (55), followed by ὄδε (7), ὁ ἡ τό (3) and κῆνος (2). In the inscriptions studied, οὗτος is reconstructed in nine cases. Those cases have been included in the table of data for illustration, but have not been included in the statistics below.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> For details on the Lesbian inscriptions studied and the data collected, refer to the Appendix, Table 5.

### III.1.2. Distribution of Lesbian demonstratives

§1. The inscriptions collected came mostly from the island of Lesbos, from the cities of Mytilene, Methymna and Eresos. In addition to these, there were also some inscriptions from Assos and Neandreia (the Troad), and from the island of Nesos, as well as a number of inscriptions from Kyme, the region of Aiolis.<sup>361</sup>

As Figure 10 clearly shows, Mytilene and Eresos have provided us both with the largest and most varied evidence; they show the use of at least three different series, even though unfortunately not in the same period or in the same inscription.<sup>362</sup> The Figure also would suggest that apparently there was not a regional difference in the use of one series of demonstratives or the other, neither in the island of Lesbos nor in the other regions. However, the evidence is quite limited in the cases of Assos, Nesos and Neandreia.

§2. As regards the distribution of demonstratives throughout time, as illustrated by Figure 11, our earliest evidence of a demonstrative in Lesbian is a case of ὄδε dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, followed by a further case of ὄδε in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the three cases of the article-demonstrative in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Our first record of οὗτος dates also from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The examples of both ὁ ἢ τό and the series κῆνος are very limited, reduced to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.

§3. Finally, concerning the distribution of Lesbian demonstratives according to type of text, Figure 12 below shows that the vast majority of our evidence comes from decrees. All our evidence of οὗτος appears in decrees; ὄδε is used in five decrees and 2

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<sup>361</sup> For details on the provenance of Lesbian inscriptions see Hodot (1990) 36.

<sup>362</sup> Four series in the case of Mytilene, if we were to consider one occurrence of ὄδε in IG XII 2, 285.5 (τό<δ>ε σα̃μα). However, the inscription does not constitute secure evidence, as being an epitaph it contains formulaic language, and bears practically no dialectal feature. Therefore the presence of the demonstrative could be simply *koiné*.

dedications, and ὁ ἢ τό in catalogues, but there is also an example from a decree. As regards κήνος, there is one example of the series in a decree and another in an epitaph, both used in the same formula.



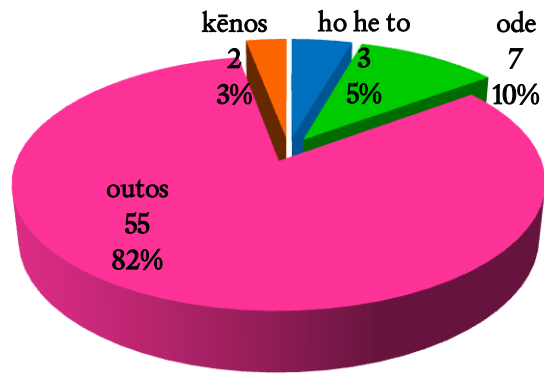


Figure 9. Demonstratives in Lesbian inscriptions

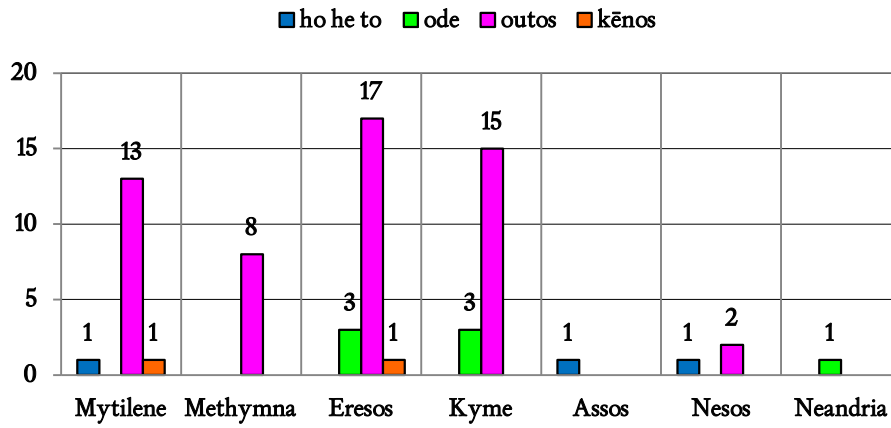


Figure 10. Distribution of Lesbian demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions



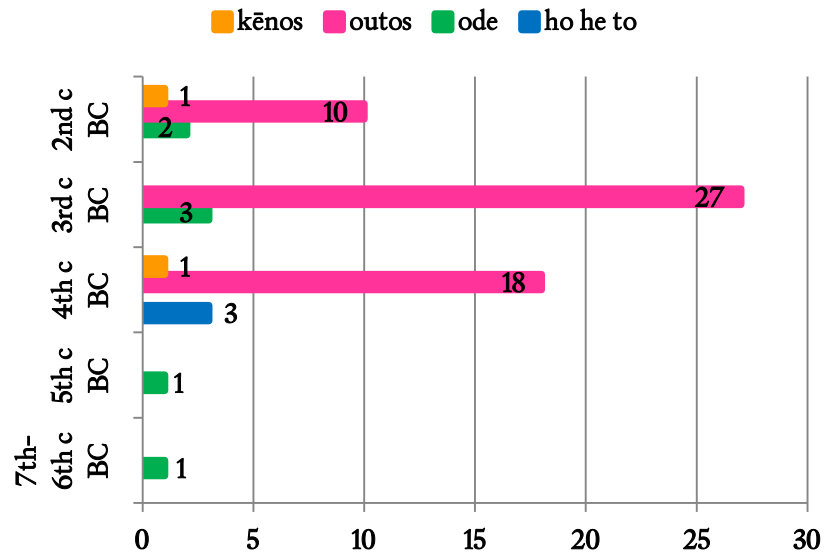


Figure 11. Distribution of Lesbian demonstratives across time

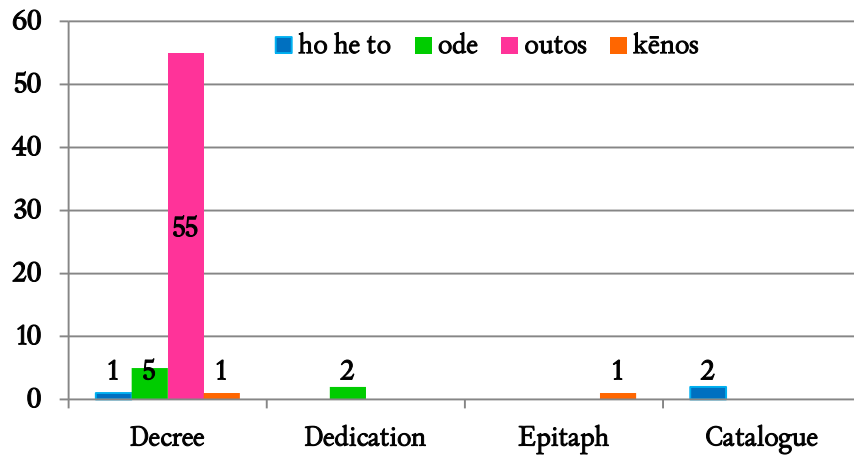


Figure 12. Distribution of Lesbian demonstratives according to type of inscription



### III.1.3. Syntax of Lesbian demonstratives

#### III.1.3.1. ὄδε

Our evidence shows that Lesbian ὄδε could be used to perform two roles, namely referring to the artefact and to the document, which we have also seen performed by the same series in other dialects. However, it is worth noting that there is no evidence in Lesbian of another distinctive function of ὄδε, namely referring forwards or introducing new information. Here it would appear that the dialect preferred the use of the article.

The oldest occurrence of ὄδε comes from a fragment of an amphora dedicated to Athena, IK 5, 101c.1. The inscription, dating from 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> BC, comes from Kyme: τάνδε τὰ [- - - Ἀθαν]αήαη, and the demonstrative seems to be referring to the artefact dedicated to the goddess.<sup>363</sup> Another dedication, dating from 5<sup>th</sup> BC from Neandreia, shows further evidence of the use of ὄδε in this role, DGE 639.1: τόνδε τὸν ἀνδ[ριάντα Ἀπό]λλῶνα ὀνέθε|κε Ἑρμ[έ]ας ἀρα[σαμένῳ] τῷ παιδὸς| ὄγεμάχ[ειος], “Hermeas dedicated this statue to Apollo, because his son prayed (for it?) (as he was) leading the battle (?)”.<sup>364</sup> The rendering of the text is very similar to the Cyprian dedications studied in II.2.3.2 above, but in the Lesbian dedication the demonstrative, also adnominal, appears pre-positioned, perhaps to give more emphasis to this particular offering and set it apart from other similar statues that might have been

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<sup>363</sup> The same function appears also in the epitaph mentioned before, IG XII 2, 285.5: ἡ ῥ' ἐτύμως τό<δ>ε σᾶμα λεόντε[σιν πεφύλακται], not included in this selection.

<sup>364</sup> Cf. Jeffery (1990) 360, 362.9; the inscription belongs to the base for a marble *kouros*; a dedication by Hermeas. ἀρα[σαμένῳ] is the Aeolic aorist participle of ἀράομαι, cf. Aeol. 3<sup>rd</sup> plural ἀράσαντο, Liddell and Scott (1996) 234. ὄγεμάχ[ειος] is interpreted as ὁ ἀγεμάχειος (DGE: 306), leader of the battle or commander.

on the site, and also probably because of its emotional context.<sup>365</sup> However, as we shall see, most of our evidence of ὄδε in Lesbian appears in the same position, so perhaps it is simply due to a dialectal preference as concerns this series.

In the remaining four cases (τοιῖδ[- in EA (1984) 4:9-11.24 is too fragmentary to suggest any function),<sup>366</sup> the demonstrative is used to refer to the document. The oldest inscription in which ὄδε appears in such a role dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, quite a recent date if we compare it with the evidence we have of οὔτος performing the same role in the dialect (see below). The inscription comes from Southern Aiolis, probably Kyme (EA (1984) 4:9-11.22): ...] τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον. As with the two examples mentioned above, the demonstrative is used adnominally and in pre-position. According to Engelmann and Malay (1984) 12-13, the text of the inscription was of great significance, as it created a new legal basis for some controversial points. The regulations seem to have affected two cities. A commission was appointed and given great importance, and the disputed points and the outcome of the proceedings were to be exposed publicly. The emphasis given to τὸν ὄρκον by the preceding demonstrative therefore makes perfect sense; the novelty of this legal text would certainly have set it apart from others. A second example appears in a decree from Eresos dating from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (IG XII Suppl. 120.20). The text is very fragmentary, but the demonstrative is secure: Λέσβιοι τάνδε τὰν συνθήκων ἐπι- - -, “the citizens of Lesbos.... this treaty/ convention”. The reference to the document is clear, and as expected it is followed by the usual formula, ἀναγράψαντ]ω εἰς στάλλαν

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<sup>365</sup> See e.g. Biraud (1991) 43, pre-position is also linked to an emotional or expressive mode.

<sup>366</sup> The form τοῖδ[ appears in quite a fragmentary context, and it is a difficult reading, since it does not correspond to any of the possible forms for Lesbian ὄδε; it may be a dative singular, but we would expect something like τωδ-. However, it may be possible that the form is not a case of ὄδε at all; Hodot (1990) 135 states that ὄδε is attested in Lesbian only in the accusative case.

λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέντ[ω ... (22). Again, the position of ὄδε may indicate a particular emphasis, but the fragmentary state of the inscription makes it difficult to propose any further interpretation.

Two decrees from Eresos, IG XII Suppl. 121, dating from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, and IG XII Suppl. 140, dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, also show the use of ὄδε to refer to the document. However, these two cases of ὄδε are examples of late mixed dialect and are problematic, but, as mentioned before, they are in agreement with the expected behaviour of this series in Lesbian. In the first case, ἀπρ[σ]τεῖλαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα (IG XII Suppl. 121.2), the demonstrative appears in the first section of the decree, which is not written in the Lesbian dialect, and therefore would not be considered dialectal. At the end of the decree, in a section that does bear dialectal features, the document is referred to by the use of οὔτος: (35-6): τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τοῦτο. The same can be said regarding the more recent inscription IG XII Suppl. 140.16 (τὸ τε ψήφισμα τόδε) and 22 (καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο), which contains just a few dialectal features; the document is also referred to by both demonstratives, with οὔτος being used nearer the end of the decree. This is not surprising, given the fact that this demonstrative is normally used for recapitulating and giving closure to a section of text.

Given the limited amount of evidence of ὄδε in dialectal inscriptions, it is worth taking a quick look at the occurrences and behaviour of this demonstrative in the literary dialect. In the lyric poets, the forms and functions of ὄδε seem to conform, on the whole, to what one would expect from Attic ὄδε. The demonstrative refers to something close to the speaker or related to them, analogous to a possessive adjective

(Sappho 2.1; 160.1; Alcaeus 129.1, 8, 11; 70.9; 345.1);<sup>367</sup> it also refers to something that comes after the demonstrative, usually introducing direct speech (Sappho 19.12; 23.7; 88.a22, 94.3,6; Alcaeus 70.2), and to something/somebody vividly present in the mind of the speaker, meaning “it/he/she” (Sappho 150.2; 161.1; Alcaeus 74.2). As regards its morphology, the demonstrative does not seem to behave too differently from Attic ὄδε either. However, it is worth noting a couple of unusual forms. One of them appears in Alcaeus 130.21. The genitive plural masculine of the demonstrative has a secondary declension: τὰ (...) ἔχοντες πεδὰ τωνδέων | τῶν [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολίταν. Bowie (1981) 106 expresses his reservations over Hamm’s suggestion<sup>368</sup> that τωνδέων may have been modelled upon Homeric τοῖσδεσσι, and suggests that it may be an original dialectal feature.<sup>369</sup> In fact, Bowie (52) argues that it is very likely that the origin of Homeric τοῖσδεσσι had been Lesbian. He recalls the fact that double declension in demonstratives is a common feature in another Aeolic dialect, Thessalian, and that it is a feature found in Attic as well. A second interesting form is the locative adverb τυίδε, which resembles ὄδε. It appears in Sappho 1.5 (ἀλλ]ὰ τυίδ’ ἔλ[θ’), 5.2 (τὸν κασί]γνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ’ ἔκεσθα[ι], 17.7 (τυίδ’ ἀπορμάθεν[τες] and 96.2 (πόλ]λακι τυίδε. [ν]ῶν ἔχοισα) and probably in Alcaeus 142.3 (=H3; [ἴδε]). According to Chantraine (1968) 1143, Aeolic τυίδε (“here”) is related to (Cretan?) τυῖ,

<sup>367</sup> The numeration and edition of the texts corresponds to Lobel and Page (1963).

<sup>368</sup> See Hamm (1957) 108.

<sup>369</sup> See also Schwyzer (1953) 612.β. References to the double declension and its relationship to τοῖσδεσσι are found as well in Page (1955) 204. Another interesting fact about this form is that, according to Page, “this is the only clear example in the Lesbians of the pronoun ὄδε used to denote persons not present in the speaker’s company” (204).

which according to Hesychius is equivalent to adverb ὤδε.<sup>370</sup> However, Chantraine argues that this form seems to be morphologically related to other locative forms such as Argolic ὄπυι, πῦς (Sophron), Attic ὄποιοι, Sanskrit *kū́*, and therefore be related to πο- (interrogative/indefinite), and not to ὄδε.<sup>371</sup>

### **III.1.3.2. οὗτος**

This is without a doubt the dominant series of demonstratives in Lesbian inscriptions. Its oldest occurrence dates from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, IG XII 2 526 from Eresos. There are seven occurrences of οὗτος in this inscription, and in every case the demonstrative seems to be referring back to a section of text, i.e. anaphora. οὗτος is used both to refer back to a particular NP and to a fragment of text, both as an independent pronoun and adnominally. In d8 it appears on its own referring back to those who lived in the city: κατὰ τῶν τυρ[άν]νων [κα]ὶ τ[ῶν ἐ]μ πό[λει οἰκη]θέντων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[όνων] [τῶν τούτων. Even though the demonstrative in this case has been restored, the same phrase is repeated almost word for word with little modifications in lines d30-1 and d37-8, but ἀπογόνων is used instead of ἐκγόνων. At d33 the demonstrative refers back to the tyrants against whom all the dispositions stated in the decree are taken, καὶ ταῖς διαγορά[φ]αῖς τῶν βασιλέων ταῖς κατὰ τούτων..., and in line d36 the demonstrative alludes to a section of text rather than to an individual NP, namely to such general dispositions, [αἱ δ]έ κέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ἀλίσκηται. In a29 and a31 the demonstrative points to a previous fragment of text: what happens to those who vote justly and those who vote unjustly (τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸ

<sup>370</sup> Schmidt (1867) 1479: τυῖ ὤδε. Κοῦτες. Hesychius makes a reference as well to Sappho 1.5, but the form he refers to is “τῦδε”, and not τυίδε: τῦδε (Sapph. 1,5)·ἐνταῦθα. Αἰολεῖς. The form τοῖ/τυῖ is used also in Boeotian. See Schwyzer (1953) 612.γ; Buck (1955) 100. Smyth (1900) 231, τυίδε = δεῦρο.

<sup>371</sup> DELG: 921-2, 1143. Also Colvin (2007) 142, 218.

δίκαι[ιο]ν τὰν ψᾶφον φερόντεσσι τὰ ἐναντία τούτων) and the number of voters, which was stated immediately before (ἀπ[ὸ] ταύταν ἀπέλυσαν ἑπτα, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κατεδίκασσαν, “of these seven (votes) acquitted, the others condemned”).<sup>372</sup> Similar examples of such anaphoric role of the demonstrative are found in many other inscriptions.<sup>373</sup> A decree from Mytilene dating from about the same period (334-332 BC), SEG 36 750, shows the same use of the demonstrative: ταῦτα μὲν ηὔχθαι (12), referring back to the dispositions mentioned before, and χρήματα τ[ού]των (20), referring to the money of those illegally condemned.<sup>374</sup> The same can be said of a proxeny decree from Kyme (IK 5, 5; end 3<sup>rd</sup> BC): καὶ ὅτι κέ τις πρίαται παρὰ Φιλ[ίσκω τ]ῷ Φιληράτῳ ἢ τῶν ἐκγόνων τῶμ Φιλίσκῳ ἢ ἀποπεράσσει πρὸς τούτων τινά, ἀτέλεα ἔμμεναι τῷ περὶ τούτων τέλεος (12-15); the first demonstrative refers back to Philiskos and his family and the second to those potential wrong-doers alluded to before.

In its anaphoric role, οὗτος appears to be used mainly as an independent pronoun, but there are a few occurrences in which we see it co-occurring with a noun, e.g. τᾶν δικᾶν ταύταν (EA (1984) 4.56), ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα (IG XII 2, 6.6), τὰν θυσίαν ταύταν (IG XII 2, 529.15), and τὸν δὲ στέφανον τοῦτον (IG XII Suppl. 125.21). The demonstrative is normally used in post-position, 25 out of 29 of the cases in which it is used adnominally. It would therefore be interesting to see whether there is any semantic difference between one position and the other. Any existing difference

<sup>372</sup> The translation belongs to Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 411. For a complete translation and interpretation of the inscription see 406-418.

<sup>373</sup> For more details see the Appendix, Table 5.

<sup>374</sup> For the interpretation of the text see Heisserer and Hodot (1986) 110.

would be better illustrated in inscriptions that have the demonstrative in both positions in the same text, as will be shown below.

A number of inscriptions contain some examples of οὔτος performing two different functions in the same text, namely referring back and referring to the document.<sup>375</sup> In addition, some inscriptions show the use of two different series –ὄδε and οὔτος- performing the same role in the same text. A decree from Mytilene (IG XII 2 6, 332 BC) contains three occurrences of οὔτος employed to refer to the document and five cases of οὔτος used as anaphora. The decree deals with some dispositions taken for the return of exiles to the city. οὔτος is used to refer to the document in lines 3, 20-1 and 49: αἰ δέ κέ τις τῶν κατεληλυθόν]των μὴ ἐμμένη ἐν ταῖς διαλυσί[ε]σσι ταύ[ταισι (these “settlements of differences”)<sup>376</sup> μη - -(2-3); καὶ ἐμμένοιοι ἐν ταῖ ἀ[ποκρίσι τῶν βασιλῆος καὶ ἐν τῶ]ι διαλύσι τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ψα|[φίσιματι (“this decree”) (20-21); τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τ]οῦτο ἀναγράψαντας τοῖς τ[αμίαις εἰς στάλλαν (“this decree”) (49-50); and it is used to refer back in lines 6 (to the properties alluded to before), 11 (to the terms under discussion), 23 (to the men referred to immediately before), 32 (to all other matters that the agreement may include) and 38 (to the condition mentioned earlier, i.e. “if there is anything lacking in the decree”).<sup>377</sup>

It is interesting to see how the demonstrative works in this text when its position changes. The first time οὔτος is used (line 3), it appears post-posed, referring almost deictically to “these agreements that we are discussing here”. However, the next time

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<sup>375</sup> See also IG XII 2 15.32, 36; IG XII 2 506.12, 16; IG XII 2 527.19, 21, 58; IG XII 2 529.15, 17; IG XII 2 645.b34, b59; IG XII 2 Suppl. 139.8-9, 36, 54-5, 56; IK 5, 30. 2, 5; and SEG 29 1216.7, 11, 14, 16, 18.

<sup>376</sup> See Heisserer and Hodot (1986) 122. They define διαλυσί[ε]σσι as a “a settlement of differences obtained by the mutual consent of the citizens, without recourse to any formal judiciary action”. Colvin (2007) 110 translates the term as “agreements”. Buck (1955) 215, “terms of settlement”.

<sup>377</sup> Translation by Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 429.

the demonstrative moves to pre-position: ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα (line 6). This may be due to the fact that it is contrasting “these particular properties” with others; the noun has been actually mentioned in line 4 before (παρ τᾶς πόλιος κτήματος). οὗτος is used to refer to τὸ ψάφισμα, “this decree”, in two cases, illustrating the use of both positions. In the first case, ἐν τᾷ]ι διαλύσι τᾷ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψα|[φίσματι (20), the pre-position emphasizes the identity of this particular decree, i.e. it is this particular decree dealing with this particular settlement, διαλύσι. The focus of the demonstrative is on its identifying and contrastive value. In line 49, on the contrary, the demonstrative is post-positioned, as no further emphasis is needed; οὗτος is recapitulating and giving closure to the text: “and let them engrave this decree...”.

Regarding the use of both ὅδε and οὗτος in the same inscription, ὅδε is used to refer to the artefact or the document, and οὗτος is used to refer back and also to the document, being more frequent in this role than ὅδε. See e.g. EA (1984) 4 and IG XII 2 459.<sup>378</sup> There are two inscriptions in which both series of demonstratives are employed to refer to the document. In a decree from Eresos dating from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (IG XII Suppl. 121), both demonstratives appear in analogous contexts to perform the same function. If we were to explain this in Lejeune’s terms, with the use of ὅδε the phrase would be understood as “the following/present decree”; with use of οὗτος the phrase would be considered as “the preceding decree”.<sup>379</sup> In fact, in this inscription, when ὅδε is used to refer to the document, it is placed at the beginning of the decree: ἀπο[σ]τεῖλαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα[α] καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν]

<sup>378</sup> Refer to Table 5 in the Appendix for more details.

<sup>379</sup> See Lejeune (1943) 121-2.

Ἐρεσίω[ν (2-4), whereas when οὗτος is used to refer to the document, it appears at the very end of the decree: τὸ δὲ ψάφισμ[α το]ῦτό τε καὶ τὸ Παριάν[ων] ἀνάγραψαι τοῖς ἐξετάσαι[ς ε]ἰστάλλαν λιθίναν καὶ σταῖσαι ἐν τᾷ ἀγόρᾳ· (35-7), in pre- and post-position respectively, which agrees with the identifying and emphatic value needed for the introduction of this particular decree, but not needed to sum it up and close it. However, in the case of IG XII Suppl. 140, referred to above, both occurrences are placed near the end of the decree and not far apart from one another; therefore Lejeune’s argument does not seem to work here: ἀπόδειξαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβεύταν, ὅστις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Μίλατον τό τε ψάφισμα τόδε ἀποδώσει (15-6); καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγράψαντας εἰς στάλαν... (21-2). It is worth taking a look at the type of verb to which the demonstrative is linked in each case. When ὅδε is used, the phrase “this decree” is related to a verb of “showing” and “giving”: ἀποδείκνυμι, exhibiting/showing, and ἀποδίδωμι, giving/sending back, whereas when οὗτος is used, the phrase is related to words, to text, in this case writing, engraving. In the first case, the choice of ὅδε may be explained if we understand that the decree is treated as an object, or an artefact that is going to be shown and given back, in which case the use of ὅδε would be perfectly normal. Conversely, in the second case the decree is considered as a document, as language, something that has been spoken and decided on, and that now needs to be engraved. As the demonstrative is going to be used to refer back, we can understand the choice of οὗτος. But there is also a further reason. Placed at the very end of the text, “this decree” obviously alludes to the document the reader has just finished reading, it refers to some information that is shared and well-known to the people involved: they all know by now what decree they are talking about. It is

therefore understandable that they choose a demonstrative that has this connotation, i.e. οὗτος. On the contrary, when the phrase “this decree” appears for the very first time, the text is introducing new information, and the use of ὅδε is therefore expected. This is of course related to the hybrid nature of references to the document, which are borderline between perceptual and textual deixis.

Finally, a brief comment on the use of this series in Sappho and Alcaeus; as expected, οὗτος is used to refer back to something mentioned before or well-known, see e.g. Sappho 16.6; 26.12; 98.a5; 27.5, 9; Alcaeus 141.3; 351.1; 72.7; 73.8. As regards morphology, the forms used by the lyric poets are the same as those used in inscriptions, including the ending -αισι/-οισι for the dative plural.<sup>380</sup>

### **III.1.3.3. κῆνος**

There are only two occurrences of this series in Lesbian inscriptions, both of them in the genitive masculine singular, performing an anaphoric role. The oldest example belongs to a decree from the city of Eresos dating from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (κατάρατον ἔμμεναι καὶ αὐτον καὶ γένος τὸ κ<ή>νω, IG XII 2, 526.a23), whereas the most recent example dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and appears in an epitaph from Mytilene (ἐξξώλης καὶ πρῶλης γένοιτο αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω, IG XII Suppl. 83.5-6). The form κῆνος constitutes an alternative outcome of \*κε-ενος, instead of κεῖνος.<sup>381</sup> κῆνος is abundantly attested in Sappho (κῆνος 31.1, 165.1; κῆνοι 26.3, 141.4; κῆνον 62.4; κῆν' = κῆνα 16.3) and Alcaeus (κῆνος 70.6, 72.7; κῆνα 73.7; κήνων 129.14 and 21; κήνας 283.14). The genitive masculine singular κήνω is attested only in Alcaeus 68. 4. The demonstrative is not used in the

<sup>380</sup> For evidence of this ending in inscriptions see EA (1984) 4.47: ταύταισι; 63: τούτοισι.

<sup>381</sup> See Hamm (1957) 108. For the formation of this series, see I.1.3.3.

lyric poets in a formula similar to the one found in inscriptions, but is always used to refer to a third person or to something distant from the speaker, either physically or emotionally. In the nominative case (singular or plural) the demonstrative seems to correspond simply to a third person pronoun “he/she” or “they”.

Turning to our inscriptions, even though both occurrences date from different periods, come from different cities and are contained in very different types of texts, the context in which they appear is practically the same: αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω, “him and the offspring of that one (i.e. “of the former”)”. They are used in a very fixed formula of which there is ample evidence from various other dialectal inscriptions. The use of κήνος instead of οὔτος might be explained as an indication of a further distance and textual separation, which might be better expressed by distal κήνος than by proximal οὔτος. The demonstrative points back to a reference –“the former”- that lies beyond what is normally referred to by οὔτος. The same formula appears repeatedly in SIG 37-8, an Ionic inscription from Teos (469/459 BC), καὶ γένος τὸ κένο, κένο standing for κείνῳ, genitive masculine singular.<sup>382</sup> Also in SEG 14, 751.50, 65: καὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου, from Teos as well. The formula changes slightly in an Attic inscription dating from 337/6 BC (SEG 12 87; 39 80.21), where it reads καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου. A similar formula with analogous meaning but without the use of γένος is found in Thessalian inscriptions, again using the same demonstrative series: χαύτῳι καὶ το<ι>ς κένο (SEG 23 415.5) and αὐτῳι καὶ τοῖς [κεί]νου (SEG 23 420.8).

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<sup>382</sup> Merkelbach (1982) 213.

### III.1.3.4. ὁ ἢ τό

There are two, possibly three occurrences of the article working in a demonstrative role in Lesbian. The cases are from different cities but date from about the same period (4<sup>th</sup> century BC). In two of them the article seems to be pointing to something coming after it and to introduce new information. They are working in a cataphoric role; the article appears at the beginning of a phrase introducing a catalogue: οἱ [λι]π[όν]αυ[τα] ἐπ[ὶ] πρ[ο]τάνι[ος] Παισι[κρέοντος] + a list of names (IG XII 2, 646.a7, Nesos 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> BC) and [τα] σκευέα ἐσσι δαμόσια ἐπὶ ἀγορανόμω Μεγιστία Σωγενείω + a list of equipment (IK 4, 3.1, from Assos, 4<sup>th</sup> century BC).<sup>383</sup>

The remaining example is quite interesting, even though mostly conjectural. It appears in a decree from Mytilene, IG XII Suppl. 2 (= Hodot, MYT 010): καὶ ὀγκάρυξαι τοῖσι πρῶτοις ἐόντεσσι Διονυσίοισι ὅτι... 6-7. Hodot (1990) 130 underlines the fact that in Lesbian the article in the dative plural always shows the ending -οις/-αις instead of the ending -οισι/-αισι, the regular ending for nouns,<sup>384</sup> and indicates that in opposition to τοῖς/ταῖς, which function as normal articles, there is some evidence in the lyric poets of the forms τοῖσι/ταῖσι working as pronouns.<sup>385</sup> If the article in our inscription is indeed τοῖσι, as the restoration suggests, and not τοῖς, then one might venture that it could be also performing a demonstrative role, just as in the lyric poets, in this case referring to the current time: “and let them proclaim by voice of a herald in

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<sup>383</sup> Emphasizing the demonstrative role of the article, Merkelbach (1976) 3 translates : “Dies sind die Geräte zum öffentlichen Gebrauch, unter dem Agoranomos Megistias, dem Sohn des Sogenes...”. See also Hodot (1990) 133.

<sup>384</sup> For a study on the forms of the dative plural in Aeolic, see García Ramón (1975) 73-5.

<sup>385</sup> Also Hamm (1957) 108: “Im Dat. Pl. in demonstrativer Bedeutung τ[οῖ]σιν\*, ταισι\*, beim Artikel dagegen τοῖς\*... ταις ...”. Compare Sappho 42.1 (ταῖσι ... ψυχρὸς μὲν ἔγενετ’ ὁ θυμὸς, “and the heart for these (birds) became cold”) or 62.5 (καὶ ταῖσι μὲν... “and to these”) and 160.2 (ἐταίραις ταις ἔμαις, “for my friends”). Also Alcaeus 67.5 (μὴ τις τῶν κ[α]κοπατριδῶν ἔσσειται φάνε[ρ] . .] τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ’, “that no one of the low-born should be visible to those from?”) and 39.8 (ἄνδρεςι τοῖς γεινο[μ]εν -, “for the men born”). Translations are mine.

this coming festival of Dionysus that...”. However, it is true that the phrase may also be interpreted as “in the festival of Dionysus that is the first”, i.e. in the next festival of Dionysus, with the article simply fulfilling its role as definite article, determiner of the noun.<sup>386</sup> Moreover, there are plenty of examples of a similar phrase using τοῖς instead of τοῖσι, which may lead us to think that the restoration is incorrect: seven occurrences of the phrase ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοισι in IG XII Suppl. 137 (6, 14, 33, 36, 41, 44, and 4, where the noun ends in -οις and not -οῖσι: ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις) and two in IG XII Suppl. 139 (lines 54, [ἐπὶ] τοῖς Διονυσίοις, and 98). According to Hodot, in all of these cases the article behaves simply as a determiner and not as a demonstrative. So why restore τοῖσι and not τοῖς? One might think that the restoration of τοῖσι is due to its interpretation as a demonstrative. Unfortunately, there are no further examples of τοῖσι/ταῖσι in Lesbian inscriptions that can provide us with additional support for this theory, but the restoration is certainly appealing for the purposes of the present work.<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Hodot (1976) 51 regards the use of τοῖσι here as a hyperaolicism, and considers that the expression is quite odd, but he admits that the general idea of the phrase would be the “prochaines Dionysies”. His translation of the text does not, however, reflect this: “et les [rois] proclameront aux Dionysies que [le peuple] de Mytilène couronne Atrométos...” (50).

<sup>387</sup> Since there is plenty of evidence of this use of τοῖσι/ταῖσι in the lyric poets, one might think that the restoration was in fact due to the influence of lyric poetry, but did not represent a truly dialectal feature. For some reflections on the relationship between literary Lesbian and epigraphic Lesbian, see Hodot (2007) 105-6. Also Cassio (2005), especially 13-19.



## ***III.2. Demonstratives in Boeotian***

### **III.2.1. Introduction**

Boeotian inscriptions are fortunately abundant and relatively prolific as regards the subject of study of the present work.<sup>388</sup> They provide us with 116 examples of demonstratives, distributed as follows: 66 occurrences of *ὁ ἢ τό* + particle *-ί*, 46 of *οὗτος*, 3 of *ὄδε*, and only one case of *(ἐ)κεῖνος*. In addition, there are five occurrences of adverb *προτηνί*.<sup>389</sup> It appears that the main series in use are *ὁ ἢ τό* and *οὗτος*. The scarcity of examples of both *ὄδε* and *(ἐ)κεῖνος* makes us wonder whether they were part of the dialect at all.<sup>390</sup>

The table of data included in the Appendix contains all the data collected from Boeotian inscriptions regarding demonstratives. There are 97 inscriptions containing the 116 demonstratives mentioned above, but apart from them, the table also includes 21 demonstratives that have been completely restored (marked with \*), and 12 occurrences of *ὄδε* and 1 of *οὗτος* in dedications and epitaphs (marked with +). Only occurrences of *ὄδε* in decrees that contain other demonstrative forms or clear dialectal features have been considered for the statistics below. Amongst the 20 restored demonstratives, there are 3 cases of *ὄδε*; 14 of *ὁ ἢ τό* + particle *-ί* and 4 of *προτηνί*. All the afore-mentioned cases have been incorporated into the table in order to provide a more comprehensive

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<sup>388</sup> Vottéro (2001) 36-37 emphasizes the magnitude of the Boeotian corpus, more than 4500 dialectal texts.

<sup>389</sup> For details, refer to the Appendix, Table 6. The adverb *προτηνί* has been included in the discussion as it is relevant for the system of demonstratives of the dialect and because of its connection to particles *νι*, *νυ* and *νε*, present also in other dialects. Refer to the discussion at II.4.

<sup>390</sup> For a discussion on this topic, go to III.2.3.4 and III.2.3.5 below.

picture of the situation of the system of demonstratives in the dialect, particularly in terms of dates, and also because they do not challenge or differ in any way from the rest of the evidence. Given that they will be referred to throughout the chapter, it will prove more useful for the reader to be presented with all the information in the same table. However, it is worth pointing out that they have not been included in the calculations and graphs below.

### III.2.2. Distribution of Boeotian demonstratives

§1. The 97 inscriptions collected come from twelve different cities in Boeotia, their geographical distribution being as follows: cities situated in the basin of lake Kopai: Orchomenos, Chaironeia, Lebadeia, Koroneia, Hyettos, Kopai, Akraiphia; cities in the plains and plateau to the South-East: Thebai, Aulis, Tanagra, Thisbai, Thespiai.<sup>391</sup>

As Figure 14 clearly shows,  $\acute{o} \eta \tau\acute{o} + -\acute{\iota}$  and  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  are used in most cities, and there would not seem to be a geographical difference for the use of one series or the other. Unfortunately, our examples of  $\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$ ,  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\nu\acute{\iota}$  and  $(\acute{\epsilon})\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  are very scarce and limited to a couple of cities:  $\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$  appears in Orchomenos and Lebadeia,  $(\acute{\epsilon})\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in Thebai, and  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\nu\acute{\iota}$  in Orchomenos, Thebai and also in Thespiai.

§2. Concerning the distribution of demonstratives throughout time, Figure 15 illustrates the fact that most of our evidence dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, particularly the second half, and also from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, that is to say, the dialectal evidence for Boeotian is quite late. There is no evidence of the use of

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<sup>391</sup> For the geographical distribution of inscriptions, see Vottéro (2001) 38-43.

demonstratives dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC or earlier,<sup>392</sup> apart from occurrences of ὄδε in dedications and epitaphs. It would be most helpful to be able to compare the decrees we have with some older decrees, in order to see whether they use similar formulae to express references back/forwards/to the document, and what appears to be in use in the place where the more recent decrees have a demonstrative. But unfortunately, there is no evidence dating from an earlier period that may be of any help; it involves mainly epitaphs, private dedications, graffiti, signatures, inscriptions on vases and coins and some short proxeny decrees lacking any comparable formula or reference that might be of use to us.

§3. Regarding the distribution of each series according to type of text, it is apparent that the series ὁ ἢ τό + -ί had a predominant role in military catalogues, but was used in decrees as well. προτηνί appears only in decrees. οὗτος seems to have been employed in most types of text except military catalogues, whereas ὄδε appears in manumissions and once in a decree. Regarding epitaphs and dedications, it is worth noting that the dialectal form of οὗτος occurs in epitaphs, in a place where we usually find ὄδε in other dialects. However, in the case of dedications, the use of demonstratives seems to be limited to the latter only. For the reasons explained above these occurrences have not been included in Figure 16, but will be mentioned in the discussion below.

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<sup>392</sup> All the potential early cases are, unfortunately, reconstructions. See the Appendix, Table 6. Vottéro (2001) 15 admits that unfortunately there is not enough Boeotian evidence dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. On the difficulties of dating Boeotian inscriptions see 15-19. On their classification by period, 25.



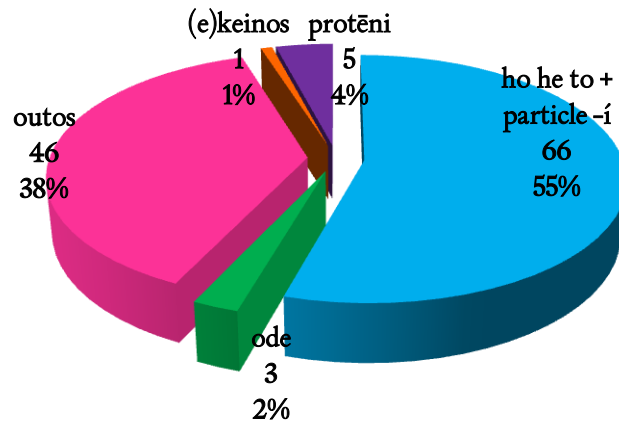


Figure 13. Demonstratives in Boeotian Inscriptions

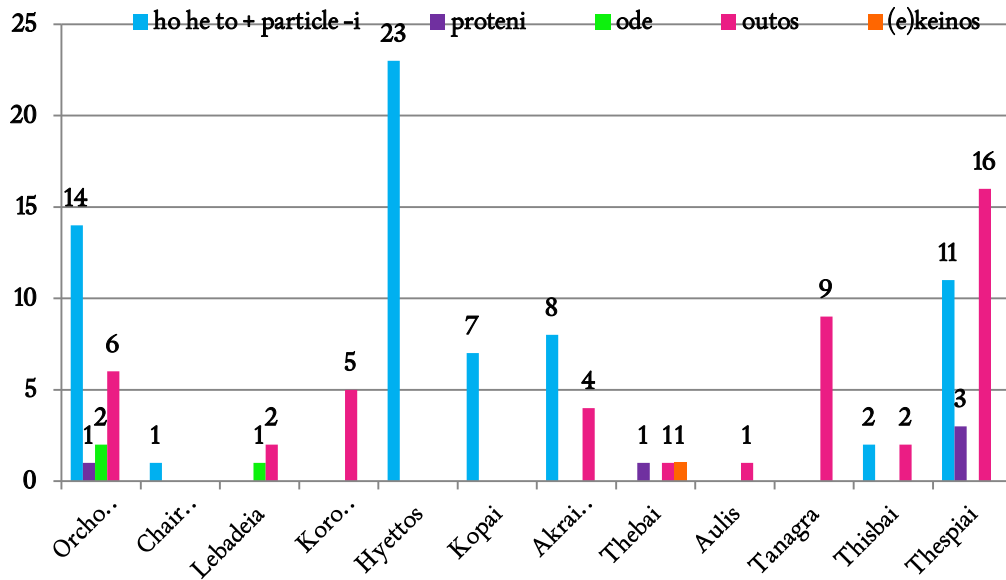


Figure 14. Distribution of Boeotian demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions



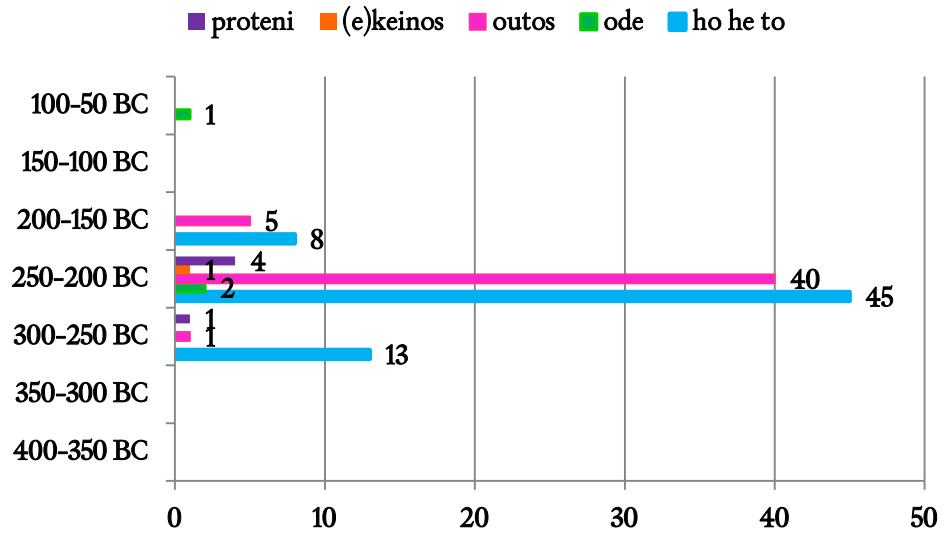


Figure 15. Distribution of Boeotian demonstratives across time

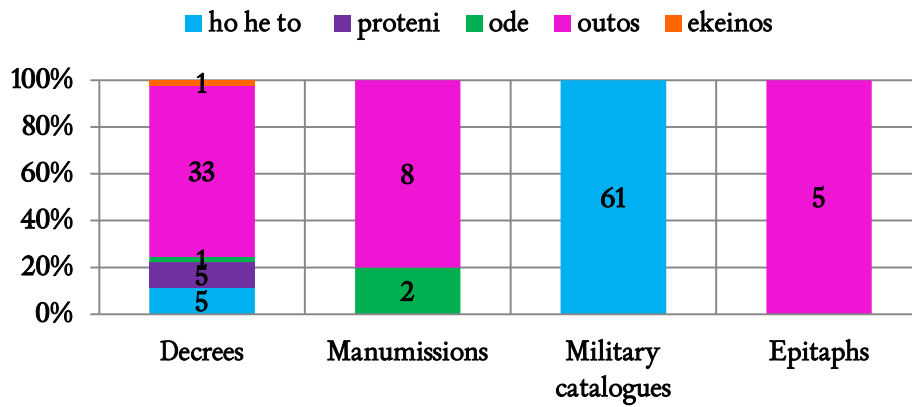


Figure 16. Distribution of Boeotian demonstratives according to type of inscription



### III.2.3. Syntax of Boeotian demonstratives

#### III.2.3.1. *ὁ ἢ τό + -ί*

In a very early, yet still relevant, comprehensive study on the syntax of Boeotian inscriptions, Claflin (1905) identified five forms of demonstrative pronouns in the dialect: τοί (or τυῖ), ὄδε, οὔτος, ἐκεῖνος and τανί. Regarding τοί –i.e. nominative masculine plural of the article (οἱ = τοί > τυ in Boeotian),<sup>393</sup> Claflin stated that it was the most frequent demonstrative pronoun in Boeotian, that it was constructed on the basis of the article with an “intensive iota” added to it, that it was placed at the beginning of lists, and that it was used cataphorically.<sup>394</sup> As the Figures above, and the Table of data in the Appendix show, Claflin’s statements on τοί/τυῖ are basically correct. The demonstrative is placed at the head of a list of names and every occurrence of the form is used to refer forwards. As IG VII 2809.1-8 (Hyettos, ca. 260-254 BC) below illustrates, after the initial customary formulae, regular in practically all of the military catalogues collected (“God, good fortune”, “so and so being magistrate”, “so and so being *polemarch*”, “so and so being the secretary”, etc.), sometimes mentioning the city or giving some temporal reference, τυῖ appears as head of another formulaic phrase that introduces the names of those registered as soldiers:

θίος, τίουχα ἀγαθά. Ἀπολλοδώρω ἄ[ρχοντος] Ἰβοιωτῶς, ἐπὶ πόλιος δὲ Μελαντίχῳ, πολεμαρχιόντων φαρμίχῳ φαρμιχίῳ, [Κ]αλονίκῳ Κλισθέλνιος, Θρασουλαῖῳ Ἀριστοκράτιος, γραμματίδδον<sup>5</sup>τος Θρασουλαῖδαο Καλλιδάμῳ, τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθοι ἐν πελοπόρας Ἀριστίων Λίλειτος, Θιόδωρος Ἀγασίαο, Εὐθύτιμοις Ἀμινίχῳ, (...).

<sup>393</sup> Cf. Blümel (1982) 266.

<sup>394</sup> Claflin (1905) 44. For particle -ī see note 282 above. Also Chantraine (1967) 126: Attic employs demonstrative particle ī (long) in e.g. οὔτοσί, τουτογί, ὀδί, cf. also Latin *haec*.

The formula “τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθοι ἐν/ἐμ πελοφόρας”, “the following were registered in the army/ as soldiers”, may vary slightly from catalogue to catalogue depending on the role for which the men were registered, but the function of τοί/τυῖ as a demonstrative introducing the new information is always clear.

Of the 66 recorded occurrences of ὁ ἢ τό + -ί, 61 appear in military catalogues. As in the example above, the demonstrative is used to anticipate a list of names that follows. τοί/τυῖ appears in a formula that can take a number of forms:<sup>395</sup> τυῖ προᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη (“these/the following for the first time joined the army”);<sup>396</sup> τυῖ/τοί ἀπεγράψανθο ἐμ/ἐν πελοφόρας/ ἐς ἐφήβων (“these/the following were registered in the light troops/to ephebic training”); τυῖ/τοί ἐς ἐφήβων/ ἀπεῖλθον ἐς τῶν ἐφείβων/ ἐσσεγράφεν ἐς ἐφείβων (“these/the following went down to/inscribed themselves to ephebic training”). The remaining five cases of ὁ ἢ τό + -ί occur in decrees, but the demonstrative shows the same function and behaviour as it does in catalogues. In two decrees from Orchomenos, dating from ca. 250 BC, IG VII 3191.2 and 3192.1, the demonstrative is used in the same formula: τοί/τυῖ συνεβάλονθο ἐν τὸν ναὸν τῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ, “The following made contributions to the temple of Asclepius”. The decrees then state who the magistrate was at the time (ἀρχόντων...) and add the list of names referred to by τοί/τυῖ. In *IThes* 54.37 and

<sup>395</sup> See e.g. τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐς ἐφήβων ἐν πελοφόρας (IG VII 2718.5), τοί ἀπεγράψανθο ἐν ὀπίτας (IG VII 2781.2), τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο ἐς ἐφήβων ἐν [θ]υρεαφόρως (IG VII 2716.4), τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο φικατιρέτιες (IG VII 2817.4-5). The same formulae are used in Hyettos, Akraiphia, Orchomenos and Korai. See Appendix, Table 6.

<sup>396</sup> τοί προᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη is used at Orchomenos, SEG 30.447a3, b6 (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC). For a revised edition of the text, see Fossey (1991) 75-77.

*IThes* 56.14, two lease decrees from Thespiai dating from ca. 230-228 BC, the demonstrative refers forward to the record of leaseholders. The heading includes details on the general conditions of lease in the first case (τοιὺ ἐμισθώσαντο τὰς γᾶς τ[ἀ]ς ἰαράς τῶ Ἐρμαο τὰς ἐν τὸ ἐληοχρίστιον κατ τὰ[ν] αὐ[τ]ὰν πρόρο<ρ>εισ[ι]ν. ἐν| πεπταράκοντα φέτεα· *IThes* 54.37-38), but not in the second (τυὶ ὑπερο<ά>ψανθοι κῆ ἐμισθώσαντο). The last occurrence of ὁ ἢ τό + -ί in decrees is not a new example of the Nominative Masculine Plural τοί/τυῖ but of the Accusative Feminine Singular τανί. This is the only extant evidence of another form of ὁ ἢ τό + -ί apart from τοί/τυῖ, and one of the reasons why the heading of this subsection is “ὁ ἢ τό + -ί” and not just “τοιῖ”, as in Clafin’s work. Even though Clafin was right to identify τοί/τυῖ as a demonstrative pronoun in Boeotian, she failed to identify τανί as a form with the same characteristics as τοί/τυῖ and classify them together. She simply acknowledged the existence of the form without adding further references to either its morphology or function.<sup>397</sup> Blümel (1982) 266, on the contrary, drew attention to the fact that in Boeotian the article in demonstrative function added particle -ι, both in τοί/τυῖ (< τοί/τύ + ι), and in τανί (< τάν + ι).<sup>398</sup> It does not seem likely that this form is constructed on the basis of the article (i.e. neuter plural τὰ) + particle νι, which might suggest a connection to the system of demonstratives in Arcadian (νυ/νυ), Cyprian (νυ/νε) or Thessalian (νε). This would be the only extant evidence of such a case in Boeotian, whereas there is plenty of evidence of the use of

<sup>397</sup> Clafin (1905) 45.

<sup>398</sup> The demonstrative use of ὁ, ἢ, τό + ι is found only in Boeotian inscriptions. In Corinna’s fragments, our other source of “Boeotian” texts beside epigraphic evidence, there is no indication of the use of such a form. On the other hand, according to Page (1953) 54, in Corinna the definite article behaves nearly always as a demonstrative (anaphoric article in e.g. i.22, 28, 45; iii.22, 35, 40 48), which is never the case in Boeotian inscriptions.

the article + ι.<sup>399</sup> One may point out the use of particle *νι* in adverb *προτηνί* as a precedent, but the tight distribution of functions amongst the series of demonstratives already in existence would render such a potential new series completely unnecessary.

*τανί* is used in IG VII 1739.5, another decree from Thespiai (ca. 240 BC). Even though the context immediately preceding the demonstrative is fragmentary, there is enough evidence to suggest that the demonstrative works in the same way as the occurrences seen so far. The decree is another lease contract, but does not record the names of the leaseholders or the landowners. Instead, it records the conditions of lease. Therefore, the demonstrative is not used to refer to a list of people but to a requirement stated immediately after the demonstrative, namely that the leaseholder must pay the lease owner every year on a specified month, having produced two guarantors and paid a fixed deposit and tax:

— ] τανί· ὁ ἐμβὰς [τ]ὰ γ γᾶν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ<ο>ς τῷ ἰαρῶ τό[μω κή τὸ Νυμφῆον καταβαλῖ τὰν ἔμβασιν]| ἐν τοῖ Δαματρῖοι μεινὶ ἐκάστω ἐνιαυτῶ, κή [προστάτας καταστάσι ἀξιοχρειέας μεί πλέ]ον δυοῖν ὥστινάς κα ἄ ἀρχὰ [δ]οκιμάδδει, κή ἐ[ννέχυρον δῶσι τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοσαυτῶ]| κή τῶμ προσστατάων ὀβελὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκάς[τω κή ἐπώνιον δῶσι κατ τὰν προτηνὶ πρόρρεισιν] [δ]ραχμάν.<sup>400</sup> (5-9)

Given the fact that the demonstrative is used in the feminine singular, Roesch (2007†-b) 6 suggested *πρόρρεις* to accompany it, i.e. *κατ τὰν πρόρρεισιν] τανί*, “according to the following general condition”, *πρόρρεις* being a frequent noun in inscriptions from Thespiai, particularly in this kind of decree recording the lease of

<sup>399</sup> The accusative feminine singular form of the article in Boeotian is *τάν*. Consequently, we would expect this form to be precisely the feminine accusative singular of the demonstrative, see below.

<sup>400</sup> The edition of the text corresponds to *IThees* 48, Roesch (2007†-b) 6-7.

public lands.<sup>401</sup> If Roesch's suggestion were correct, it would be highly significant for our understanding of the structure of the system of demonstratives in Boeotian, since it would suggest that ὁ ἢ τό + -ί could also be used adnominally, a case for which there is no other evidence in the dialect.<sup>402</sup>

Morpurgo Davies (1968) 84 stated that, in Boeotian, οὔτος was used to refer back, τοῦ to refer forward, and that ὅδε did not seem to belong in the dialect at all; therefore she suggested that some of the functions normally allocated to ὅδε (she is probably implying referring to the artefact) might have been performed by the article. She suggested considering cases such as τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθειαν Βοιωτοῖ (IG VII 2724.2, Akraiphia, 312-304 BC) and Βοιωτοῖ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν (IG VII 3207.1, Orchomenos, late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC) as potential examples of this use.<sup>403</sup> However, the article seems to be working as a regular definite article in the same text as well (τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι, τῷ θεῷ, τὰν ἀγαθὰν μαντεῖαν, IG VII 2724.2-3; τῆς Χαρίτεσσι, τὰμ μαντεῖαν | τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, IG VII 3207.2-3). It is undeniable that the article originally worked as a demonstrative, but when it lost some of its demonstrative force, dialects made use of other elements to reinforce it, as we have already seen in the case of the dialects included in chapter II. One would expect an article with demonstrative force in Boeotian to be reinforced by the addition of deictic particle -ί, of which we have plenty of evidence. Having said that, Morpurgo Davies made a strong and convincing case for considering the article in SEG 3.377 (DGE 440, 4: Γοργίνιος ἔμει,

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<sup>401</sup> See e.g. *IThesp* 53.3, 10; *IThesp* 54.14, 18, 37, 51; *IThesp* 56.2, 6, 7, 13.

<sup>402</sup> See note 403. There is, however, evidence of the adnominal use of the article + -ί in Elean inscriptions. See IV.1.3.1 below.

<sup>403</sup> If Morpurgo Davies' suggestions were to be accepted, that would imply that there is evidence of the adnominal use of the article-demonstrative. However, there is still no evidence of this use when the article is followed by -ί.

ὁ κό|τυλος καλὸς κ[αλ]ῶ) as a proper demonstrative, and I agree with this entirely. However, we need to bear in mind that this is an archaic inscription (6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC) and that the general evidence that we possess of demonstrative cases in Boeotian is of a much later date. It would seem that in later periods the unmarked article behaved mostly as a definite article.

### **III.2.3.2. προτηνί**

Even though, as it seems, τανί was not an example of the use of the article + particle νι, it does not mean that the particle was not used at all in Boeotian. Actually, νι was employed to build another demonstrative form in the dialect, the adverb προτηνί. According to Chantraine (1968) 931, προτηνί would correspond to προταινί -with Boeotian η for αι, derived from πρὸ ται-νί (ἄμέραι), “before that (day)”, i.e. “formerly”, “previously”.<sup>404</sup> Even if προτηνί is not a demonstrative pronoun, it still seems to have demonstrative force. Its function appears to be anaphoric, being used to refer back to a particular element within the context of the inscription. However, it is also used with a temporal sense, namely to refer back to a past time or a former situation.

In *IThesp* 44, a decree from Thespiiai dating from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, both cases seem to be exemplified. In line 15 –and presumably also in line 11, προτηνί is used to refer back to the leaseholder previously mentioned: τὸμ προτ]ηνί [ἐ]μβάντα ἐν τὸ λεύκωμα ἐσγρά|[ψει, where the adverb can be interpreted as referring back both in time and in the text. Roesch (2007†-b) 2 translates this as “(la commission) inscrira sur le leukōma le locataire primitif”, emphasizing the temporality

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<sup>404</sup> See also Lejeune (1943) 120 n.1; Schwyzer (1953) 612.γ; Buck (1955) 108; Blümel (1982) 265.



προτεινί would allude to the fact that in the same year and under the same archons, two different campaigns had been planned, that the first campaign had finished and that the decree was meant to deal with the second one.

Looking back at the only extant occurrence of τανί in IG VII 1739, and given that the letters preceding the demonstrative are corrupt, one might be tempted to suggest that the form is actually another occurrence of the adverb προτηνί.<sup>410</sup> However, the adverb seems to always work referring back in time, and what precedes τανί is only the heading of the decree, namely a reference to the god/s, naming of the magistrates and secretary at the time of the inscription and a brief mention of the subject of the decree. Therefore it would not be clear to what previous conditions/ situation in time the adverb would be referring. The function of τανί here seems clearly cataphoric, and the form should not be mistaken for προτηνί.

### **III.2.3.3. οὔτος**

The morphology of οὔτος in Boeotian is very peculiar. The demonstrative uses the stem οὔτ- with aspiration throughout the whole declension, producing forms such as neuter singular οὔτο, genitive singular οὔτω and plural οὔτων and accusative masculine plural οὔτως. The form for the neuter plural uses the same stem, therefore giving οὔτα instead of ταῦτα, as in other dialects.<sup>411</sup> Unlike ὁ ἢ τό + ι, there is evidence of οὔτος being used both as an independent pronoun and adnominally.

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<sup>410</sup> προτηνί is also spelled προτεινί (SEG 28.461.9), originally from προταινί, so perhaps one might propose that a spelling with -α would be also possible.

<sup>411</sup> See Blümel (1982) 267; 391.

45 cases of the 46 occurrences of οὔτος recorded in Boeotian are employed to refer back, i.e. they work as anaphora.<sup>412</sup> The only occurrence of the demonstrative not used in a textual anaphoric role appears in IG VII 3172, a decree from Orchomenos dating from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, where οὔτο is used to refer to the document. Line a131 reads: ἀγγράφη ἐν στάλαν λιθίναν τὸ τε ψάφισμα οὔτο, “Let this decree be inscribed on a stone pillar”, where the demonstrative is used adnominally and in post-position. There are four other occurrences of the series in the same inscription, but in each case the demonstrative is used to refer back to something already mentioned: ἂν ἔδωκαν οὐπὲρ [ο]ὔτων τῶν χρεϊμάτων κατ’ ἀ[ὐ]τὸ αὐτῶ[ν] (a121), referring back to the amount of money mentioned immediately before, with οὔτος in an emphatic contrastive pre-position, as there is an accent on the identification of the sum referred to; κῆ οὔτα φεφυκονομειόντων τῶν πολεμάρχων (a125), pointing back to the arrangements previously mentioned; ἐ[ν τ]άν κα ἐνενηχθεῖ ἅ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὔτο (a150), and πόρον [δ’ εἰ]μεν ἐν οὔτο ἀπὸ τῶν τᾶς πόλιος ποθοδωμάτων πάντ[ων] (a161),<sup>413</sup> referring back to the intention of some of the arrangements mentioned in the agreement.<sup>414</sup>

The use of this series does not seem to be restricted to a particular city or region, to a specific period of time or type of text. Even though it is mainly found in decrees and

<sup>412</sup> The same peculiarities of morphology –and the same anaphoric function– are found in the literary dialect. See e.g. Corinna: iii.18, οὐ[τ]ω γὰρ Ἔρωσ κῆ Κούπρις πιθέταν, “For so did Eros and the Cyprian prevail”, and iii.41, τιμὰν δ[. . . .]ν οὔταν, “and this honour has fallen to me”. The edition of the text and translation belong to Page (1953) 22-24.

<sup>413</sup> Buck (1955) 236 translates ἐν οὔτο as “for this purpose”.

<sup>414</sup> There are numerous examples of this function of οὔτος in Boeotian, but they will not be discussed here for reasons of space. For more details refer to the Appendix, Table 6.

manumissions, it appears also five times in epitaphs.<sup>415</sup> These five occurrences are limited almost exclusively to Tanagra (only one occurrence from Aulis), and occur always in the same formula: οὔτον ἔθαψαν, “They buried this one”, where οὔτον refers back to the name inscribed at the beginning of the inscription. E.g. IG VII 686: Γαλάτας·| οὔτον ἔθαψαν, “Galatas; they buried this one...”.<sup>416</sup>

There are not many inscriptions showing the use of more than one series of demonstratives at the same time. However, in the four inscriptions in which this is the case, one of the series is always οὔτος. In Darmezín 118, a manumission to Asklepios dating from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, from Orchomenos, both ὄδε and οὔτος are used. ὄδε appears in one of its usual roles, namely referring forwards, and οὔτος referring back: τὰν ἀνάθεσιν τὰν ἐκκοπεῖσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ τάνδε(...) εἰ ἐφαπτέστη| κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἱερεὺς κῆ τὸ πολέμαρχυ, σουλῶντες κῆ δαμιῶντες τὸν οὔτων τι πουίοντα.<sup>417</sup> Whereas ὄδε co-occurs with the noun, οὔτος is used pronominally. ὄδε appears in post-position, at the end of the long NP introducing the new information. In *IThesp* 54 (Thespiiai, ca. 228-230 BC), the expected article + ι is used instead of ὄδε to refer to what comes after it: τοὺ ἐμισθώσαντο τὰς γᾶς τ[ᾶ]ς ἱερᾶς τῷ Ἑρμοῦ (37), “the following (tenants) leased the sacred lands of Hermes”, and οὔτος is used to refer back to a donation of 4200 drachmae by Lousôn: ἀπὸ δὲ τᾶς ποθόδω| τᾶς ἀφ’ οὔτω τῷ ἀργυρίῳ

<sup>415</sup> IG VII 685.2, 686.2, 687.3, SEG 26 614.2, and SEG 32 486.2, all from Tanagra except SEG 26 614, from Aulis, all dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

<sup>416</sup> For a revised edition of SEG 26 614, see Fossey (1991) 191-195. The reading of the demonstrative is secure for this group of inscriptions: “in all cases the initial statement giving the deceased’s name is followed by the phrase οὔτον ἔθαψαν” (192).

<sup>417</sup> See Darmezín and Tziáfalias (2007) 84: “...la gravure de la consécration qui était gravée dans le sanctuaire d’Asklépios et que voici: (...); si quelqu’un le réduit en esclavage ou se saisit de lui, que le prêtre et les polémarches soient habilités à le reprendre et à infliger une peine à quiconque commettra l’un de ces délits”. For ὄδε in Boeotian, see below.

γινυμένας... (27), “of the income gained from that (particular; i.e. this and no other) money”, again with a position that highlights the identifying and contrastive value of the demonstrative. In IG VII 1739 (Thespiai, ca. 240 BC), not only the article + ι and οὔτος are used, but also προτηνί. τανί is employed to refer forwards, and προτηνί and οὔτος to refer back.<sup>418</sup> Even though both demonstratives seem to be overlapping in their functions, the reality is that they are expressing two different aspects of the same function. προτηνί is referring back in time, whereas οὔτος is referring back within the text: ὀπόττοι δέ|κα μῖον εὔρει, τὸμ προτηνί ἐμβάντα ἐν τὸ [λεύκωμα ἐσγράψι (14), “whenever it is found to be ten less, they will register the former tenant in the leukôma...”; δεκάταν δὲ οἶσονθι τοὶ ἐ[μβάντες (...), κῆ ο[ὔτο οἶσονθι τοὶ ἐμβάντες (16), “the tenants will pay a tenth (...), and this (i.e. the tenth) the tenants will pay”.<sup>419</sup> The same can be said regarding *IThesp* 56: ἐπιδεὶ ἅ μίσθωσις τῶν γυάων| διεσσείλθεικε, ὑπάρχι δὲ ἐν τῇ π[ρ]οτηνί προ[ρ]ρεῖσει (2), the adverb referring back in time to a set of previous conditions, not mentioned before in the text; ὅτι δὲ κα| ἀναλώσωνθι ἐν οὔτα, ἀπολογίσασθη πὸκ κατόπτας (10), the demonstrative referring back to something mentioned before in the text, namely the expenditures necessary to put the lands in condition to lease; and τυὶ ὑπεγρ<ά>ψανθο| κῆ ἐμισθώσαντο· (14), the article + ι referring forwards to the list of tenants that follows.

<sup>418</sup> For τανί and προτηνί see above.

<sup>419</sup> For the full text of the inscription and interpretation of the text see Roesch (2007†-b) 6-7.

### III.2.3.4. ὄδε

According to Blümel (1982) 266, and Morpurgo Davies (1968) 84, forms of the article + -δε, namely ὄδε, do not belong to the Boeotian dialect. Even though it is true that most of the occurrences of ὄδε in Boeotian inscriptions appear either in epitaphs and metrical inscriptions or in non dialectal contexts,<sup>420</sup> there are a couple of occurrences of the demonstrative in prose dialectal texts worth considering.

In Darmezín 118, referred to above, τάνδε functions as cataphora, referring to the content of the dedication inscribed in the sanctuary of Asclepius and quoted immediately after the demonstrative. The form appears in a dialectal context and surrounded by plenty of dialectal features. Moreover, τάν- is the normal declension of the article in the Feminine Accusative Singular in Boeotian. Even though the function of τάνδε is normally performed by the article + ι in the dialect, as we saw before, there is another inscription in which a form with -δε is used to refer forwards. In IG VII 3195 (Orchomenos, beginning 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) a form τύδε appears in the place of τοί/τυί:

Μνασίνω ἄρχοντος, ἄγωνο|θετίοντος τῶν  
Χαριτεῖων|Εὐάριος τῶ Πάντωνος, τύδε|ἐνίκωσαν τὰ  
Χαριτεῖσια|σαλπιγκτάς|Φιλῖνος Φιλίνω  
Ἀθανεῖος|κᾶρουξ|Εἰρώδας Σωκράτιος Θειβεῖος (...)

Despite the late date of the decree, it still bears some dialectal features, even if not many. Conversely, in IG VII 3080, a manumission decree from Lebadeia (3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> BC), showing numerous dialectal features, a form of the article + -δε is used as well, in the phrase ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς ἀμέρας, “from this day” (3):

<sup>420</sup> See Appendix, Table 6, inscriptions marked with +.

[— — — — — ἄρχον]το[ς, Σάων Σωκράτιο]ς ἀν[τίθειτι τὸ  
 ρί]διον δουλι[κὸν]/ [π]αιδάριον Ἀθάνωνα τῷ Δὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ  
 τεῖ Τρεφωνίει ἰαρόν εἶμεν τὸν πάν[τα]/ [χ]ρόνον ἀπὸ τᾶσδε  
 τᾶς ἀμέρας, μὲι ποθίκοντα μείτε ἀντεῖ Σάωνι μείτε ἄλλει/  
 [μ]ειθενὶ κατὰ μειθένα τρόπον.

This is the only example in Boeotian inscriptions of a demonstrative performing such a role, namely referring to the current time of the inscription.<sup>421</sup> There are other functions in Boeotian inscriptions that appear to be only performed by ὄδε: referring to the artefact (e.g. CEG 114.2, θ]ρῆνον ἔθεκα, / ἡὲ τὸδ' ἐπέστ[ασε; IG VII 1670.1, [Δ]άματρο[ς] τὸδ' ἄγαλμα; IG VII 1794.3, μνᾶμ' ἀνέθεκε τὸδε) and the current place (e.g. CEG 115.3, θεκέ με τεῖδε ἐπί σοι; CEG 329.1, καὶ τε]ιδ' ἀνέθεκεν Ἀθάναι). However, these functions occur in dedications and epitaphs that do not bear dialectal features and cannot therefore be considered for the purposes of this study.

Even though the three occurrences of ὄδε mentioned above might be in fact due to *koiné* influence, and therefore alien to the dialect, I have included them nevertheless, since it is illuminating to see how they work in relation to the other series and because they can provide us with a better understanding of the evolution of the system of demonstratives of the dialect.

### III.2.3.5. (ἐ)κεῖνος

There is only one occurrence of (ἐ)κεῖνος in Boeotian. The form κείνωσ (or ἐκείνωσ),<sup>422</sup> in the accusative masculine plural, is used in a decree from Thebai dating from ca. 215-208 BC (IG VII 2410; *IThesp* 155). The demonstrative is probably

<sup>421</sup> Possibly also in Darnezin 128.10: Ἀσκλη[πίω]ν Στρότωνος ἀ[ντί]θειτι τὸν ρίδι[ον] ρ]εικέταν Σωτ[ειρίδ]αν ἰαρόν εἶμεν [κῆ ἐλ]εύθερον ἀπὸ τ[ᾶσδε] τᾶς ἀμέρας ἀ[νέπ]αφον ἰόντα (1-12).

<sup>422</sup> Roesch (2007†-d) 18.

working in an anaphoric role, but the inscription is quite fragmentary, so it is difficult to propose a definite reading. Several restorations of the text have been proposed but with no general agreement.<sup>423</sup> The demonstrative appears in line 12: τ' ἐκείνως· παρκαλ[—]. Although quite late, the decree still bears an interesting number of dialectal features: the use of preposition ἐς + genitive (line 2), the form κή for καὶ (3, 4, 11, 12, 14), dative plural in -εσσι (6), the article genitive feminine plural τᾶν and dative masculine plural τῶς (3; 6), ω to render ῶ in Μωσάων (3),<sup>424</sup> and -ου- in θουμελικόν and θουσίαν (5; 14). Consequently, it is surprising to see a form such as ἐκείνως being used here instead of οὗτος, which would be the expected choice considering its frequency of use in the dialect. Unfortunately, this occurrence constitutes our only evidence of the series in dialectal inscriptions.

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<sup>423</sup> For the edition of the text see Roesch (2007†-d) 18.

<sup>424</sup> See Buck (1955) 28-29; DELG: 716.

### ***III.3. Demonstratives in Thessalian***

#### **III.3.1. Introduction**

Thessaly has provided us with a large corpus of inscriptions, many of them containing demonstratives. In spite of this, the evidence to hand seems to be very limited; many inscriptions are either written in *koiné* Greek, have been highly influenced by it or are, alternatively, verse inscriptions. A great number of other inscriptions are still unpublished and/or remain inaccessible.<sup>425</sup> As a result, there is not enough evidence to have a complete picture of the structure and operation of the system (or systems?) of demonstratives in the dialect. Despite the limited evidence available, I will try to illustrate in this chapter what might have been the situation of the system of demonstratives of Thessalian, making use of some new evidence made accessible in recent years.

The 49 Thessalian inscriptions included in this chapter contain a total of 69 demonstratives.<sup>426</sup> I have selected only those inscriptions bearing at least some dialectal features; the majority of them are written in what can undoubtedly be identified as the Thessalian dialect, even though being of very late date. Some of them, on the contrary, show *koiné* influence or bear foreign/borrowed features; and a few are verse inscriptions. Although I know this may constitute a problematic selection, I think it is necessary to consider all the different types of materials to hand.

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<sup>425</sup> I am indebted to Professor José Luis García Ramón for providing me with some invaluable reference material and for sharing a still unpublished edition and comments on one of the inscriptions.

<sup>426</sup> For more details, see the Appendix, Table 7. There are six further inscriptions included in the Table but not considered for statistical purposes, which contain some restorations of demonstratives. I have included them in the table as it is interesting to see in what contexts the demonstrative is restored and for what purposes. Some of them will be mentioned in the discussion below. Completely restored forms are marked with \* in the Table.

Figure 17 shows how the 69 demonstratives are distributed in the inscriptions collected: 26 occurrences of ὄνε, 22 of ὄδε, 12 of οὗτος, 2 of κείνος and 7 of ὁ ἢ τό used in a demonstrative role, which, as some scholars point out, seems to be a distinguishing feature of the system of demonstratives in the dialect.<sup>427</sup>

The Figure may give the wrong impression that we are dealing here with a complex many-sided system in which all five different series of demonstratives are in use at a given time or place, which is not at all the case. The Figure shows an important number of occurrences of demonstrative ὄνε. One cannot help but think of the morphologically related ὄνυ/ὄνι of Arcadian, and *o-nu* ὄνυ, and particularly *o-ne* ὄνε, of Cyprian. Did Thessalian ὄνε behave in a similar way to Cyprian ὄνε? Was it able to perform both deictic and anaphoric roles? Was it used in conjunction with a second series of demonstratives as in Arcadian or was it used exclusively as in Cyprian? Was the Thessalian system of demonstratives single-termed, bipartite, tripartite or many-sided? In order to provide some answers to these questions, it is vital first to analyse the distribution of these demonstratives both geographically and temporally.

### III.3.2. Distribution of Thessalian demonstratives

§1. The inscriptions included in the present chapter come from three of the four regional districts (*tetrads*) into which Thessaly was divided: Pelasgiotis, Thessaliotis and Hestiaiotis, and from three of its adjacent regions: Achaia Phthiotis, Perrhaibia and Magnesia.<sup>428</sup> Figure 18 shows the distribution of demonstratives according to region of origin, type of demonstrative and number of occurrences. The regions have been

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<sup>427</sup> See below.

<sup>428</sup> For more details on the division of Thessaly into districts and regions see Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 676 ff. See also García Ramón (1987) 103.

arranged geographically and not according to their classification as main districts or adjacent regions. Pelasgiotis, Perrhaibia and Magnesia are usually considered together as a North East dialectal area differing considerably from a South West area constituted by Thessaliotis, Achaia-Phthiotis and Hestiaiōtis. The dialectal differences are not limited simply to this Northeast-Southwest division, but are noticeable inside the two areas as well.<sup>429</sup> As a matter of fact, differences in phonetics, vocabulary, morphology and/or syntax appear at a local level, and sometimes the dialect varies even from one city to another. It is essential to bear in mind that the Thessalian dialect was not uniform, but consisted of many different local variants. The Figure shows that most of our evidence comes from the region of Pelasgiotis. It would therefore be wrong to make generalizations using the evidence provided by this region and apply them to the whole of Thessalian. It would be more accurate to speak of demonstratives in the dialect of Pelasgiotis, of Thessaliotis, of Hestiaiōtis, and so on. On the other hand, the Figure shows that the peculiar series ὄνε appears mostly in Pelasgiotis. There is only one occurrence from Perrhaibia and one from Hestiaiōtis, but the latter is not a secure reading (SEG 37 494.11).<sup>430</sup> In spite of this, the possibility of the presence of ὄνε in Hestiaiōtis changes the picture completely, particularly with regard to previous assumptions concerning the distribution of demonstratives in the dialect.<sup>431</sup>

The fact that all the different series of demonstratives appear to be used in the region of Pelasgiotis may deceive us into thinking that they were all part of one and the same system. In order to understand both their mutual interactions and their role in the dialect, it is necessary to analyse when, where and in what type of text they were used,

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<sup>429</sup> See Garofalo (2003) 50-52.

<sup>430</sup> The reading is, however, possible. It belongs to J. L. García Ramón- B. Helly but is still unpublished (García Ramón, personal communication). A version of the new reading appeared in a handout by García Ramón (2007b). See discussion of the text and references below.

<sup>431</sup> See e.g. Lejeune (1943) 125-127. ὄνε would not be, as he thought, limited to the regions of Pelasgiotis and Perrhaibia.

but it is also essential to examine whether the various series were able to be used in combination with each other in the same inscription or were mutually exclusive, and whether each series was employed to perform a particular role in the system or was able to share functions with some of the other series.

§2. Figure 19 shows the distribution of demonstratives in Thessalian over time.<sup>432</sup> When we bring together the data from Figures 17 and 18 and add it to the data in Figure 19, the picture we get is completely different. From mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards, none of the series of demonstratives is in use in dialectal inscriptions apart from ὄνε, the peculiar “dialectal” series.<sup>433</sup>

The evolution of the system is precisely the opposite in the dialects we have seen, where the dialectal demonstratives start to disappear around this period, giving way to the triad ὄδε -οὔτος- ἐκεῖνος. Dialectal features in Thessalian are very late compared to other dialects; many of them appeared as a reaction to the pressure and influence of *koiné*: they were intentionally and deliberately used to show identity.<sup>434</sup>

§3. As regards the distribution of demonstratives according to type of text, Figure 20 shows that ὄνε is never used in dedications or epitaphs, but only in decrees. Conversely, ὁ ἢ τό and ὄδε seem to be used only in epitaphs and dedications, whereas οὔτος appears in all three different types of text. The fact that not only ὄνε but also οὔτος and ἐκεῖνος appear in decrees may point to the existence of some kind of distribution of roles amongst the three series (there is evidence of ὄνε, οὔτος and ἐκεῖνος in Pelasgiotis, and οὔτος and ὄνε in Hestiaiotes).

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<sup>432</sup> The Figure includes only 60 demonstratives, as 9 of them are undated: 2 occurrences each of οὔτος, ὄνε and ὁ ἢ τό, and 3 of ὄδε.

<sup>433</sup> For ὁ ἢ τό used possibly as a demonstrative in IG IX, 2 517, see below.

<sup>434</sup> See Helly (1987) 73-75; discussing the revival of dialectal features he states “Cette reprise traduit sans doute un mouvement de retour au patrimoine” (75).

In order to verify whether this was the case, it is important not only to establish whether the different series were able to appear in the same type of text, but also to determine whether they could be used in the same inscription, as will be discussed in section III.3.3.

§4. The vast majority of the data we have regarding Thessalian demonstratives comes from the region of Pelasgiotis. Certainly almost all the occurrences of ὄνε were found in this region (24 out of 26 cases) as well as the only two examples of ἐκεῖνος.

Figure 21 shows the distribution of demonstratives in the region. Larisa has provided us with the largest number of demonstratives in the area. However, the most varied evidence –not only regarding types of demonstratives but also dates (5<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC)– comes from Pherai. Our evidence from Larisa is limited almost exclusively to ὄνε and to a relatively short period: from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. It therefore gives us a very restricted picture. Unfortunately this is a recurrent problem in Thessalian.<sup>435</sup>

The quality and quantity of the evidence available is certainly limited. Nevertheless, it is still possible to study the various series of demonstratives in the different regions, making use of both what we have and what we don't have.

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<sup>435</sup> See e.g. García Ramón (1987) 102-111. He gives a full account of the difficulties one faces when studying the dialect of Thessaly.



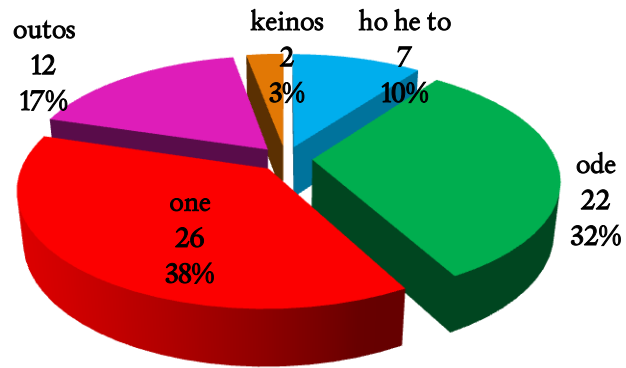


Figure 17. Demonstratives in Thessalian inscriptions

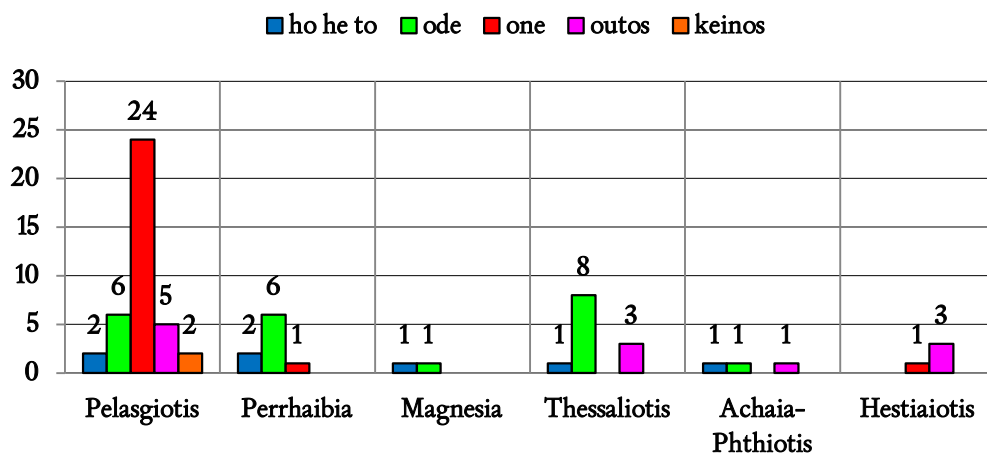


Figure 18. Distribution of Thessalian demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions



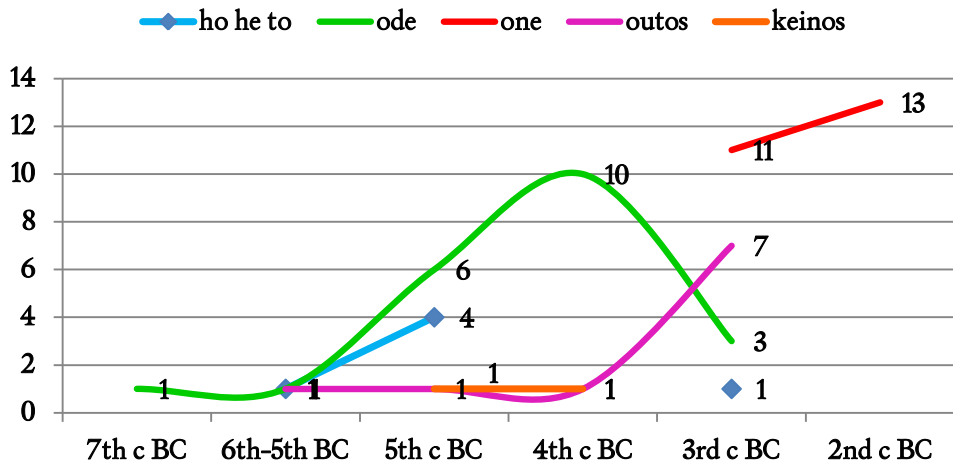


Figure 19. Distribution of Thessalian demonstratives across time

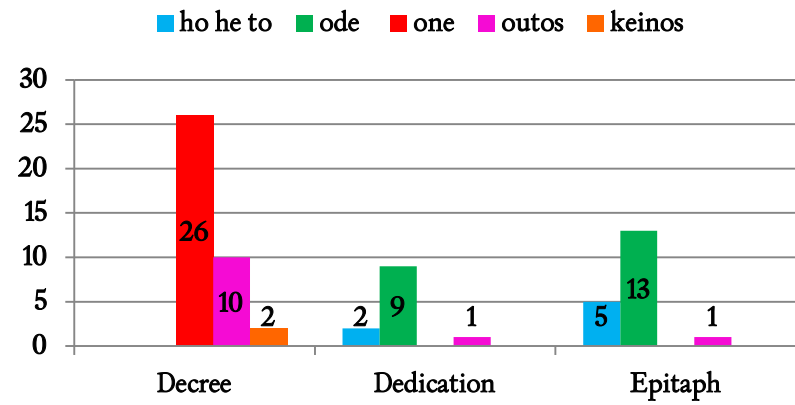


Figure 20. Distribution of Thessalian demonstratives according to type of inscription

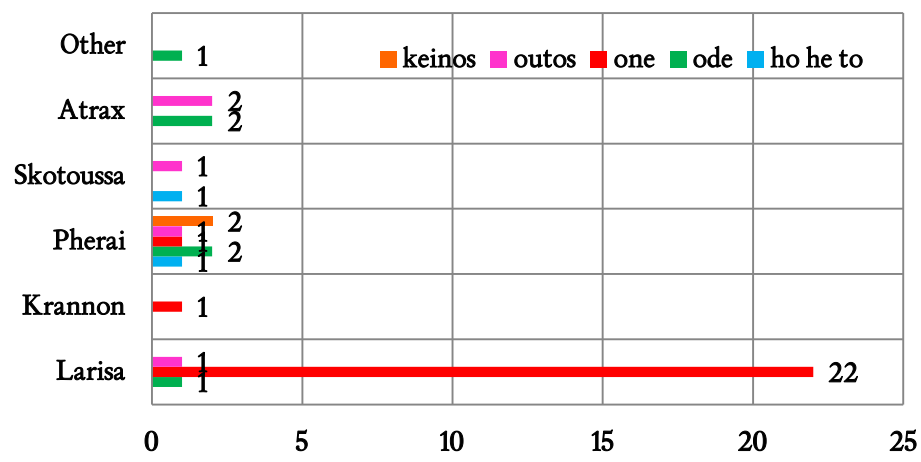


Figure 21. Distribution of Demonstratives in the region of Pelasgiotis



### III.3.3. Syntax of Thessalian demonstratives

#### III.3.3.1 *ὄνε*

*ὄνε* appears exclusively in decrees, mostly in the region of Pelasgiotis, and mainly in Larisa. The date of the inscriptions in which this series is used is extremely late, but we still find plenty of (intentional) dialectal features.

One of the inscriptions containing the largest number of occurrences of *ὄνε* in Pelasgiotis is IG IX, 2 517. It comes from Larisa and dates from 214 BC. *ὄνε* occurs six times in different cases, genders, numbers and functions. The first occurrence of *ὄνε* is in the genitive singular; it appears as an independent pronoun acting as the subject of a Genitive Absolute, *τοίνεος γὰρ συντελεσθέντος* (line 15),<sup>436</sup> “once this had been accomplished”. The demonstrative takes an anaphoric role, referring to a previous section of text/ information shared by all the participants, namely the measure king Philip suggested taking: giving the citizenship to those dwelling in the city. *ὄνε* is used again in textual deixis in line 17: *ἐψάφισται τᾶ πολιτεία πρᾶσσεμέν πἔρ τούννεουν κὰτ τὰ ὀ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε*, “It was voted by the body of citizens to act

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<sup>436</sup> Notice the particular construction of the pronoun, double inflected: on the one hand declension of *\*to-*, on the other hand, declension of the ending. See Blümel (1982) 265. In line 15, *τοι-* (=του-) + particle *-νε* + ending for the Gen. sg. *-ος*. The same double inflection + insertion of particle *-νε* can be found in line 17: *τούννεουν*, genitive plural *-ουν* = *-ων* (same form in McDevitt 347.36). See also double inflected forms *τάνεα*, Neuter Plural (SEG 37.494.11), and *τανεουν*, Gen. Fem. Plural with simplified *-ν-* (SEG 27.226.5, new reading by García Ramón-Helly). But *ὄνε* also appears in inscriptions single inflected: Neuter Sing. *τόνε* (BCH 59 55 2.29; BCH 128-9 378.I.29; BCH 130 436-7.25, 33-4, 34-5; 512.28; 514.5; 517.20, 46; 1229.31; McDevitt 347.15; SEG 27.202.23); Neuter Plural *τάνε* (BCH 128-9 378.I.12; McDevitt 347.8); Acc. Fem. Sing. *ταννεε?* (BCH 59 64.3B.52) and *τάνε* with simplified *-ν-* (BCH 59 64 3B.44; 517.23, 45; SEG 27.202.27); Gen. Sing. *τοίνε* was restored for BCH 130, 472.13, not *τοίνε* as Nom. Masc. Pl., as Thessalian seems to use *οί-* and *αί*, for Nom. Pl. and not *τοί* (see Blümel (1982) 264-5; Garofalo (2003) 71; Dat. Plural *τοῖσνε* (McDevitt 244.5). The use of particle *-νε* in Pelasgiotis is also attested in adverbial forms. See IG IX, 2 460.5: *οὔννεε*.

regarding these (i.e. previously mentioned matters) according to what the king wrote”.  
 τούννεουν in the Genitive plural is used again pronominally. There are many more examples of Thessalian ὄνε used in textual deixis to refer back.<sup>437</sup> In the same inscription, for instance, IG IX, 2 517.23: καὶ τὰν ὀνάλαν, κῖς κε γινύειται ἐν τάνε, δόμεν, and 45: καὶ τὰν ὀνάλαν, τὰν ἐν τάνε γινυμέναν τὸς ταμίας δόμεν, “and the treasurers are to pay whatever expenditure is incurred for this” (i.e. “for this purpose”, τάνε = N. Pl.; or “for this stone block” = στάλλα, τάνε = Fem. Sg.).<sup>438</sup> The same or similar formulae are used in other inscriptions as well: IG IX, 2 461b.39, [τὸ μὰ ὀνάλουμα τὸ γενόμενον [ἐν τάνε]; SEG 27.202.25, καὶ τὰν ὀνάλαν, κῖς κε γινύειται ἐν τάνε, δόμεν.<sup>439</sup> Curiously, in every case of anaphora the demonstrative seems to be used pronominally, also in the following examples:<sup>440</sup> καὶ τάνε ἀμφοτέροις ὑφά[γ]εῖ[σιν] [ἐ]νφερέμεν, where τάνε = “these measures, previously mentioned” (BCH 128-9, 378.I.12); καὶ τὸς ταμίας τότε καὶ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ γενόμενον περὶ αὐτοῦ ψάφισμα..., where τότε refers to the decree mentioned immediately before, lines 33-4 (BCH 130, 436-7.34-5); τα πραγμ.[ατα] ταν μα διακουσαιεν τανευον εξεθεντο [τας] κρεσις, “and for the cases they heard out, they set forth their sentences”, where τανευον refers back to the cases alluded to before (SEG 27.226.5);<sup>441</sup> ἐτ τάνε ἐπβάσκει, ἐτ τότε ἐπβ[άσκ]ει, and

<sup>437</sup> An anaphoric function is also attested in Cyprian *o-ne*, see ICS 306.7 (II.2.3.3 above).

<sup>438</sup> For the two interpretations of τάνε see Blümel (1982) 265, n. 330.

<sup>439</sup> Same formula restored in IG IX, 2 461a.11 (καὶ τὸ ἐν τάνε γενόμε[ε]ν[ον] ὀνάλουμα δόμεν [τὸν ταμίαν]) and in SEG 35. 594.8 and 27.

<sup>440</sup> A possible exception to this is BCH 59, 64.3B.44, τάνε δὴ τὰν βραβείαν, “certainly this arbitration?”, if τάνε is read as Acc. Fem. Sg. accompanying the noun; otherwise, it can be read as a neuter plural (complement of a verb? Accusative of respect? The inscription is too fragmentary). See Béquignon (1935) 70. A second exception may be SEG 37.494.11, but again the reading is uncertain.

<sup>441</sup> Edition of the text and translation by García Ramón (2007b) 2.

[του]ννέουν ἐπβάσκει, in the three cases the demonstrative refers back to the piece/s of land under discussion (e.g. τὸ χοῦρον, line 13, is the antecedent for τόνε in line 15) (McDevitt 347.8, 15 and 36).<sup>442</sup>

However, referring to something already mentioned is not the only function that ὄνε can carry out; its most frequent function in Thessalian is actually referring to the document itself. In this role, the demonstrative seems to appear in a formula that can take two different forms, with small variants: a) τὸ (μὰ) ψάφισμα τόνε κῦρρον/ κύριον ἔμμεν (BCH 59, 55.2.29 –and 45 restored; BCH 130 436-7.25 and 33-4; IG IX, 2 512a.17 –restored; 514.5; 517.20 and 46; SEG 27.202.23), with the demonstrative in post-position,<sup>443</sup> and b) τόνε τὸ ψάφισμα ὄνγραφέν/ ὄνγράψαντας ἐν κίοναν λιθίναν (512b.28 and 1229.31), fewer examples, with the demonstrative in pre-position.<sup>444</sup> Unlike when it is used in textual deixis simply to refer back to a section of text, when referring to the document the demonstrative seems to be always used adnominally, and the word order seems to be more or less fixed: demonstrative in post-position when the noun phrase is the subject of the sentence, and demonstrative in pre-position when the noun phrase is the object of the sentence.<sup>445</sup> Since pre-position seems to be used only when there is need for emphasis (identification, contrast, emotional expression), it is not surprising that post-position is more frequent. The emphatic position in these cases may also be related to the different approach to the document; in the first case the focus seems to be on the content of the document, which is going to

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<sup>442</sup> Helly (1970a) 253 translates “pour cela se présente” (both line 8 and 15) and “pour la partie cultivable de ces terrains, se présente” (line 36), and mentions the anaphoric role of the demonstratives (261).

<sup>443</sup> Another variant: τὸ μὰ ψά[φι]σμα τόνε [ἀ]πυσ[τέλλε]μεν τὸς τάγος, “let the treasures send this decree...” (BCH 128-9 378.I.29). Also SEG 35.594.5, 15 and 24, all restored.

<sup>444</sup> IG IX, 2 461a.9; 461b.36 restored, also with the demonstrative in this position. For details see Appendix, Table 7.

<sup>445</sup> With the exception of BCH 128-9 378.I.29.

have authority for so many years/ for all time, whereas in the second case the focus is rather on the material aspect of the document, which is going to be engraved on a stone and displayed publicly.

An interesting case is IG IX, 2 258. The inscription comes not from Pelasgiotis, as most cases of *τόνε* in this kind of noun phrase, but from Kierion in Thessaliotis. The inscription dates from about the same period as every single case of *όνε* in Thessaly, early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, but instead of having *τόνε*, the inscription uses *αὐτό*: τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα <α>ὐτὸ ἀγγρα[φᾶ]ν[αι] ἐγ κίονα λιθίναν. The phrase seems to be a combination of a) and b) above: the word order (and function of the noun phrase as well, i.e. subject of the sentence) appears to be the one in a), but the vocabulary used and meaning of the sentence is the one in b). It is tempting to interpret <α>ὐτό as *τοῦτο*; this would fit nicely with the traditional views on the division of demonstratives in Thessaly: *όνε* in Pelasgiotis and Perrhaibia, *οὔτος* in Thessaliotis and Hestiaiotes.<sup>446</sup> In fact this was one of the readings for the text.<sup>447</sup> However, *τοῦτο* should be discarded here as the reading <α>ὐτό is secure and seems to be preferred.<sup>448</sup> What is apparent is that there is evidence of the use of something else instead of *όνε* to refer to the document. Furthermore, in IG IX, 2 260a.3 there is evidence of the use of *οὔτος* to perform this role. Even though the text is influenced by *koiné*, there are still some dialectal traces. The word order and general meaning seem to coincide with the formula in b), but the noun phrase functions as the subject of the sentence as in a): ἀ[ναγρ]α[φῆ] μὲν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμ[α--.

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<sup>446</sup> Lejeune (1943) 127; Mickey (1981a) 243; Blümel (1982) 267.

<sup>447</sup> See Lejeune (1943) 127 n.3; Decourt (1995) 16. Lejeune does not consider this text due to the fact that *koiné* influence is suspected.

<sup>448</sup> See DGE 558; Decourt (1995) 16.

As mentioned before, there are only two occurrences of ὄνε that do not come from the region of Pelasgiotis, IG IX, 2 1229.31 and SEG 37.494.11. In the first case, the inscription comes from Phalanna in Perrhaibia, and dates from the same period as the other occurrences of the demonstrative (beginnings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC). Here τόνε is used, again, to refer to the document, and the formula is the one in b): τόνε τὸ ψάφισμα ὀνγράφεν ἐ[ν] [κιό]ν[α]ν λιθίναν. There does not seem to be any particular difference when compared to the other occurrences of ὄνε in Pelasgiotis. In the second case, the inscription was found at Philia, comes from Hestiaiotes, and dates from 230-220 BC.<sup>449</sup> The demonstrative is used in an anaphoric role and, according to Helly (1993) 177, n. 57, it is a neuter plural agreeing with χοῦρα: τάν]εα μὰ χοῦρα τὰ ποτ' ἐνλίμενα. Even though the text is quite fragmentary, Helly considers that τάν]εα χοῦρα is referring to the villages (possibly mentioned before in the decree) and that ἐνλίμενα alludes to some kind of market rights referred to by the agreement.<sup>450</sup> There are only two inscriptions from Hestiaiotes containing evidence of the use of demonstratives: this inscription and the so-called “Agreement of Basaidai” (BCH 94 161-2).<sup>451</sup> It is remarkable that both of them, even though dating from approximately the same period and coming from the very same region, show the use of two completely different series of demonstratives. This is particularly disturbing if we bear in mind that Hestiaiotes was supposed to be an “ὄνε-free” zone.<sup>452</sup> It certainly

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<sup>449</sup> The edition of the text belongs to Helly (1993) 168. For details of location and date of the inscription see 169ff.

<sup>450</sup> Helly (1993) 177-8.

<sup>451</sup> See below.

<sup>452</sup> Cf. Lejeune (1943) 127; Mickey (1981a) 243; Blümel (1982) 267.

warns us of the dangers of oversimplification: in Thessalian, variations seem to occur not only at regional level, but also at local level.<sup>453</sup>

ὄνε seems therefore able to perform two different roles, referring to the document, and referring to something previously mentioned. However, there is no evidence of its use to refer to the artefact, or to introduce new information. As Lejeune pointed out, ὄνε seems to behave like Attic οὔτος.<sup>454</sup> The equivalence itself is made evident in IG IX, 2 517. There are six occurrences of οὔτος in this inscription: τούτου, τοῦτο, ταύτης, τούτων, τούτων, τοῦτο (lines 7, 28, 37, 37, 38 and 39). However, every occurrence appears in the context of one of the letters from Philip, which are written in *koiné*. The content of each letter is rephrased immediately after in the Thessalian dialect and, as one example makes perfectly clear, ὄνε appears as the dialectal alternative to, and as a replacement for, οὔτος. In line 7, Philip's letter states: τούτου γὰρ συντελεσθέντος καὶ συνμεινάντων πάντων. In the rephrasing of the letter in line 15, the Thessalian text says: τοίνεος γὰρ συντελεσθέντος καὶ συνμειννάντου πάντου.<sup>455</sup> Nevertheless, οὔτος appears in dialectal inscriptions as well; even in Pelasgiotis.

### **III.3.3.2. οὔτος**

The evidence of the use of οὔτος in Thessalian is not as abundant as the evidence of the use of ὄνε, as can be inferred from the Figures above. However, there is still sufficient evidence of the use of this series in the dialect. Moreover, the evidence is far

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<sup>453</sup> García Ramón (1987) 105-6: “no cabe hablar de grandes ‘regiones dialectales’, sino de isoglosas que se entrecruzan de manera relativamente fluida, y que las diferencias entre Tesalia ‘(sud) occidental’ y Tesalia ‘(nord) oriental’ no son tan importantes como se admite habitualmente de manera más o menos implícita” (145).

<sup>454</sup> Lejeune (1943) 125-7; see also Mickey (1981a) s243-4; Méndez Dosuna (2007) 467.

<sup>455</sup> The underlining is mine.

more varied than that of ὄνε; it comes from different regions, different dates and different types of inscriptions. There seem to be two main questions to address regarding the use of οὔτος in Thessalian. On the one hand, its relationship with ὄνε in the region of Pelasgiotis (and Hestiaiotis, if we consider SEG 37.494); on the other hand, its belonging to the system of demonstratives of Thessaliotis, Hestiaiotis and Achaia Phthiotis.

Most of the occurrences of οὔτος in Pelasgiotis appear in texts written in *koiné*, just as in the example of IG IX, 2 517 above. However, there are a couple of inscriptions bearing dialectal features in which the use of οὔτος does not seem to be a foreign element. In the dedication to Heracles from Skotoussa (ITA, Fig. 5 = GVIT 26; SEG 25.661; LSAG 436.3b) ταῦτ' (presumably accusative neuter plural, or maybe dative feminine singular) appears surrounded by plenty of dialectal features: use of ε for ē; use of ο for ὀ in the genitive singular and accusative plural, use of ὀν for ἄν; the name Μελάντας, of which there is evidence also in IG IX, 2 1228.35:

ταῦτ' Ἑρακλεῖ Κρατερόφ[ρονι - - -]  
Μελάντας ὀνέθεικε Παῖσο τὸς ἀνδρ[ιάντας - - - -]<sup>456</sup>

The inscription dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglu (2007) 438), to ca. 500-475 BC (Jeffery (1990) 436, 3b). Both Peek and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglu read ΤΑΥΤ as accusative neuter plural ταῦτα. Peek considers the demonstrative to be

<sup>456</sup> This edition of the text belongs to Doulgeri-Intzesiloglu (2007) 439. Peek's edition of the text (Peek (1974a) 28-9) read: ταῦτ' Ἑρακλεῖ κρατερόφ[ρονι παιδί τῷ Διός] | Μελάντας ὀνέθεικε παῖς ὁ τῷ Συνδρ[όμο ἐόν]. However, the clear reproduction of the inscription in Doulgeri-Intzesiloglu's article (fig. 5, 440) rules out some of Peek's readings, particularly the presence of Υ instead of Α in ΤΟΣΑΝΔΡ[ (and not ΤΟΣΥΝΔΡ[) and ὀνέθεικε instead of ὀνέθεκε.

referring to the artefact, i.e. “These (objects) Melantas dedicated to...”.<sup>457</sup> The demonstrative does not agree in gender with the noun τὸς ἀνδρ[ιάντας at the end of the second line, namely the reference is not to “these statues”, but perhaps demonstrative and noun are standing in apposition to each other, i.e. “These (things), the statues, dedicated Melantas, son of Paisos, to dauntless Heracles”. However, the demonstrative may also be interpreted as the locative demonstrative adverb, namely ταύτη.<sup>458</sup> In which case, it is possible that the article in τὸς ἀνδρ[ιάντας may be fulfilling the role of pointing to the artefact instead: “Here to dauntless Heracles Melantas, son of Paisos, dedicated these statues”. Whether ΤΑΥΤ is to be read as ταῦτα or ταύτη, the truth is that there is secure evidence of the presence of οὔτος in Pelasgiotis that does not come from *koiné* or *koiné* influenced texts, and which is much older than the evidence we have of the use of ὄνε.<sup>459</sup>

There is further evidence of the use of οὔτος in Pelasgiotis in GHW 5759, an unpublished inscription from Atrax. It dates from 3<sup>rd</sup> -2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and shows both a form with root \*ταυ- (ταυτα[ις, 8) and root \*τυ- (τυτοις, 6). However, as the inscription has not been published in its entirety apart from a couple of references to some peculiar forms in it, any reading would be too conjectural, and we cannot be

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<sup>457</sup> Mickey (1981a) 101, C17, translates the inscription in these lines. She considers that the demonstrative is used to refer to the dedicated object. Despite the rarity of οὔτος in this function, she attributes the choice of the demonstrative to metrical reasons, stating that it is not clear whether οὔτος was actually part of the local dialect.

<sup>458</sup> For the use of ταύτη and τῆδε as locative adverbs see Kühner and Gerth (1898) 443; Schwyzer (1953) 622.4.

<sup>459</sup> The text in IG IX, 2 984 bears very few dialectal features and will not be discussed here. The other occurrence of οὔτος in Pelasgiotis, SEG 23.418.6, will be discussed with other proxeny decrees below.

certain yet whether the occurrences of οὔτος there are a truly dialectal feature or appear as a foreign/*koiné* element.<sup>460</sup>

As regards the presence of οὔτος in the other regions, Thessaliotis provides us with three occurrences of the demonstrative in decrees. In IG IX, 2 260a, οὔτος is used to refer to the document (line 3) but also anaphorically (line 4).<sup>461</sup> Even though the inscription shows signs of *koiné* influence, there are many dialectal features in it.<sup>462</sup> The structure and formulae used are very similar to those bearing ὄνε above. For instance, ἀ[ναγο]α[φή]μὲν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμ[α] (3), mirrors τόνε τὸ ψάφισμα ὄνγραφέν; and καὶ ἐν ταῦτα δαπάναν δόμεν is similar to καὶ (τὸ) ἐν τάνε (γενόμενον) ὄνάλουμα δόμεν. In IG IX, 2 257, the “Sotairos Inscription”, ταῦτα appears again used in anaphoric function: αἴ τις ταῦτα παρβαίνοι, “Should anyone contravene this (decision)”.<sup>463</sup> The inscription dates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC –ca. 450-425 BC according to Jeffery (1990) 99.10, and comes from Thetonia. Even though the inscription is dialectal, it contains some unusual elements for Thessalian,<sup>464</sup> and some scholars consider that there are grounds to question the authenticity of οὔτος in the inscription.<sup>465</sup> However, there is no reason to question its use as a part of the dialectal system of demonstratives as a whole, given the rest of the evidence on hand.<sup>466</sup> The so-called “Agreement of Basaidai” (BCH 94. 161-2) from Metropolis in the region of

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<sup>460</sup> For a reference to the inscription and text see García Ramón (2007a) 92-3. As far as I know, the inscription is still unpublished.

<sup>461</sup> See above.

<sup>462</sup> Blümel (1982) 267 includes this inscription amongst the examples he provides of the use of οὔτος in the dialect. See also Decourt (1995) 15. He identifies as dialectal traces the use of τὰν δαπάναν and of ἐν for εἰς, amongst others.

<sup>463</sup> The translation belongs to Méndez Dosuna (2007) 472. Colvin (2007) 93: “If anyone contravenes these provisions”.

<sup>464</sup> Buck (1955) 71, 226; Blümel (1982) 120. As Blümel states, what the inscription shows is numerous “nicht-(ost)thessalischen Elemente”, emphasizing the fact that Thessalian is not a unitary dialect.

<sup>465</sup> García Ramón (1987) 110-1.

<sup>466</sup> See Blümel (1982) 120; Mickey (1981a) 243.

Hestiaiotes is the most important evidence we have of the use of οὔτος as a dialectal feature.<sup>467</sup> The inscription dates from mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC,<sup>468</sup> that is to say, from the beginning of the period from which comes all of our evidence of the use of ὄνε in Thessaly. The peculiar morphology of the pronoun shows two anomalous spellings; <υ> for \*ου and <ει> for \*οι: τύτουν (Gen. Pl. 5, 19) = Attic τούτων; τύτεις (Dat. Pl. 8) = Attic τούτοις.<sup>469</sup> The role that the demonstrative performs in each occurrence is the same: it refers back to something previously mentioned. The demonstrative in καὶ αὐτεῖς καὶ τᾶι γενιᾶι τᾶι ἐς τύτουν γινυμέναι (5) refers back to the Basaidai mentioned in line 2; in αἰ μά κά τις ἐν τύτεις μά ἐμ[μ]έναι (8) and also in ξενδόκοι τύτο[υν παρ τὲν Ἄπλουνα Ἐκατόμβιεν (19), it refers back to the dispositions stated in lines 5-7. The expression καὶ αὐτεῖς καὶ τᾶι γενιᾶι τᾶι ἐς τύτουν γινυμέναι and some other variants of the same formula are quite common, and can be found in several proxeny decrees from Thessaly. However, as we shall see below, not only οὔτος but also κεῖνος are used to perform this function.

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<sup>467</sup> Or an “avatar of οὔτος”, according to Méndez Dosuna (2007) 467.

<sup>468</sup> Helly (1970b) 162.

<sup>469</sup> Helly (1970b) 163 considers as a possibility that Thessalian had had a demonstrative morphologically different from Attic οὔτος and formed on the basis of some adverbs such as τυῖδε, τύδε, τύδαι, etc. He mentions a second possibility as well, namely that the spelling of diphthong -ου- had a variant -υ- in the inscription. Blümel (1982) 64 refers to the monophthongization of /ow/ into [u:] in Thessalian. See also Colvin (2007) 95. García Ramón (1987) 117 rejects Helly’s theory of a first element \*τυ-. He considers that the confusion between both spellings is due to the ancient pronunciation of the diphthong, i.e. [u:] (119, see also 125). In a later article, García Ramón (2005) 128 mentions further evidence for this variation, namely demonstratives beginning with both \*τυ- and \*του- in Thessaly, coming not only from Hestiaiotes, but also from Pelasgiotes. The inscription he refers to, GHW 5759, is still unpublished but shows both τυτοις (line 6) and ταυταις (line 8). He also refers to the Sotairos inscription as further proof of the existence of a root \*του- besides \*τυ- (128, n. 2). See also García Ramón (2007a) 93. As regards the spelling <ει> for \*οι, Blümel (1982) 47 alludes to the fronting of [o] to [e] as a peculiar phenomenon of the region of Hestiaiotes, which according to García Ramón (1987) 129 is an innovation exclusive to the *poleis* of the region from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

### III.3.3.3. κείνος

There are only two occurrences of κείνος in the whole Thessalian corpus of inscriptions. Both cases, dating from the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, come from Pherai in Pelasgiotis and occur in proxeny decrees in the formula αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς κείνου, “to him and his progeny”. In SEG 23 415.5, the formula reads χαύτῶι καὶ το<ι>ς κένο, the demonstrative in the Genitive singular with -ō for \*-ου, but SEG 23 420.8 has αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς [κεί]νου. The demonstrative refers back to αὐτῶι, which in turn picks up the name written at the beginning of the inscription. According to Mickey (1981a) 243, it is quite possible that κείνος had belonged to the dialect, just as it had done in Lesbian, for instance, but she admits that οὗτος is normally expected in this formula. In fact, there are some examples of the use of οὗτος in this context in Thessalian inscriptions. In the corpus of inscriptions from Pherai itself, SEG 23 418.6 shows the use of οὗτος: καὶ α[ὐτοῖς] καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ γ[ενεᾶι] τᾶι τούτων (4-6). In IG IX, 2 223, a proxeny decree from Ekkarra, in Achaia Phthiotis, line 5 reads δεδόσθαι αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς τού[του] ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν. However, there are not many dialectal features in this inscription. Blümel (1982) 242 questions whether one should consider SEG 23 415 as representative of the Thessalian dialect, given that in proxeny decrees the usual formula is καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις and not the formula with κένο. However, the use of ἐσγόνοις (ἐκγόνοις/ ἐγγόνοις) appears only in very late dialectal inscriptions (mid 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) and in inscriptions written in *koiné* or influenced by it.<sup>470</sup> The corpus of inscriptions from Gonnoi contains numerous examples of proxeny decrees. According to Helly (1973) I 171-2, there are only a few

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<sup>470</sup> See for instance BCH 59, 55.2. 25, 41; SEG 27 202.20. With dative αὐτοῖς, IG IX, 2 504.14, 511.2, 517.19 and SEG 35 594.13; 22, to give just some examples.

dialectal forms in the inscriptions from Gonnoi, most of them in dedications and epitaphs, and mostly in inscriptions dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Proxeny decrees from Gonnoi mainly have the formula ἀὐτῶ/ ἀὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις/ ἐγγόνοις, but they are practically all written in *koiné*.<sup>471</sup> The inscriptions from Pherai, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC, use, with some variants and/or a mixture of two of them: ἀὐτῶι καὶ γενεᾷ (SEG 23 417, 423, 424), ἀὐτῶι καὶ παίδεσσι (416), ἀὐτῶι καὶ χρήμασι (SEG 23 419, 421), or ἀὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκιάταις (422), plus the formulae with κένο/ κείνου. Even though the evidence is insufficient, one cannot rule out the possibility that κείνος had indeed formed part of the dialectal system of demonstratives. Furthermore, one should bear in mind that there is evidence of the use of this series (and not οὗτος) in the same formula in Lesbian inscriptions.<sup>472</sup>

#### **III.3.3.4. ὄδε**

According to Blümel (1982) 265, as he stated for Boeotian as well, ὄδε and other forms with particle -δε are not part of the Thessalian dialect but appear only in poetic texts and texts influenced by *koiné*.<sup>473</sup> Lejeune (1943) 126 argues that it only appears in metrical dialectal epitaphs and that its use may be due to the influence of epic language. He also affirms that in prose epitaphs the article is used instead of ὄδε.<sup>474</sup>

In Thessalian metrical inscriptions ὄδε is mainly used to refer to the artefact, and in a couple of examples to refer to the current place. The problematic value of these inscriptions is due to the fact that they usually avoid the use of dialectal forms (inscriptions up to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) or are written in a language based on Attic Greek

<sup>471</sup> See Helly (1973) II, inscriptions 1-69, with multiple examples of this formula.

<sup>472</sup> Refer to III.1.3.3 above.

<sup>473</sup> See also Mickey (1981a) 245.

<sup>474</sup> See the discussion below.

(4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC).<sup>475</sup> We can see the difference between some inscriptions from the late 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and some dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. CEG2 646 and 796, an epitaph and a dedication from Perrhaibia from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, do not show many traces of dialectal usage: ἦδε Μελανθῶ τόνδε ...τύμβον (1);<sup>476</sup> [εἰ]κόνα τήνδε ἀνέθηκε (1); in both cases the demonstrative refers to the artefact (in the case of ἦδε Μελανθῶ it refers to the person, i.e. the deceased).<sup>477</sup> The same can be said regarding CEG2 648 and SEG 27 222, an epitaph and a dedication from Pharsalos, Thessalotis (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC; beg. 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC): τῶιδε τάφωι κτέρισαν (CEG2 648.4); βωμὸς Ζηνὸς ὄδ' ἐστὶν (SEG 27.222.1) and Πολ[ύ]χαρμος | τήνδε ...στῆσε (2), referring respectively to the tomb, the altar and the stele.<sup>478</sup> Also IG IX, 2 252 (Pharsalos, 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), τόδε ἀείμναστον μάτηρ μνα[μεῖον] ἔθηκε (3), and SEG 25 668 (Pelagiotis, 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC): στῆσαν...μνημα τόδ' ἀθάνατον (2). On the contrary, earlier inscriptions dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC show some dialectal traces, despite being metrical.<sup>479</sup> Likewise, in cases in which the demonstrative is referring to the

<sup>475</sup> For a reference and discussion of these dates see Mickey (1981a) 54. Mickey (1981a) 31-2, 245-6 argues that dialectal features are not used in verse inscriptions from Thessaly, and that ὄδε is a pronoun that does not appear in prose inscriptions but is mainly associated with verse inscriptions. See also Mickey (1981b) 54: “We may note, however, that the dialects in question possess demonstrative pronouns which would seem to be obvious morphological equivalents to ὄδε and that these never appear in verse. For references to the inscribed object itself, if a deictic pronoun is used, it is ὄδε (...). Authors of verse inscriptions do not seem to have been trying to write self-consciously local-dialect literature –on the contrary, we have observed a tendency to avoid particularly characteristic forms”.

<sup>476</sup> Mickey (1981a) 153, C47.

<sup>477</sup> Also SEG 55 619, another dedication from Perrhaibia (Pythoion), 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC: Ἀντίφιλος Λυσαν [- - ] τήνδε ἀνέθηκαν (1).

<sup>478</sup> Decourt (1995) 111 disagrees with Mickey (1981a) 156, and maintains that there are no proper dialectal traces in the latter inscription, but some formulae and expressions due to the influence of poetic language. See Mickey (1981a) 156 C49, and 107 C20, respectively.

<sup>479</sup> CEG 123, Γάστροδος τόδε σᾶμα Φιλοξένο, ὄς, doubling of σ used in some dialects, ο for ὀ and ὀ, peculiarities in the onomastics (See Lorenz (1976) 102-4); IG IX, 2 255, [μᾶνα τό]δ' ἄ μάτῆρ Διοκλέαι ἔσστασ', doubling of σ, use of μάτῆρ, Thessalian name Διοκλέαι, ο for ὀ and ὀ in lines 2, 3, 4 (see Lorenz (1976) 46 ff.; Mickey (1981a) 96-8, C15); 575, Ἀργεία μ' ἀνέθηκε ὑπέρ πα[ι]δὸς τόδ' ἄγαλμα...φαστικᾶι, use of initial ϕ, see Mickey (1981a) 85-6, C10;1098, τόδ' ἄγ<α>λμα Πατροκλέας ὀνέθηκε, use of dialectal ὀνέθηκε (Mickey (1981a) 67-8. She admits that this dedication

current place, earlier verse inscriptions bear some evidence of the use of dialectal features (IG IX, 2 270.2-3, *περ γᾶς τάσδε*; and CEG 119.3-4, *μνᾶμα δὲ τεῖδε πατῆρ ...στᾶσέ*, for instance),<sup>480</sup> whereas later inscriptions do not, e.g. SEG 23 433.1, *κρύπτει μὲν χθῶν ἦδε Μένωνα*; and CEG2 649.1, *πατρὶ [τ]ῆιδε σαμ' ἔ[θετο]*. But then again, these traces may be due to the influence of epic/poetic language.<sup>481</sup> Given its exclusive use in dedications and epitaphs, most of them metrical and non-dialectal, one may be inclined to think that Thessalian did not have ὄδε as a dialectal feature; that it was a foreign element taken from poetic language and that it did not belong to the system of demonstratives of the dialect. However, there is one inscription in which the use of ὄδε is less dubious and should not be suspected. ITA 1, from Western Thessaly, dating from ca. 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, is the earliest evidence we have of the use of a demonstrative in Thessaly. The demonstrative seems to be referring to the artefact in which the text has been engraved, i.e. a *krater*: *τόνδε, Σίμων, πίε[- -]*.<sup>482</sup> The name Σίμων (i.e. Σίμων, ο for ῶ) is abundantly attested in Thessaly (see e.g. IG

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shows evidence of some dialectal features, but considers the use of ὄδε as non-dialectal. According to her, the author of the inscription could have used dialectal demonstrative ὄνε instead of non dialectal ὄδε. However, if, as we saw, ὄνε seems to perform the same roles as οὗτος, it would not be the preferred option to refer to the artefact); SEG 1.247, non-metrical dedication, Παντάλκις ἀνέθεκε θεαῖς τόδ' ἔργον (Decourt (1995) no. 72: 88-90. See discussion below); SEG 34.566, *τᾶνδ' ἐπέθεκε πατῆ[ρ] μναμῆον στά[λαν]*, with *ē* for *ē* and *ē*. See Appendix, Table 7, for more details.

<sup>480</sup> Lejeune (1943) 126 n.3 considers that *μνᾶνα τόδ'* at the beginning of the hexameter and *τόδ' ἄγαλμα* at the end, are traditional non-dialectal formulae. However, in the case of IG IX, 2 270, *περ γᾶς τάσδε πολὸν ἀριστεύδων ἔθανε* (2), where the occurrence of ὄδε is not part of a poetic formula, the presence of the demonstrative would be less doubtful; the same can be said concerning the adverb *τεῖδε*, which according to Lejeune (126 n.4) seems to belong to the local dialect. On locative *τεῖδε* see Chantraine (1967) 42-3. Nevertheless, Mickey (1981a) 245 affirms that in both cases ὄδε is a foreign element. For her interpretation of *περ γᾶς τάσδε* in IG IX, 2 270, see 78, C6. Regarding *τεῖδε*, Mickey suggests that it may represent Attic-Ionic *τῆιδε*, with *ε* for *ē*, the Doric equivalent being *τᾶιδε*. See 91, C12. For this form, refer also to the discussion of Cyrenaean and Theran demonstratives, IV.4.3.1.

<sup>481</sup> Lejeune (1943) 126; Lorenz (1976) 47-8.

<sup>482</sup> Inscription unpublished. See Doulgeri-Intzesiloglu (2007) 437, image at 438, fig. 1.

IX, 2 250, from Pharsalos, Thessaliotis (5<sup>th</sup> c. BC):<sup>483</sup> Σίμων ὁ Μυλλ(λ)ίδεος ἐπέστασε | ματέρι ηεᾱ Μυλλίδι . . σσ[— —].<sup>484</sup> IΓΑ 1 is obviously not a metrical inscription; it seems to be written in the local dialect and still shows the use of ὄδε instead of using the article. Moreover, SEG 1.247, another non-metrical inscription dating from two centuries later,<sup>485</sup> shows not only the use of ὄδε to refer to the artefact, but also possibly the use of the article in the same role in the same inscription: τὰν δὲ δάφν[αν] ἄεϞ ἄπαξ Ε, “Untel (?), en même temps, a offert ce laurier” (Decourt (1995) 89). The translation is hypothetical, as Decourt himself admits (90), due to the difficulty posed by some readings, but he considers that the inscription refers to two different artefacts; one is alluded to by τόδ’ ἔργον (line 3), and could be referring to either an object or the inscription itself, and the other by τὰν δὲ δάφν[αν] (line 4), which may be referring to a crown of laurel hanging from the object or to one of the bushes outside the grotto.

Mickey (1981a) 100 argues that whereas the use of the article as a demonstrative is expected in prose, ὄδε is used instead in τόδ’ ἔργον “as elsewhere in Thessalian verse”. However, when referring to τὰν δὲ δάφν[αν] first she affirms that the article functions as expected, but later adds that its occurrence may as well be due to “reluctance to write τάνδε δὲ”, implying that the article shows indeed demonstrative value. Whatever the case, the truth is that the cases above provide us with some evidence of the use of ὄδε in non-metrical Thessalian inscriptions, which suggests that the series might have been part of the dialectal system of demonstratives after all.

<sup>483</sup> See Decourt (1995) no. 85, 103-4. For the date, ca. 430 BC, Decourt (1995) 104.

<sup>484</sup> For evidence of the name Σίμων in Thessaly see Fraser and Matthews (2000) 379.

<sup>485</sup> See Hansen (1975) 34, inscription no. 357.

### III.3.3.5. ὁ ἢ τό

There are eight occurrences of the article in Thessalian inscriptions in what appears to be a demonstrative role. We have evidence from all the regions but Hestiaiotes, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC with one possible case from Pelasgiotis dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (IG IX, 2 427).<sup>486</sup> The use of the article seems to be limited to non-metrical dedications and epitaphs (except for IG IX, 2 427 already mentioned, and GVIT 26, discussed above). As Lejeune (1943) 126 stated: “Dans les épitaphes en prose, c’est l’article qu’on rencontre, en fonction de démonstratif”. The article is used in each of these cases to refer to the artefact. Next to τάνδε στάλαν, τόδε σᾶμα, τόδ’ ἄγαλμα, already mentioned, we have ἅ στάλα (DGE 605), τὸπίσαμα (DGE 607); and τοῖ σᾶμα (LSAG 436-7, see below); τὸ ἄγαλμα (DGE 616a), and also τὰν θείκαν (IG IX, 2 427);<sup>487</sup> τὸς ἀνδριάντας (GVIT 26) and –possibly– τὰν δὲ δάφναν (SEG 1.247).<sup>488</sup> In the curious case of LSAG 436-7, an inscription from Achaia Phthiotis dating from 500-450 BC, the article seems to appear reinforced with a deictic particle -ι, used to refer to the artefact: Φυλίαιον τοῖ σᾶμα ἀ<ν>δρὸς ἀγαθὸ ἡγαγέμονος Στρεψιάδας. According to Matthaiou (2006) 53, τοῖ would correspond to τοδί, as in Boeotian and Elean.<sup>489</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> The archaic date of the inscriptions is highly relevant concerning the use of the article as a demonstrative. See Morpurgo Davies (1968) 82-3.

<sup>487</sup> Mickey (1981a) 246 considers this the only example of the use of the article as a demonstrative in Thessalian verse inscriptions. She attributes its use to an attempt at showing local dialectal features. For instance, the epitaph is dialectal and shows several examples of εἰ for ἦ. Mickey also mentions the double consonant in μναμμειῖον and the use of the article as a demonstrative as clear dialectal features (52). According to her, this epitaph contains no Attic or *koiné* features (168).

<sup>488</sup> For details on the inscriptions see Appendix, Table 7.

<sup>489</sup> He includes a reference to an inscription from Aetolia, IG IX, 1<sup>2</sup> 1:197, dating from 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC? (52, 53): [-]ριχίνας τοι σ|ᾶμα. See also Hansen (1975) 76-7. Perhaps the use of τοῖ here should be understood as a remnant of the Boeotian dialect in the region? Helly (2007) has recently proposed a different view on the evolution of the Thessalian dialect throughout time. He identifies Achaia Phthiotis, precisely the region from which this inscription comes, as “une petite Béotie”, due to numerous elements common to Boeotian. See 184 ff., especially 189-90 and 194-5.

Apart from referring to the object, the article seems to be used to refer forwards as well. Even though the article on its own does not function cataphorically, it appears in nominal phrases employed to introduce new information. There are some examples in IG IX, 2 517, for instance: referring to the letter “added/reproduced below”, ἐπιστολὰν ...τὰν ὑπογεγραμμένην·(3, 25), referring to “the added (i.e. following) decree”, ψάφισμα τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον· (9-10, 39-40), and “the subscribing” citizens, οἱ πεπολιτογραφειμένοι (46-7) (followed by a list of names).<sup>490</sup> Lejeune (1943) 127 indicates that Thessalian seems to prefer this “*tour nominal*”, and that this preference seems to have been kept even in *koiné* texts (127, n. 1).

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<sup>490</sup> See Consani (1989) 147. In all these cases the article appears nominalizing the participle.



## CHAPTER IV. WEST GREEK DIALECTS. A SELECTION

### *IV.1. Demonstratives in Elean*

#### **IV.1.1. Introduction**

The corpus of dialectal inscriptions in Elean appears to be quite limited. From within the Elean corpus, only 16 inscriptions record the use of some sort of demonstrative. 28 demonstratives –3 of which are doubtful– are distributed as showed in Figure 22: 7 occurrences of ὁ ἢ τό, 3 of ὁ ἢ τό + particle ἰ, 7 occurrences of ὄδε, 10 of οὗτος, and a single occurrence of what seems to be a form of κείνος (κένος) or the Doric demonstrative τῆνος.

#### **IV.1.2. Distribution of Elean demonstratives**

§1. All the inscriptions come from the site of the sanctuary at Olympia. Consequently, there are no implications regarding the distribution of demonstratives across cities/settlements.

§2. As regards the distribution of demonstratives across time, the data collected extends over three centuries, from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. Most of our evidence –and the most varied, is very archaic: 7 demonstratives date from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and 11 from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. This would suggest that all the series in use are indeed dialectal. The use of all the series –except perhaps the series κείνος/τῆνος of which there is only one example– seems to have been constant over the centuries. This

may indicate that in the case of  $\acute{\omicron} \eta \tau\acute{\omicron}$ ,  $\acute{\omicron} \eta \tau\acute{\omicron}$  + particle  $-ί$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ , the three series were simultaneous alternatives in use, perhaps employed for different purposes or roles, and not successive substitutes –i.e. the series  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$  did not come up as a replacement for the more archaic article in demonstrative use.<sup>491</sup>

§3. As for the distribution of demonstratives according to type of text: all of the inscriptions but one –a short dedication with one occurrence of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ - are decrees.

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<sup>491</sup> For more details, refer to the Appendix, Table 8.

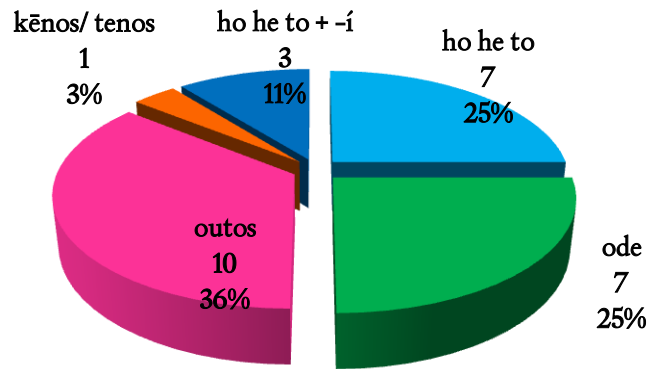


Figure 22. Demonstratives in Elean Inscriptions

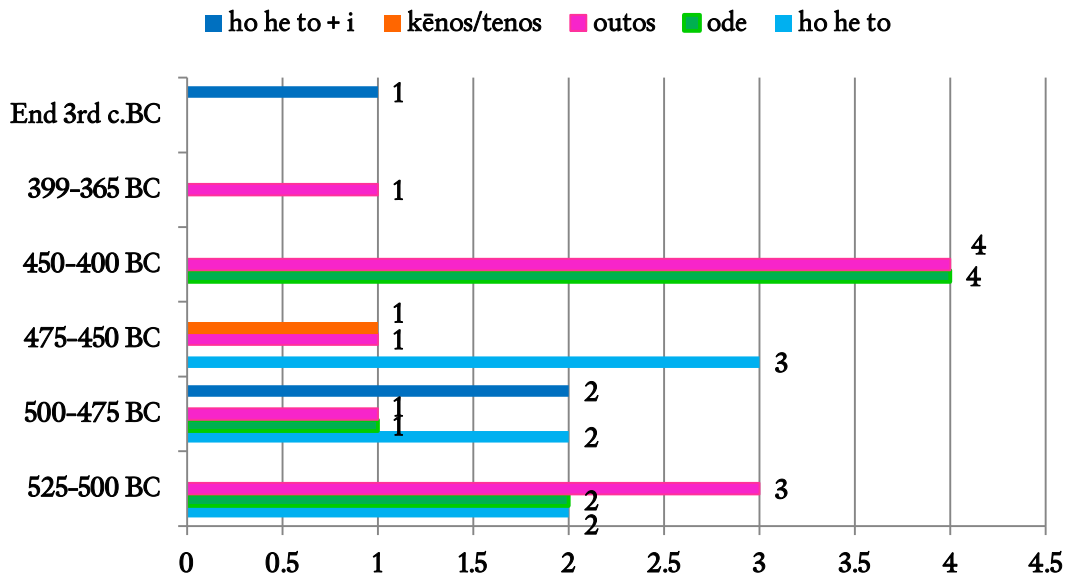


Figure 23. Distribution of Elean demonstratives across time



### IV.1.3. Syntax of Elean demonstratives

#### IV.1.3.1. *ὁ ἦ τό and ὁ ἦ τό + -ί*

ὁ ἦ τό and ὁ ἦ τό + -ί are, together with οὗτος, the most frequent series of demonstratives in Elean. According to Minon (2007b) 418, ὁ ἦ τό in Elean appears to be much closer to the Homeric article than to its Attic counterpart, particularly with regard to two of its functions: in Elean ὁ ἦ τό seems to be able to perform the roles of both relative and demonstrative pronouns (in addition to the roles it performs as a definite article). The oldest evidence of ὁ ἦ τό used for demonstrative purposes in Elean can be found in IED 4.2, 3, a decree dating from 525-500 BC. In both cases the article accompanies the noun γράφος (accusative singular and genitive plural respectively) and seems to be used to point to the decree in an auto-referential way.<sup>492</sup>

αἰ δέ τις παρ τὸ γράφος δικάδοι, ἀτελές κ' εἶῃ ἀ δίκαια, ἀ δέ κα  
φράτρα ἀ δαμοσία τελεία εἶ|ῃ δικάδοσα τὸν δέ κα γραφέων ὃ  
τι δοκέοι καλιτέροσ ἔχεν πο' τὸν θ<ε>όν, ἐξαγρέων κάλ'  
ἐ|νποιὸν σὺν βῶλαϊ <π>εντακατιὸν ἀφλανέος καὶ δάμοι  
πλεθύοντι δινάκοι·

If anyone pronounces judgement contrary to the regulation (i.e. the regulation here, *this* regulation, τὸ γράφος), this judgement shall be void (...). One may make any change in the regulations (i.e. the regulations here, *these* regulations, τὸν γραφέων) which seems desirable in the sight of the god (...).<sup>493</sup>

The correspondence between “the regulation” and the current document is unquestionable. Minon herself (Minon (2007b) 419) quotes IED 4.2 and 3 as examples

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<sup>492</sup> See Minon (2007b) 488.

<sup>493</sup> The translation belongs to Buck (1955) 262; the brackets are mine.

of the demonstrative use of the definite article, i.e. *this* instead of *the*. In her own edition of the inscription, however, she does not translate them accordingly.<sup>494</sup>

The most frequent use of ὁ ἢ τό as a demonstrative in Elean, however, is the one illustrated in the following examples. In the recurring phrase ἃ φράτρα τοῖο / τοῖς / τοῖς + ethnic group, the article refers forward, introducing new information.<sup>495</sup> It appears at the heading of the inscription and introduces the decision/s taken by the parties involved.<sup>496</sup> ἃ φράτρα τοῖο φαλείοις : καὶ τοῖς Εὐῶ|φαίοις, “(The following is) the decision for the Eleans and the *Ewaioi*” (IED 10.1); ἃ φράτρα τοῖο Χαλαδρίοι : καὶ Δευ|καλίῳνι, “(The following is) the decision for the *Chaladrioi* and Deucalion” (IED 12.1); ἃ φράτρα τὸς Ἀναίτο[ς] καὶ τὸ[ς] |Μεταπίοις; “(The following is) the decision of the *Anaitoi* and the *Metapioi*” (IED 14.1); ἃ φράτρα τοῖς φαλείοις; “(The following is) the decision for the Eleans” (IED 20.1).<sup>497</sup> This same cataphoric role was performed by the article-demonstrative also in Lesbian and Thessalian, and in Boeotian with added particle -ί.

Another demonstrative function of the definite article can be seen in a slightly later decree, IED 20.9 (475-450 BC). Here, ὁ ἢ τό accompanies the noun πίναξ, used to identify the material support of the inscription, namely the tablet, plaque or plate. The

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<sup>494</sup> Minon (2007a) 29: “Si l’on jugeait contrairement au texte inscrit, le jugement serait nul (...). On peut changer celle des dispositions inscrites qui semblerait meilleure devant le dieu (...)”. See also van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 386. Minon (2007b) 488 affirms that γράφος is used in Elean not only to refer to the inscription itself but also to its content, namely its regulations or dispositions.

<sup>495</sup> For the meaning of φράτρα see Minon (2007b) 486 ff.

<sup>496</sup> See Minon (2007b) 418: “voici la décision”.

<sup>497</sup> van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 108-109 identify only the last example (IED 20.1) as a demonstrative and translate it accordingly: “Voici la décision des Eléens”.

article-demonstrative seems to point to the artefact:<sup>498</sup> ὁ [πί]ναξ ἱερὸς Ὀλυμπίαι,  
 “The tablet-document (here) –i.e. *this* tablet-document- (is) sacred at Olympia”.<sup>499</sup>

The final three cases in the present section are examples of the use of ὁ ἢ τό + particle -ί. According to Minon (2007b) 385, in Elean ὁ ἢ τό could add either particle -δε or particle -ί, as in Boeotian.<sup>500</sup> We therefore have examples of the use of both τόδε and τοῖ in the dialect. As we saw in other dialects, when ὁ ἢ τό started to lose some of its demonstrative force, it was necessary to reinforce its meaning by adding further particles, which varied depending on the dialect. Minon (2007b) 419 points out that the use of particle -ί in these cases shows that the weakening of the demonstrative force of ὁ ἢ τό had already started in the dialect.<sup>501</sup>

There are two examples of ὁ ἢ τό + particle -ί in IED 10 and possibly one in IED 33. The occurrence in IED 10.3 illustrates one of the deictic roles normally performed by ὄδε; namely referring to the current time. The occurrence in IED 10.8 is used to refer to the current document. In both cases the article is in the neuter; singular nominative and plural accusative respectively:

ἂ φράτρα τοῖρ φαλείοις : καὶ τοῖς Εὐφραοίοις : συνμαχία κ'  
 ἔα ἑκατὸν φέτεια, : ἰᾶρχοι δέ κα τοῖ : αἰ δέ τι δέοι, : αἴτε  
 φέπος αἴτε φἰάργον : συνέαν κ' ἀλάλοισ : τά τ' ἄλ<α> καὶ  
 παῖρ πολέμῳ : αἰ δέ μὰ συνέαν : τάλαντον κ' ἰάργυρῳ :  
 ἀποτίνοϊαν : τοῖ Δι Ὀλυμπίοι : τοῖ καῖδαλέμενοι :  
 λατρεϊόμενον : αἰ δέ τιρ τὰ γῖράφεια : ταῖ καδαλέοιτο : αἴτε  
 φέτας αἴτε τελεστα : αἴτε δᾶμος, : ἐν τέπιαροι κ' ἐνέχῖοιτο  
 τοῖ ἴναυτ' ἔγραμένοι.

<sup>498</sup> See Minon (2007b) 504. See also Minon (2007a) 149.

<sup>499</sup> See also Buck (1955) 260. Minon (2007b) 419: “*cette tablette est sacrée*”.

<sup>500</sup> See also García Blanco (1981) 18; Pantelides (1997) 105. For the article + particle ἰ see the discussion on Boeotian, III.2.3.1 above. Minon (2007a) 385: the article + particle ἰ can be compared to Attic demonstrative τοδί.

<sup>501</sup> For a discussion on the topic refer back to I.1.3.2 and I.1.3.3.

In the phrase ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ, ὁ ἢ τό + particle í is employed to point to a very specific moment in time, namely the year in which this inscription had been engraved and publicly displayed, sometime between 500-475 BC, according to the dating of the inscription: “Let the alliance be for a hundred years, and may this (i.e. the current year) be the first”.<sup>502</sup> There are not many examples of demonstratives referring to the current time in dialectal inscriptions; this is therefore a very valuable piece of evidence. Regarding the second occurrence, αἰ δέ τιρ τὰ γ|ράφεια : ταῖ καδαλέοιτο, “If somebody damages this inscription/these writings (i.e. the present inscription)”; ταῖ is employed to point to the physical object carrying the agreement. Even though the mention might be understood simply as a reference to the document, the use of καδαλέοιτο emphasizes the physicality of the reference, i.e. there is an object that can be damaged. It is worth noting that ταῖ is used here adnominally, co-occurring with the noun as a determiner, a position for which we had no evidence in Boeotian, where the series was used always pronominally. Moreover, ταῖ co-occurs with the bare article, apparently employed as a regular definite article, a determiner of the noun as well. We have therefore a NP formed by the structure [article +noun] + demonstrative.<sup>503</sup> Regarding the function of ταῖ, as we saw before, the role of pointing to the artefact could also be performed by ὁ ἢ τό without the need to add any other element/particle. However, in IED 10 ὁ ἢ τό + particle í is used instead, and, as we shall see, the slightly later IED 22 makes use of τόδε to perform the same role. It may be tempting to see

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<sup>502</sup> See Minon (2007a) 82. She rejects the possibility of τοῖ=τοῖ (τῶ), used as an adverb of time. The same applies to ταῖ=ταῖ (τῆ). Minon considers that ταῖ is the “déictique épithète” of τὰ γράφεια. See Minon (2007a) 83. See also Thévenot-Warelle (1988) 54.

<sup>503</sup> See the discussion under III.2.3.1 above, especially notes 402-403.

these changes as some kind of consecutive progression in the use of the three different series to represent the same function, corresponding to the progressive weakening of the demonstrative force of ὁ ἢ τό. The same can be said with regard to the use of ὁ ἢ τό to refer to the document. We saw that an early inscription, IED 4 (525-500BC), employed ὁ ἢ τό to point to the document (same role in a slightly later inscription, IED 20, 475-450BC), and there is a contemporary example of the use of τόδε for the same purpose (IED 9, 500-475 BC), which suggests that either this function could be equally performed by both series in the Elean dialect, or this was a period of transition in which no decision had been yet taken over which form to use, and therefore there was an overlap between the forms. Moreover, there is also a contemporary example of οὔτος performing the same role, which means that there was possibly a third option to hand.<sup>504</sup> Unfortunately, the evidence is too scarce to enable us to take the argument any further.

Finally, there is a very fragmentary inscription dating from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC which may contain a further example of the use of the ὁ ἢ τό + particle *ί*. In IED 33.26 there seems to be evidence of the use of the series in the genitive plural: [- - -] τ[ω]νὶ τῶν[- - -]. It is worth noticing the position of ὁ ἢ τό there, as the form would seem to be adnominal again, followed possibly by [article + noun]. It would be interesting to see whether the use of τ[ω]νὶ in pre-position entails any semantic changes. Unfortunately, the inscription is so fragmentary that any interpretation of the meaning and/or function of the demonstrative would be too conjectural.

#### ***IV.1.3.2. ὄδε***

There are six, possibly seven, occurrences of this series in Elean. The oldest evidence is found in IED 3, a sacred law dating from ca. 525/500 BC. In Minon's

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<sup>504</sup> See below.

edition of the text, however, none of the two possible occurrences of ὄδε are included. According to Jeffery (1990) 408, n. 4, and also van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 39, the inscription seems to have some letters missing at the beginning of the first line, and so the text is edited as - - - ]ὁ δὲ κα ξένος ἐπεὶ μ(ό)λοι ἐν τ'ια[ρόν -. In Roehl's edition of the inscription, a demonstrative is restored as part of the missing text: [θύοι κα(τ) τ]όδε κα ξένος.<sup>505</sup> If Roehl's edition is accepted, the demonstrative, an independent pronoun, could be either performing a cataphoric role, or referring to the decree itself –“according to the following/this (decree)”. If this was the first mention of an indefinite ξένος (“if a foreigner...”), it would make sense that the noun appeared without an article. And in fact the noun appears again later, but this time picked up by the article (line 3, ὁ ξένος, “the (aforementioned) foreigner”). However, it seems that this inscription may have belonged to a set of related texts,<sup>506</sup> and consequently the initial mention of ξένος may not have been the first one, so that an article may have been needed there instead of τ]όδε. The second potential demonstrative occurs in line 5. According to both van Effenterre's and Jeffery's text, neuter plural τάδε seems to be followed by an unintelligible series of letters. Before the demonstrative, van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 39 read -θ]οαδοον, a form they interpret as coming from θωάδδω = θωάζω, “mettre à l'amende”. They translate the passage as “cette amende-là”, referring to the fine to be paid by the foreigner. This would be an unusual case of ὄδε being used to refer back, but perhaps the noun to which the demonstrative is referring is

<sup>505</sup> See Roehl (1882) 41, no. 115.

<sup>506</sup> See van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 38; Minon (2007a) 20ff.

not to be found before but after it, amongst the indecipherable sequence that follows. Unfortunately the text is too uncertain to suggest a more suitable reading.<sup>507</sup>

Despite these two arguable cases, the series seems to be well represented in the dialect. There are three more occurrences of the demonstrative pronoun and two instances of demonstrative adverb  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon$ . In IED 9.5, oddly enough, the demonstrative seems to be referring back again:

αὶ δ' αἰλότριά ποιοῖτο, <πε>ντακ|ατίας κα δαρχμ<α>ς  
ἀποτίνοι κατὰ φέκαστον θεθμόν,| ὅ τι ἀδίκῳς ἔχοι καὶ  
πο<ι>οῖτο ἀδίκῳς γα. γνόμα δέ κ' εἶε τι|αρομάῳ, τὰ δὲ  
δί<κ>αία δίφυια· τὸ δίκαιον τόδε κα θεοκό|λος, ἐπ' ὅποια λῶι  
δαμιοργία· (IED 9.2-5)

Lines 2-4 above describe the fines to be paid by the *theókolos* should he commit the offence of keeping what is not his. Immediately before the demonstrative, lines 4-5 explain that the fines are to be double, namely the same amount to be paid to the city and the victim,<sup>508</sup> using the same noun, τὰ δὲ δί<κ>αία δίφυια, accompanied by τόδε in line 5. Therefore, τὸ δίκαιον τόδε points back to the fine already specified. Regrettably, there is no further evidence of what appears to be an anaphoric use of ὅδε in Elean, and the rest of the examples of this series in the dialect seem to comply with what we already know about ὅδε's functions, namely that it was used to point to the document and to the artefact.

ὅδε is used to refer to the artefact –or, it could be argued, the document- in IED 22, a decree dating from 450-425 BC. As mentioned before, this role was also performed by ὁ ἢ τό and ὁ ἢ τό + ἰ in Elean, but those cases belonged to slightly older decrees.

<sup>507</sup> For some possible interpretations of the following sequence see Minon (2007a) 25ff.

<sup>508</sup> Minon (2007a) 67-8. Also van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 115.

αἰ δέ τις μανύοι ἄλλον τινὰ ὄς] τὸ γράφος  
 τόδε καζαλέμενον, γνοῖα *vac.* | [κα *ca* 5 καὶ ὁ καζαλέμενος ἐν  
 τέπιαροι κ'] ἐνέχοιτο τοῖ τῆδε γεγραμένοι *vac.* | [ *ca* 30 ]ος·  
 ὄσοι δ' Ε.[2, 3 κ]ριθέντων ἀνδροφό[νοι -] | [ *ca.* 15  
 Νικαρχίδα(ν?) καὶ Π]λείστειν[ο(ν?) κα κ]ρίνοιτο. αἰ δέ τι[ς]  
 καὶ σ[ 3, 4 ] | [ *ca* 10 ἐν τέπιαροι κ' ἐνέχοιτο τοῖ τῆ[δε  
 γεγρα]μένοι (IED 22.19-23)

The left side of this fragmentary bronze plaque is missing, and a number of restorations have been proposed.<sup>509</sup> Despite the fact that the state of the inscription makes the interpretation of the text very difficult, the use of the demonstrative is sufficiently clear. The demonstrative is used adnominally in post-position to refer to the actual object carrying the inscription. The text appears to be referring to anybody who may damage “this (i.e. the present) inscription”, using the same verb as in IED 10.8 (καζαλέμενος). Immediately after the mention of τόδε, two more instances of this series are used, but this time it would seem that they refer to the document. They are demonstrative adverbs, not pronouns; τοῖ τῆδε γεγραμένοι,<sup>510</sup> lines 20 and 23: “he would be subject to the (law/sacred law) inscribed here”. Minon (2007a) 170 points out that the adverb may be referring either to the regulation mentioned before or to the regulation included in the missing text that follows –i.e. cataphora, but the reference could also be to the inscribed text=law as a whole.<sup>511</sup> However, if the adverbs were indeed referring back, then we might have two more examples of this potential “anaphoric use” of ὄδε in Elean.

<sup>509</sup> See van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 236ff. Also Minon (2007a) 153ff.

<sup>510</sup> For τῆδε see Thévenot-Warelle (1988) 45. See also the discussion on Thera τῆδε, IV.4.3.1 below.

<sup>511</sup> Minon quotes Lejeune (1943) 121 to support her second hypothesis, that the adverb may be pointing forwards, but does not include a third option, that the adverb may be referring to the document as a whole, a possibility actually expressed by Lejeune. See Minon (2007a) 170 note 737.

The last occurrence of ὄδε in the dialect is found in IED 66, a dedication dating from the second half of the fifth century BC. The demonstrative appears used pronominally in its most common function in dedications, that is referring to the artefact: [τάν]δε Δίκων Διὶ δῶρον ἀπ' [ca 3]ας ἀνέθεκεν| αὐτὸς ποιέ[σ]ας; “Dikon dedicated this (piece here) to Zeus, having made it himself”. However, we are dealing here with a metrical dedication. Even though the possibility of having ὄδε performing this function in Elean is very likely and should not be discarded, due to the scarcity of the evidence, we cannot confirm that this was always the case in the dialect.

#### ***IV.1.3.3. οὔτος***

The oldest evidence of this series in Elean belongs to two inscriptions dating from 525/500 BC. In each example the demonstrative appears to be referring back. There are two occurrences of οὔτος in IED 5.3, 4, both used as independent pronouns in the masculine dative singular. The inscription seems to have belonged to a larger set of rules concerning the Olympic games. In this particular case the rules refer to wrestling. The first demonstrative in use here seems to be pointing back to the judge alluded to at the beginning of the inscription (line 2), ὁ διαιτατέϛ.<sup>512</sup> The second demonstrative appears to be referring back to the game in question, that is the game in which the wrestler may have committed the potential infraction dealt with in the inscription:<sup>513</sup>

ὁ δὲ παλαιστὰ οὔτε κα δάκυλον ἔνα φαγανο[- - οὔτε - - - - ,  
 κολ]|άδοι παίδων κα ὁ διαιτατέϛ πλάν κατὰ κεφαλάν [- - - - -  
 τοὶ μ]|ιαντέρες ἐνοισέονται καὶ τούτοι ὑπασχῆσέον[ται- - - - -  
 - - - - - ]|ν τὸλύμπια ἀρχῆν ἀξιόνικον ἐν καὶ τούτοι μ[...  
 (IED 5.1-4)

<sup>512</sup> For the term διαιτατέϛ see Siewert (1992) 115.

<sup>513</sup> See Minon (2007a) 43.

“The wrestler shall not break any finger . . . the judge shall punish by striking except on the head . . . the wrong-doers shall bring and promise to him . . .(he shall compete again at) the Olympic Games and start as being worthy of the victory . . .” (Siewert (1992) 114) .. “even in/including this (game)” (namely the aforementioned game in which they committed the infraction)<sup>514</sup>

IED 6, a sacred law dating from the same period as IED 5, contains another occurrence of οὔτος, but this time the demonstrative appears in the accusative neuter. Its function is again anaphoric; —]ον αἶ τιρ ταῦτα πα[ρβαίνοι, “if somebody transgresses these (i.e. dispositions, regulations)” (5). The same anaphoric role can be seen in a later decree, IED 22 (450-425 BC):

αἰ δ]ὲ μὲ ταύτας ποταρμόξαιτο, πέντε μνᾶ|[ς ἀποτινέτω τᾶς ἀμέρας ἀποτινέτῳ καθύτας τοῖ Δι] Ὀλυμπίοι· αἰ δὲ μὲ ταυτᾶν ποταρμόξαι|[το, ca 10 μνᾶς τᾶς ἀποτι]νέτω καθύτας : τοῖ Δί. (IED 22.4-6)

“If he/she does not settle this (amount = 1 mina), let them pay five minae a day dedicated to Olympian Zeus; if he/she does not settle these (= 5 minae) ...let them pay ... minae a day dedicated to Zeus”.

The demonstratives, in the genitive feminine, point back to the payment established immediately before. For the first demonstrative it is the mina mentioned in line 3; for the second, the five minae mentioned in line 4. The genitives would function as genitives of price accompanying the verb ποταρμόξαιτο.<sup>515</sup> What is most interesting about these occurrences of οὔτος is not their function, which is in any case the most

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<sup>514</sup> The first lines of the translation, as indicated, belong to Siewert (1992) 114. The rest is mine. For the interpretation of ἐν καὶ τούτοι as referring to the very same game in which the “wrong-doers” committed the infraction, see Ebert and Siewert (1999) 401-402; also Minon (2007a) 43.

<sup>515</sup> Minon (2007a) 165 suggests that ποταρμόξαιτο, normally followed by a complement in the dative or accusative, should be understood here as having an absolute meaning, and that the two genitives are genitives of price. She translates this as “S’(il ou elle?) ne venait pas à composition à ce prix” (158). van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 238: “Mais si] il ne règle pas cette somme”.

common role for this series across Greek dialects, but their form, particularly the morphology of the genitive plural. Instead of the expected *τούτων* -or even *τουτᾶν*, we have *ταυτᾶν*.<sup>516</sup> In an earlier decree, dating from ca. 475 BC (IED 13.6), *οὔτος* appears again in the genitive plural, but this time neuter. The form is, however, very similar: *τῶν γραφέων : ταύτων*, “of these regulations”.<sup>517</sup> The adnominal demonstrative seems to point to the document itself, but it may refer back to some regulations stated in the previous fragmentary line, given that in Elean the reference to the document seems to be normally expressed either by the article, or article + *-ί*, or by *τόδε*.<sup>518</sup> The unexpected morphology of the genitive plural, both feminine and neuter, seems to have developed by analogy from neuter plural *ταῦτα*, of which we have some evidence in Elean inscriptions (IED 6.5).<sup>519</sup>

There is evidence of two other demonstrative forms: related demonstrative locative adverbs *ταύτῃ* and *ἐνταῦτα*, also used to refer back: *ἐν τῷ ταύτῃ γεγραμμένοι : τῆπιάρτοι* (IED 22.14); *καὶ δαμιῶργοίταν τένταῦ|τα γεγραμμένα* (IED 22.16-7);

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<sup>516</sup> *ᾱ* represents here secondary *α*; the product of the contraction of the feminine genitive plural ending. Cf. Thévenot-Warelle (1988) 45.

<sup>517</sup> *ταύτων* is here equivalent to Att. *τούτων* and not to *τῶν αὐτῶν*. Thévenot-Warelle (1988) 65. See also García Blanco (1981) 17-18. For a further example see IED 30.10, a fourth century decree. *οὔτος* appears once more in an anaphoric role, and the form has again *ταυτ-* instead of *τουτ-*. The form corresponds to the genitive neuter plural, as in IED 13.6: *αἱ δὲ τι ταύτων παρ' τὸ γράμμα ποιέοι*, “If they commit one of these (infractions) contrary to the text/document...”. The demonstrative refers back to the prohibition of either selling the exiles’ possessions or sending them back to them, as mentioned in lines 8-10. Minon (2007a) 199, 208.

<sup>518</sup> See above. Cf. also Minon (2007a) 96, n. 394.

<sup>519</sup> Minon (2007b) 386. See also Siewert (2000) 33. Inscription 2 appears to have another example of neuter plural *ταῦτα*: *-ΤΩΝ ταῦτα ὑ Ε.[- - -* (line 8). However, this inscription has not been included in the table of data as it is a late inscription (late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC?) and does not show many dialectal features. Pantelides (1997) 106-7 seems to mistake *ταύτων* in IED 13.6 for a Masculine, and therefore suggests that the three genders construct their genitive plural on the basis of a vocalism *ταυτ-*. However, our only evidence is for the feminine and neuter. As far as we know, the masculine may have used *τουτ-* for the genitive plural, as it does for other cases (see IED 5.3, 4). With regards to IED 30, see Minon (1999) 460: “gén. neutre plur. *ταύτων* (10), analogique de *ταῦτα*”. *ταύτων* is included in the section “traits dialectaux”.

ἐν τεπιάροι κ' ἐνέχ|οιτο : τοῖ 'νταῦτ' ἐγγραμένοι (IED 10.10).<sup>520</sup> As with 13.6 above, the adverbs may be interpreted as referring either to the document itself, “what is written here/the regulations here” (namely “these regulations”), or back to “the aforementioned regulations”, stated in the previous lines of the text. The latter is the most common role of οὔτος in inscriptions in any case.

#### **IV.1.3.4. κῆνος/τῆνος**

There seems to be some evidence of a potential case of the series κείνος, or of the Doric form τῆνος, in IED 19, a decree inscribed on a bronze plaque dating from 475/450 BC. If that were the case, this inscription would provide us with the only evidence of the existence of such a series in Elean.

Minon (2007a) 130-131 edits the text that includes the potential demonstrative as follows (lines 1-3): Τιμοκράτει Μάλεκος θεαροδ/[----- ἐν τῖ] | αροὺν δεσ<μ>ὸ τὰ δίκαια [τ]ῆνα· κ' ἀπο[τίνοι ----- ] | τὰ δίκαια; and translates the passage as: “Contre Timokratès, fils de Malex, pour la séquestration d’un (?) théare (venu?) au sanctuaire, les peines que voici: il payerait ... l’amende (...)”. Later (133ff.), she acknowledges the difficulty of editing and interpreting the sequence .ENA, and after rejecting other possible readings, such as [μ]ῆνα, “sentences of prison for a month”, and [κ]ενά, “vacant/unpaid fines”,<sup>521</sup> she affirms that there are only two likely options: either the Doric demonstrative [τ]ῆνα or the adjective [ξ]ένα. Minon

<sup>520</sup> Colvin (2007) 172: “ ‘νταῦτ’: prodelision and elision. ἐνταῦτα < ἐνθαῦτα: Elean and Ionic preserve the earlier form (built to ἐνθα). Att. ἐνταῦθα is the result of metathesis. The replacement of θ by τ in the spelling of ἐνταῦτα indicates that [t<sub>h</sub>] remained an obstruent after [n], rather than becoming a fricative [θ]”. For the morphology of the adverbs see also Minon (2007b) 389.

<sup>521</sup> However, this option seems to be the most plausible, given the fact that the use of a demonstrative such as κείνος here to refer back to something placed immediately before the demonstrative would be very unlikely. οὔτος is normally preferred.

disregards the second alternative given the scarce evidence of the use of the adjective in that sense in Elean, namely “sentences against foreigners” (τὰ δίκαια [ξ]έννα), and considers the demonstrative to be the most sensible option. However, she interprets [τ]έννα as a “présentatif”, a demonstrative referring forwards, a function that is certainly not attested in this particular series. Moreover, the evidence to hand illustrates through extensive examples that the article is used in Elean to perform such a role. I must therefore disagree with Minon’s statements, particularly on two points. First of all, even though I do concur that there is a strong possibility of having a demonstrative here, there is no evidence at all that might lead us to conclude that we have an instance of Doric [τ]έννα instead of simply [κ]έννα (from κε-ενοϝ = κέννοϝ). Secondly, I do not consider that [ ]έννα is accompanying τὰ δίκαια. Some editions precisely suggest that there is a separation between τὰ δίκαια (line 2) and [ ]έννα. Minon adds a semicolon, after [τ]έννα, but in IvO 13, the break appears after τὰ δίκαια, and [ ]έννα is considered to belong to the following sentence.<sup>522</sup> In this case, the demonstrative would be placed in first position referring back to the sentences mentioned before. The phrase “δεσ<μ>ὸ τὰ δίκαια”, that can be understood as “sentences of prison”, reappears in line 11.<sup>523</sup> τὰ δίκαια would therefore appear as a presentative, “For Timokrates (...) the following sentences of prison”, where the article would be fulfilling its usual cataphoric role. The mention of the sentences would be picked up immediately after by [ ]έννα, “he would pay them (i.e. those fines)”. There is a section missing between κ’ἀπο[τίνοι and the second τὰ δίκαια, and the whole sequence is of very difficult interpretation. It is hard

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<sup>522</sup> See also DGE 417.

<sup>523</sup> However, Minon (2007a) 133 suggests that due to the fact that the “sentences” are plural, the genitive shouldn’t be considered as a complement of τὰ δίκαια but as a complement of θεαροῦ.

to say whether the demonstrative is pronominal or adnominal, as it may well be accompanying a noun, namely the second τὰ δίκαια. In any case, the text is too obscure to allow us to propose any further readings; van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 152 simply leave the passage untranslated, labelling it as “passage incompréhensible”.

## ***IV.2. Demonstratives in Cretan***

### **IV.2.1. Introduction**

Unlike other Greek dialects, in which the scarcity of the evidence at hand proves to be a major obstacle to obtaining a clearer picture of the dialectal system of demonstratives, the corpus of Cretan inscriptions is significantly vast; so vast in fact, that for the purposes of the present work and due to length limitations, it was deemed necessary to narrow it. Given that dialectal features tend to disappear and/or inscriptions tend to show elements of *koiné* influence, sometimes earlier, but with certainty from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, and taking into account that most dialectal features would have certainly turned up by mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, the present chapter will deal exclusively with Cretan inscriptions dating up to 250 BC.<sup>524</sup> From within the corpus of Cretan inscriptions, only 68 dating up to the aforementioned period contained demonstratives; 116 occurrences distributed as showed in Figure 24: 58 cases of ὄδε, 45 of οὗτος, 9 of ὄνυ, 3 of ἰός, and a single occurrence of κῆνος.

### **IV.2.2. Distribution of Cretan demonstratives**

§1. Crete is usually divided into three main regions: central, eastern and western, which show some dialectal differences amongst them. Most of our Cretan evidence comes from the central area, particularly from Gortyn, but fortunately all of the regions are represented within the corpus of inscriptions collected. The inscriptions selected for

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<sup>524</sup> For a comprehensive study on the advance of the *koiné* in Crete and the gradual loss of dialectal features see Brixhe (1993). For some important dates, 37-8.

the present chapter correspond to 21 different locations.<sup>525</sup> Central Crete (IC I): Arkades and surrounding area (modern Aphrati), Dreros, Knosos, Lato, Lyktos (Lytos), Olous, Phaistos, Rhaukos, Rhizenia (Rhitten), Tylisos, and Gortyn (IC IV). Western Crete (IC II): Aptara, Axos, Eleutherna, Kydonia, Lisos, Phalasarna, Polyrrhen (Polyrrhenia). Eastern Crete (IC III): Hierapytna, Itanos, Praisos.

As Figure 25 shows, most of our evidence comes from Gortyn: 31 of the 45 occurrences of οὔτος, 15 of the 58 occurrences of ὅδε, the 3 cases of ἰός and our only example of the use of κῆνος in Cretan. However, there are no examples from Gortyn of the use of ὄνυ. Whereas the use of ὅδε and οὔτος is widespread all through the island, the use of ὄνυ is limited to a couple of cities. ὄνυ appears in Central Crete only in Lyktos, and in Western Crete in Eleutherna. Demonstrative ὄνυ was found also in Arcadian and Cyprian, and related forms ending in -νε and -νε appeared in Thessalian and Boeotian, in addition to particle νε in Pamphylian. It is most interesting that a form such as ὄνυ is found in Cretan as well. The fact that ὄνυ surfaces in inscriptions dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and turns up again in an inscription dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century BC,<sup>526</sup> suggests that the demonstrative was not an innovation or a borrowing, but an original dialectal form, as will be discussed below.

§2. Figure 26 shows the distribution of Cretan demonstratives throughout time. Most of our evidence dates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but there are older examples, dating as far as the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. There is early evidence of the use of all the forms in question, which suggests that there may have been a number of different systems of demonstratives in use, all working at the same time.

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<sup>525</sup> For details see the Appendix, Table 9.

<sup>526</sup> See Appendix, Table 9.

§3. As regards the distribution of demonstratives according to type of text (see Figure 27 below), the majority of them are found in decrees (48 inscriptions), with 40 occurrences of ὄδε, 45 of οὗτος, 9 of ὄνυ, 3 of ἰός and 1 of κῆνος. There are also 15 dedications, inscribed on pieces of pottery and weaponry, with 15 occurrences of ὄδε and 1 of οὗτος; two epitaphs with 2 occurrences of ὄδε; a protective charm on a lead tablet with one occurrence of ὄδε;<sup>527</sup> and two fragmentary inscriptions which are very difficult to classify into any of the above categories, with two instances of ὄδε and one of οὗτος.

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<sup>527</sup> However, both the epitaphs and the protective charm are metrical verse inscriptions showing non-dialectal forms. These cases have been included here nevertheless, given that there are plenty of examples of the use of ὄδε in Cretan in dialectal decrees of old date, so there is no doubt that ὄδε belonged to the dialectal system of demonstratives. Besides, they do not contradict the behaviour of the other occurrences of ὄδε in the dialect.



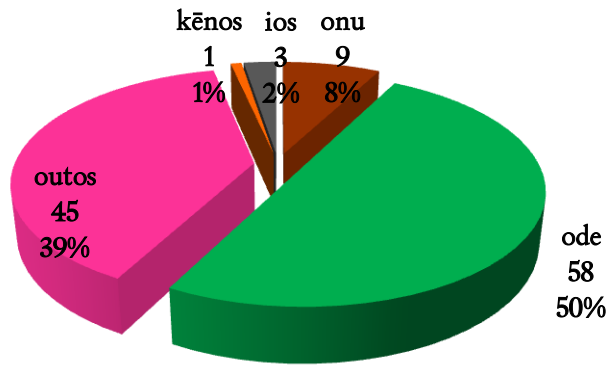


Figure 24. Demonstratives in Cretan Inscriptions

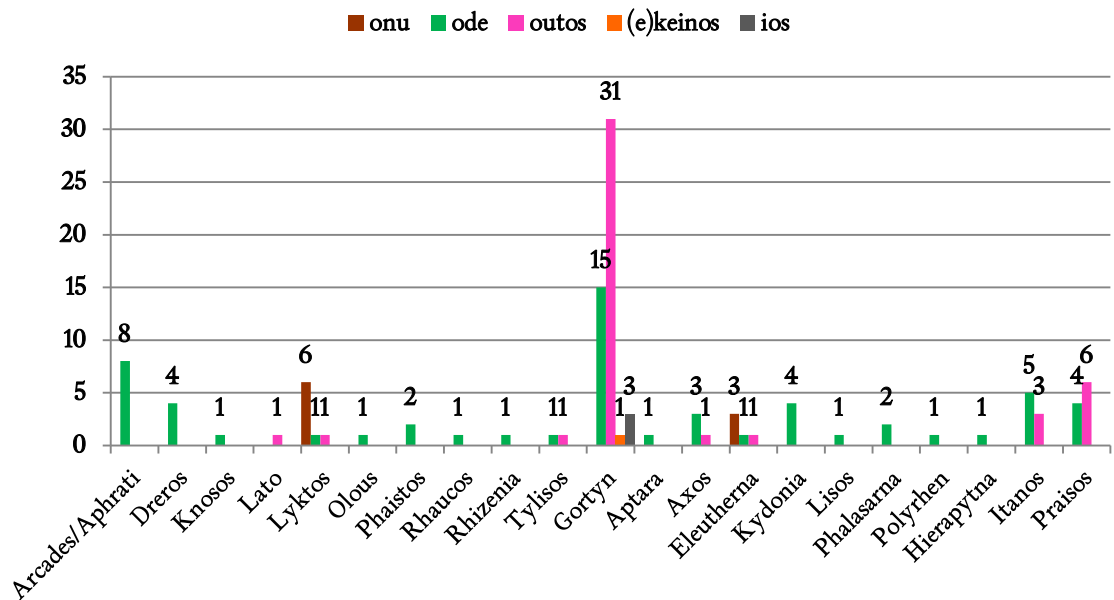


Figure 25. Distribution of Cretan demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions



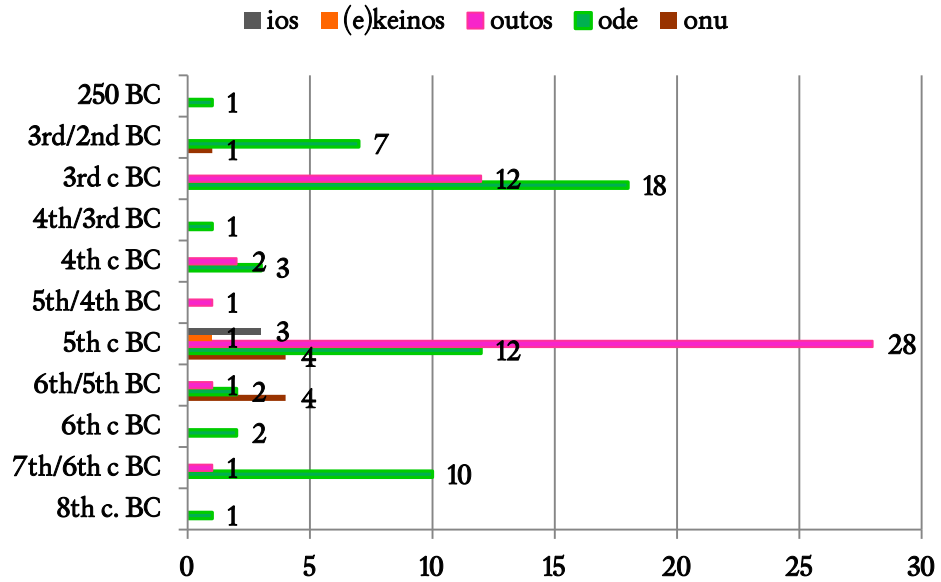


Figure 26. Distribution of Cretan demonstratives across time

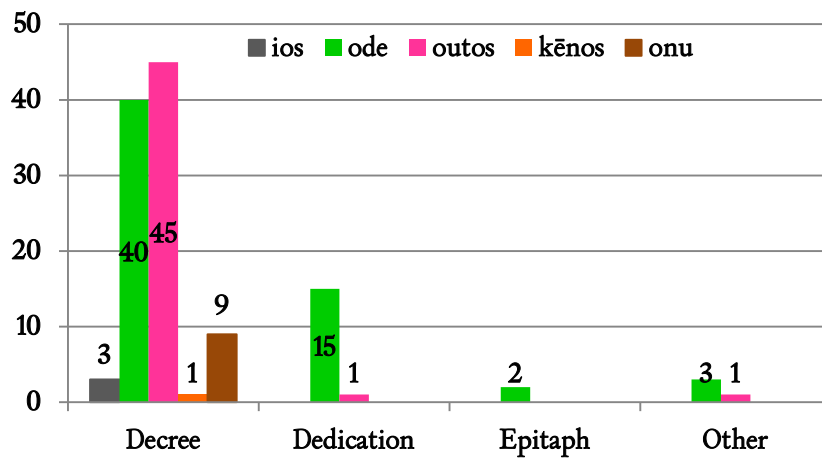


Figure 27. Distribution of Cretan demonstratives according to type of inscription



### IV.2.3. Syntax of Cretan demonstratives

#### IV.2.3.1. ὄδε

The use of ὄδε is widespread throughout the island and across the centuries. There are 58 occurrences of the series, the earliest dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC and coming from central Crete (Phaistos). According to Masson (1976) 169 and Guarducci (1987) 58, this would be also the oldest alphabetic inscription from Crete of which we have evidence. In the inscription (DCA 1), Ἑρπετιδάμῳ Παιδοπίλας ὄδε, “This is of Herpetidamos, (son) of Paidophila”, the demonstrative appears as an independent pronoun used to refer to the artefact, namely the *pithos* on which the text was inscribed. The name of the owner appears in the genitive (of possession), and his affiliation also in the genitive, i.e. the matronymic Παιδοπίλας.<sup>528</sup> There are plenty of examples of Cretan ὄδε performing this role. Moreover, this is the only series which appears to be employed to convey such a meaning. The examples date from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>529</sup> A number of dedications from the area of Apherati (central Crete) inscribed on pieces of weaponry and dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>530</sup> include one example each of this series performing the aforementioned role: ρισοκάρτης τόνδε (DCA 17), [Νέ]ων τόνδ’ ἦλε (DCA 18), Συνήνιτος τόδε ὁ Εὐκλώτα (DCA 20), Αἰσονίδας τόνδ’ ἦλε ὁ Κλοριδίῳ (DCA 21), just to mention some of them.<sup>531</sup> Although in the

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<sup>528</sup> For the interpretation of the text, the various hypotheses on it and the name Paidophila as a matronymic, see Masson (1976).

<sup>529</sup> See Table 9, Appendix.

<sup>530</sup> Bile (1988) 34-5 suggests dating these dedications probably to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970) 153-4 n. 47 date them between 680 and 600 BC. Also SEG 52 829-842, late 7<sup>th</sup>/early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The demonstrative in each case would agree in gender and number with a noun understood or implied, which would correspond to the object carrying the inscription; i.e. in DCA 1, masculine singular ὁ πίθος.

<sup>531</sup> See also DCA 22, 23, SEG 52.833 and 834.

examples above the demonstrative is used pronominally, there are also examples of its adnominal use both in pre- and post-position, as shown below. The evidence does not come only from Phaistos and Aphrati in this region, but there are also examples from Gortyn, Ἐφβολίδας [- - -] Ἰ τόδε [- (SEG 52.859, dating from 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and Tylisos, μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε (IC I xxx 3, a dedication dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC). There are some examples from Western Crete as well: DCA 25 from Axos (Οπριος ὅς τόνδε ἦλε), DCA 56, an epigram dedication from Lisos (Θαρσύτας δ' υἱὸς τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεῶι) and IC II xxiii 20, a verse epitaph from Polyrhēn (τελεσσαμένα τόδε σᾶμα, line 7). It is particularly relevant that ὄδε is used in Lyktos-Aphrati in Central Crete and in Eleutherna and Axos in Western Crete to render this function, particularly because in these cities there is evidence of the use of another series, ὄνυ, complementing the functions performed by ὄδε, as we will see below.

ὄδε is also used to perform three other functions: referring to the document, referring forwards = cataphora, and pointing to the current place, namely a locative.<sup>532</sup>

There are several occurrences of ὄδε used to refer to the document. This function is shared also by οὔτος, but only in two cases (see below). There are plenty of examples of this use from Central and Eastern Crete, but none from Western Crete. The earliest examples come from Gortyn (IC IV 72, early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC): (VI15) τὰδε τὰ γράμματα ἔγ[ο]α[τται] (and again at IX16), “written in these writings”; (XI19-20)

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<sup>532</sup> There is a possibility that in IC II v 1 (Axos, 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) ὄδε has been used to refer deictically to time: τᾶνδ' ἀμέραν| πέντ' ἀμέρας φεργακσα|[μένο]ς τᾶι πόλι ἀμίστος, “of these (current) days, working for five days for the city without payment”, but given that there is an immediate reference to the number of days, it is more likely that the demonstrative is functioning cataphorically, simply pointing forwards to that reference, i.e. “of these (the following) days, for five days working for the city without a salary”. For the interpretation of the inscription see van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 122 ff.

κρέθει δὲ τοῖδδε ἄ|ι τάδε τὰ γράμματ' ἔγραψε “and these (regulations) shall be followed from the time of the inscription of this law”,<sup>533</sup> (XII3) ἄι ἔγρατ|το πρὸ τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων “in the way prescribed before these regulations”.<sup>534</sup> In the three examples above the demonstrative is used adnominally in the less frequent preposition. This is understandable in a long inscription that deals with a number of regulations, where there is a need to individualize a specific law being discussed in a given section and set it in contrast with others. The contrastive value of the demonstrative is particularly clear in VI.15: ἀλλἄι δ'ἔγρατ|[τα]ι, ἄι τάδε τὰ γράμματα ἔγ[ρ]α[τ]ται, where the inscription specifically states what would happen if anyone would proceed as “it is written in another way than *these* regulations are written”.<sup>535</sup>

An Hellenistic inscription, apparently a copy from a document dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, also shows the demonstrative in this role (IC I ix 1.D137): τάδε ὑπομνάμα|τα τᾶς Δρηρίας χώρας| τᾶς ἀρχαίας, “these documents of the ancient land of Dreros”. ὅδε appears again in some later inscriptions, from Olous – central Crete, IC I xxii 4C (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC) ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε| τὸ ψάφισμα; and from Itanos and Praisos –Eastern Crete, beginning to mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC: IC III, iv 3.22, τὰν δὲ γνώμαν| τάνδε, IC III, iv 4.14, τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα| τόδε, IC III, iv 6.5, ἐς τὰν συνθήκαν τάνδε, IC III, iv 7.4, τὸν ὄρκον τόνδε, IC III, vi 7.A14, τόνδε τὸν ὄ[ρ]κον, and B4, κα[ὶ] τὸν ὄρκο]ν τόνδε. In this last example it is interesting to see both positions of the adnominal demonstrative working in the same inscription, the

<sup>533</sup> τοῖδδε < τοῖσδε, with assimilation δδ < σδ. Cf. Willetts (1967) 78.

<sup>534</sup> Translations belong to Willetts (1967).

<sup>535</sup> Willetts(1967) 68, “and it is written otherwise (= otherwise than is written) since the inscription of this law”. According to Willetts these particular regulations are also contrasted with τῶν δὲ πρόθοθα (24).

emphatic pre-position used at the beginning of the decree introducing the new information and identifying this particular law, and the post-position used in the second part of the inscription, where there is no need to identify the decree any further.

There are two examples of the locative role of ὄδε. In DCA 35, a dedication from Kydonia (Western Crete) dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the demonstrative refers to the city in which the inscription has been dedicated: ἀϋ]ξων τάνδε [πό]λ[ι]ν (...) Εϋ?] | πολις ἄδε δωροτέλει μναμειο[ν (1-2), “(wanting to) enlarge (the honour of) this city...Eupolis offers in this way a monument”, again with the demonstrative in an emphatic position.<sup>536</sup> Also in a metrical epitaph from Rhaukos (IC I xxvii 2, 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), there is a reference to the current place, but this time a demonstrative adverb refers to the place where the corpse rests: τεῖδε θανών κεῖται.<sup>537</sup>

Finally, Cretan ὄδε can also perform a cataphoric role, by far its most frequent function in the dialect. There are plenty of examples coming from all the regions and from different periods. The earliest occurrence of this function comes from Dreros (DCA 2, 7<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC): ἄδ’ ἔφαδε | πόλι, “The city decided thus (i.e. as follows)”. The demonstrative adverb is placed at the beginning of the inscription (line 1) pointing forwards to the terms of the law that has been passed, namely introducing new –and relevant- information to the reader.<sup>538</sup> Also in a decree from Kydonia (DCA 36.1; 4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>536</sup> Van Effenterre et al. (1983) 413: “pour faire la grandeur de cette cité”. They suggest considering ἄδε either as an adverbial form or as a neuter plural with demonstrative value. See 413, n. 19.

<sup>537</sup> Also in an inscription from Phalasarna, IC II xix 7.1 (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), ὄδε alludes to the house where the lead tablet was probably hung: τ]ῶνδε κελεύω | [φε]ύγ[ε]με]ν [ἡ]μ]ετέρων οἴκων, “I bid you to flee from these houses of ours”. See Jordan (1992) 194, to whom belong both the edition and interpretation of this passage. The text of the tablet is hexametric, namely it is a verse inscription, and therefore problematic for our research, given that there are not many “good Cretan” forms. Nevertheless, the use of ὄδε in Cretan is attested abundantly elsewhere, so there is no doubt that the form belonged indeed in the dialect.

<sup>538</sup> See also IC IV 78.1 (Gortyn 5th cent. BC): τὰδ’ ἔφαδε τοῖς Γορτυνίοις. τὰδ’ ἔφαδε also in IC IV 232.1; 162 and 378.B1, C1 –all restored; 165; 195.a.1, all 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Also in IC IV 165 (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

cent. BC): τάδε συνέθεντο Κυδωνιᾶται, “This (i.e. the following) the Kydonians have agreed on”. The demonstrative refers to what comes immediately after it, namely the decisions taken by the Kydonians. The same formula is used in two later inscriptions, IC I xxiii 1\* (Phaistos, post 260 BC) τάδε συνέθεντο Φαίστιοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι, and SEG 50.936 (Phalasarna, pre-275 BC) τάδε συνέθεντο Πολυρῆνιοι καὶ Φαλασάρνιοι.<sup>539</sup>

#### ***IV.2.3.2. οὔτος***

This demonstrative occurs 45 times in Cretan inscriptions of the selected period. The distribution of the series is not as widespread as the series of ὅδε, and most of our evidence comes from the city of Gortyn in Central Crete, 31 out of the 45. οὔτος is used in Lato, Lyktos and Tylisos, also in Central Crete; Axos and Eleutherna in Western Crete and Itanos and Praisos in Eastern Crete. The fact that οὔτος appears in Lyktos and Eleutherna (and Axos), the cities from which comes our only evidence of the use of the series ὄνυ in Cretan, is certainly disturbing. However, as will be discussed below, our evidence of the use of ὄνυ dates mainly from the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, only one example from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC. That is to say, the evidence is of old date and it would be unwise to consider it as an innovation. The evidence we have of the use of οὔτος in Lyktos, on the contrary, is quite late, dating from 249 BC. οὔτος is used there to refer to the document, and the inscription seems to be barely dialectal (IC I xviii 8.9: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο). The same can be said regarding the use of this series in Axos. The inscription, DCA 34, dates from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>

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BC). [τάδ' ἔ]βαδε in IC I xvi.1.1. For details on the formula see van Effenterre and Demargne (1937) 334-335; 341-342.

<sup>539</sup> For more details and other examples of the use of ὅδε as cataphora, refer to the Appendix, Table 9.

century BC but bears only a few dialectal features (line 21: ἐπιβα<α>λλούσας ταῦτα). However, there is one inscription from Eleutherna, the only extant evidence of the use of this series in the city, that is neither recent nor written in *koiné*. The inscription –IC II xii 3, dates from the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: - - ]τα ἄπατον ἡμῶν ὄφτο[- - - (line 5). Even though the text is fragmentary, there is a possibility that ὄφτο[- may be an early occurrence of the pronoun οὗτος in the city, which would pose a problem if we want to consider the system of demonstratives in Eleutherna as consisting of ὄνυ (anaphora) and ὄδε (referring forwards and to the artefact).<sup>540</sup>

The remaining examples of the use of οὗτος come from Lato (1 case), Itanos (3 cases), Praisos (6) and Gortyn (31). Apart from a single example of οὗτος being used to refer to the document, IC I xvi 20.5, a 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC decree from Lato,<sup>541</sup> the main role performed by this series is referring back to a previous section of text.

Most of our evidence from Itanos is relatively late (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC).<sup>542</sup> Our earliest evidence of the use of οὗτος comes from Gortyn (IC IV 3.6), dating from mid 7<sup>th</sup>/ end of 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Unfortunately the context is too fragmentary to propose an interpretation of the demonstrative's function: - - -]λ[.....]το[.]..απρροσυναί κα[- - - - -] | [- - - -]ας | οἱ ὄφτοι ον[- - -. There is evidence of the anaphoric role of οὗτος in many inscriptions from Gortyn: IC IV 42.11, 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (αἰ δαμόσιον τι κολύσ|αι

<sup>540</sup> See IV.2.3.4 below.

<sup>541</sup> The inscription is very fragmentary: - -]αῦτα δὲ ἀγγράψ[αι- - -. The use of οὗτος in this case might well be due to *koiné* influence, as was the case in IC I xviii 8. There are plenty of examples of this role (referring to the document) in Gortyn, and in every case the series in use appears to be ὄδε, not οὗτος. See above.

<sup>542</sup> There is a dedication dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC showing οὗτος in an anaphoric role (IC III, iv 11.1-8): Πάτρων Διὶ | Ἐπ[ο]ψί[ω]τι ἀνέ[θ]ηκε. | τροπα[ί] χει|μεριναί. | εἴ τιτι τούτων ἐπιμει|λές, but the inscription does not seem to bear any dialectal features.

ἢ θάνατος οἷος διακολυσεῖ, μηδατ|έρ(ο)νς ταύταις καταβλάπεθαι, referring back to the circumstances mentioned before);<sup>543</sup> IC IV 43.4, 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (αἱ τις ταυτὰν πρίαιτο ἢ καταθε[ῖ]το, referring back to the plantation mentioned in lines 1-2); IC IV 75, ca. 480-450 BC (A9 ὁμνύμεν δὲ| ἕ μὰν τούτο μ[έν] ἐστι ἀβλοπί|αι δίκαιος..., referring to specific legal requirements necessary to make a pledge on assets, mentioned immediately before;<sup>544</sup> and C6 ἄλλον π[ρὸ] τούτο ἐνεκ|[υ]ράδδοντ[α] ἄπατον ἔμεν, pointing back to αἱ κά τις πρ[ο]εῖγυς..., mentioned in line C3); and IC IV 91.3 (- ἐ]πὶ τούτοι ἔμεν τὸν κα[ρ]πό|ν, referring back to the subject of the inscription, line 3, ὁ καταθὲν[ς]), to mention only some examples.<sup>545</sup> However, all these inscriptions contain occurrences of only one of the series of demonstratives in use in Cretan, namely οὗτος. It is more interesting to observe the roles performed by each of the series in inscriptions that contain a combination of demonstratives. In Cretan we find examples of the use of ὅδε and ὄνυ, ὅδε and οὗτος, κῆνος and οὗτος, and ὅδε, οὗτος and ἰός in the same inscription.<sup>546</sup> When ὅδε and οὗτος appear in the same text, the distribution of roles is clear: ὅδε is used to refer either to the document or forwards; οὗτος is employed to refer back, e.g. in IC III iv 8.2, 20 (Itanos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) τὰ]δε ὤμοσαν τοὶ Ἰτάνιοι π[ά]ν|τες, “this (the following) swore all the Itanians”; αἱ τί[ς] κα χ]ρήιζι τούτων τ[ι] ποιεῖν, “if somebody eventually desires to do any of these (i.e. the things mentioned before)”. In IC III vi 7.A3, 7, 8, 14 (Praisos, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) we have ὅδε referring forwards,

<sup>543</sup> van Effenterre and Ruzé (1995) 38: “Mais si l’empêchement est dû à une affaire publique ou à quelque chose comme un décès, ni l’un, ni l’autre ne sera lésé par ces circonstances”.

<sup>544</sup> Similar formula in IC IV 81.12.

<sup>545</sup> For more details of inscriptions where οὗτος is used to refer back, see Appendix, Table 9.

<sup>546</sup> See sections IV.2.3.3, 4 and 5 below.

introducing new information, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πραῖσιοι Σταλίταις τὰν χλῶραν... “on the following (terms) the people of Praisos gave to the Stalitians the land...”; οὗτος referring back, τούτων πάντων τὸ ἥμισσον “the half of all these” (what they gave to them, referred to before, note the emphatic use of the demonstrative in pre-position), ταῦτα δὲ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό[νο]ν “and they gave these things (previously mentioned) for the whole time, i.e. forever”; and ὅδε used to refer to the document, ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ Πραισίων ὁμοσά[τω]...τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον “And the *kosmos* (magistrate) of the people of Praisos is to swear *this* oath (this particular one and no other, note again the demonstrative pre-positioned)”.<sup>547</sup> We would expect both οὗτος and κῆνος to be used anaphorically when they appear in the same text. IC IV 41, discussed below, contains one example each of these two series. Unfortunately, the section of the inscription where οὗτος appears (column VII.6) is too fragmentary, and the role of οὗτος in the text cannot be clearly interpreted from its context.

#### **IV.2.3.3. κῆνος**

There is only one example of the use of κῆνος in Cretan. The demonstrative appears in a decree from Gortyn, IC IV 41, dating from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The form κῆνῶ appears to be in the genitive neuter singular, with contraction ε + ε = η and ῶ rendering ῶ, i.e. κείνου.<sup>548</sup> The demonstrative seems to be used anaphorically in the phrase ἐπὶ τῷ]ι ἀδικ[η]θέντι ἡμην,| [αἶ] κα λῆι, τὸ φ[όν] αὐτῷ δόμην τὸ δὲ

<sup>547</sup> There are many examples of these uses dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in IC IV 72, the “Gortyn Law”. In all of them οὗτος is used anaphorically and ὅδε is used cataphorically or to refer to the document. For details see the Appendix, Table 9.

<sup>548</sup> See Guarducci (1950) 93. Bechtel (1923) 678 gives κῆνῶ as an example of the Cretan contraction ε + ε. According to Bechtel 739, that κῆνῶ is a demonstrative corresponding to ἐκεῖνος is confirmed also by Hesychius’ gloss: κηνούει ἐκεῖ. Κοῆτες (κηνούει=κήνυι). For *-ui* in Gortyn see Baunack and Baunack (1885) 61-2. For the formation of (ἐ)κεῖνος see I.1.3.4 above.

κῆνῶ ἔλκεν, “let it be in the hands of the ill-treated party, if they eventually wish it, to give what is theirs but to keep what is of that one” (i.e. of the other party) (I.1-5).<sup>549</sup> Although the beginning of the inscription is corrupted, there seem to be only a few lines missing, but since this inscription belonged to a group of texts inscribed on blocks of stone forming a wall, it is also possible that we are missing an entire block, which might have contained the beginning of the inscription. κῆνῶ seems to be performing an anaphoric role, and its reference might have been located either in the missing lines of the inscription or in the potential missing block, but unfortunately we are unable to provide a definite interpretation. From an anaphoric point of view, (ἐ)κεῖνος can be used to refer back not only to something previously mentioned but also to something that is either well-known/common knowledge for speaker(s) and addressee(s), or has to be/can be understood from the context, just like οὗτος, but unlike the latter, its reference lies normally farther away, the demonstrative being distal and not proximal like οὗτος.<sup>550</sup> In this case, it would seem that κῆνῶ is used in opposition to αὐτός, to differentiate one party from the other, namely “otherness” as opposed to “selfness”.<sup>551</sup>

#### ***IV.2.3.4. ὄνο***

Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970) 134 had stated that, at least for Eleutherna, it was possible to reconstruct “a pronominal system which included both ὄνο and ὄδε with different meanings”, and that it was relevant to notice a similarity with the system

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<sup>549</sup> Bile (1988) 288: “que (le vainqueur) conserve (les biens) du perdant”. See also van Effenterre and Ruzé (1995) 236: “il appartiendra à la victime, si elle le veut bien, de donner le sien et d’avoir celui de l’autre partie”. Even though the interpretations differ slightly, what interests us is that both consider that the demonstrative is referring to something that seems to be well-known or to have been mentioned before. See also Koerner (1993) 376: “wen Unrecht widerfahren ist, (dem) soll es möglich sein, [wenn] er will, sein [eigenes] (gleichartiges Tier) zu geben, das von jenem aber zu erhalten”.

<sup>550</sup> See e.g. Bakker (2010a) 159: “Just as in real life one can point with ἐκεῖνος to something that is farther removed than the item pointed at with οὗτος, so one can use ἐκεῖνος in text to refer back to what is farther removed than the immediately preceding material referred to with οὗτος”.

<sup>551</sup> Certainly ἐκεῖνος can be used to express alienation, distancing, estrangement, a very different anaphoric value to that rendered normally by οὗτος or, as we will see, ὄνο.

of demonstratives in Arcadian.<sup>552</sup> It is indeed tempting to see the presence of this series as a survival of an Arcado-Cyprian-Mycenaean substrate, given that the Cretan dialect was superimposed over the Mycenaean remnants.<sup>553</sup> Demonstrative ὄνυ, a part of the system of demonstratives of both Arcadian and Cyprian, occurs in Cretan nine times in two, possibly three, different cities. The pronoun is used in Central Crete (Lyktos-Aphrati) and in Western Crete (Eleutherna, and also probably Axos –IC II v 20).<sup>554</sup> ὄνυ appears only in the genitive and dative cases –possibly in the accusative case in IC II v 20.5, always performing an anaphoric role, referring back to something/someone previously mentioned. In DCA 28 (=SEG 27.631) a decree from Lyktos-Aphrati dating from the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>555</sup> the demonstrative (lines 8 and 10, genitive masculine singular) is used pronominally as a genitive of possession to point back to the subject of the decree, the scribe Spensithios:<sup>556</sup>

ποινικάζεν δὲ | [π]όλι καὶ μναμονεῦφεν τὰ δαμόσια μήτε τὰ  
 θιήμια μήτε τὰνθρώπινα μηδέν' ἄλλον αἰ μὴ Σπενσίθ[ι]ο]ν  
 αὐτόν τε καὶ γενιάν τῶνυ, αἰ μὴ ἐπαίροι τ|ε καὶ κέλοιτο ἢ  
 αὐτὸς Σπενσίθιος ἢ γενιὰ | [τ]ῶνυ ὅσοι δρομῆς εἶεν τῶν  
 [υἱ]ῶν οἱ πλίεις· (DCA 28, 5-10)

No one else is to be scribe and recorder for the city in public affairs, neither sacred nor secular, except Spensithios himself and his descendants, unless Spensithios himself should induce and bid the city, or else the majority of his sons, as many as be adult.<sup>557</sup>

<sup>552</sup> However, there is a potential case of οὔτος in Eleutherna, see IV.2.3.2 above.

<sup>553</sup> See below.

<sup>554</sup> IC II v 20, a very fragmentary inscription from Axos, includes a possible example of ὄνυ: - -] τᾶσνυ/τάσνυ (line 5). However, the inscription has neither been included in the table of data nor has it been used for statistics or in the Figures above, the reason being both that the inscription is too fragmentary and that it dates from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, going beyond the cut-off date proposed above.

<sup>555</sup> Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970) 122: “late archaic”, around 500 BC; van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 102: ca. 550 BC.

<sup>556</sup> For a similar formula to αὐτόν τε καὶ γενιάν τῶνυ, but with the use of a different demonstrative, i.e. ἐκεῖνος or οὔτος, see Lesbian, III.1.3.3, and Thessalian, III.3.3.3 above.

<sup>557</sup> Translation by Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970) 125.

In IC II xii 11, a fragmentary inscription from Eleutherna (6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> BC), the demonstrative occurs twice in what seems to be the dative case (masculine singular) apparently referring back to the person dealt with in the decree, namely somebody declared legally absent.<sup>558</sup> τῶινυ, either “on behalf of the aforementioned person”, or “for the aforementioned person”, appears to be used anaphorically in any case.<sup>559</sup>

[— — αἴ τι]ς πέρανδε πλέοι ἢ θιαρὸς ἦ . [— —]  
 [— —]ος διαλαίη ἐκς ἐνιοφτιτο[ς— —]  
 [— — ἐκτ]όπιος. αἴ τις τῶινυ ποινικά[ζοντας?— —]  
 [— — ἦ τ]ῶινυ μὴ δικάζοντας τὸς ζ[— —]  
 [— —] ἀπάτος ἦμῶν. αἰ δὲ καρπόσαιτο [— — ] (IC II xii 11, 1-5)<sup>560</sup>

The anaphoric role of ὄνυ is clearly visible in other two inscriptions that contain occurrences of this series, especially because the function performed by ὄνυ is shown in plain contrast to the function performed by ὄδε. In DCA 12B (=SEG 35.991B), a decree from Lyktos dating from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the four occurrences of ὄνυ in the genitive neuter singular are used adverbially, genitive of place,<sup>561</sup> in each case pointing back to a previously defined boundary (“from that point”). On the contrary, ὄδε is employed cataphorically, referring forwards to the boundaries that are to be detailed in the inscription (“the boundary to be the following”).<sup>562</sup>

<sup>558</sup> The inscription is, however, of difficult interpretation and several readings have been proposed. See e.g. van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 66 ff, also Koerner (1993) 362.

<sup>559</sup> van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 66: “à son propos”.

<sup>560</sup> The edition of the text belongs to van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 67.

<sup>561</sup> van Effenterre and van Effenterre (1985) 171.

<sup>562</sup> See van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994) 60, *Nomima* I, 12: “Dieux! Décision des Lyttiens: pour la mise en commun et le tri du petit et du gros bétail ainsi que des truies, la limite sera la suivante: à (*vel* de) Dét- - - en suivant la route droite jusqu’au carrefour (?) et de là, en suivant la route vers le To- - - , et de là, en suivant la route vers l’ancienne Seia (?)...”. Also Koerner (1993) 331: “...Rindern und Schweinen soll folgende Grenze gelten: Von Det--- den Weg entlang - - - und von da den Weg entlang zum To- - - und von da...”.

[θιο]ί. | ἔφαδε | Λυκτίοισι | τᾱς κοι-  
 ναωνίας | καὶ τᾱ(ς) συνκρίσιος | τ[ῶν π]-  
 [ροβ]άτων | καὶ τῶν καρταιπόδων | καὶ  
 τᾱν ὑῶν | ὄρο(ν) μὲν ἡμεν | τόνδε· | Δητ[. .]  
 [. . .] ᾱὶ ἄ ὀδὸς | αειθεια | μεταμαρτεια.  
 ε | καὶ τῶνυ | ᾱὶ ἄ ὀδὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Το[— — —]  
 [. . κ]αὶ τῶνυ | ᾱὶ ἄ ὀδὸς | ἐς Παλαισειαν | ᾱ-  
 ι ἄ ὀδὸς | ὑπανπέτιν | μέτ(τ)᾽ ἐς Πυτ.[. .]  
 [. .] ᾱὶ ἄ ὀδὸς [— — —]ρεα | καὶ τῶνυ | ᾱ[ι]  
 [ἄ] ὀδὸς | κατὰ | .[— — — ὑπανπ]έτιν | ἐ[— — —]  
 [. .].ο | καὶ τ[— — — καὶ τῶ]νυ ᾱὶ ἄ ὀδὸς [. .] (DCA 12, B.1-11)

In IC II xii 22, a later inscription from Eleutherna dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/ 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, ὄδε and ὄνυ appear again used together in the same text. Unfortunately, the section in which ὄδε is used (A2, — —]αυ. τόδε | [— — — — —]μεναι) is fragmentary, so it is difficult to propose a translation or to identify its function. However, ὄνυ appears later (B13) clearly performing an anaphoric role, referring back to ὅστις, mentioned in line 7:

ὅσ[τ]ις δέ κ' ἀπολείπητι τᾱν πολ[ι]τήϊαν τῶν Ἀρτεμιτᾱν  
 [ἐ]παγγηλάτω τοῖς κόσμοι[ς] | τοῖς Ἐλουθερναίοις· αὶ δέ  
 κ[α] | μὴ ἐπαγγήλη, τὰ θίνα μὴ ἰλνῆμεν τῶινυ. (IC II xii 22 B  
 7-13)

And whoever abandons the citizenship of the Artemitai is to report it to the Eleuthernian *kosmos* (magistrate). If he does not report it, let worship not be possible for that one.

Even though we cannot affirm that in this inscription ὄδε and ὄνυ perform opposite roles, the fact that the two series are used together is significant enough in itself. As Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970) 133-4 state, every occurrence of ὄνυ is used to refer back, whereas examples of the use of ὄδε coming from the same cities show that

this series was employed to refer either forwards or to the artefact. This would be an indication that at least for these cities (Lyktos, Eleutherna and Axos) the system of demonstratives would have included these two series working together, in a parallel way to ὄδε and ὄνυ in Arcadian, where the functions of ὄνυ could be compared to those of Attic οὗτος.<sup>563</sup> As we saw above, there is an example of the use of both series working together in the same text, each of them performing a different role. It is significant as well that the combinations ὄδε + ὄνυ and ὄδε + οὗτος are possible in Cretan but not the combination ὄνυ + οὗτος. Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies (1970) repeatedly emphasize (122, 133, 147-8) the significance of a form that would be equivalent to Arcado-Cyprian ὄνυ, as this coincidence could support the theory that a) the distribution of this pronoun across ancient Greek dialects would be more extensive than originally thought, and consequently that b) Cretan ὄνυ could in fact be a pre-Doric remnant.<sup>564</sup>

#### **IV.2.3.5. ἰός**

In an early article dedicated specifically to this form, Buck (1906) 409 had established that the form ἰός did not correspond originally –at least not morphologically, to a demonstrative pronoun but to a numeral, and that this form had to be interpreted together with ἰός in Homer, feminine ἰά = μία, “one”.<sup>565</sup> According to the author, however, Cretan ἰός would be semantically equivalent to Attic ἐκεῖνος,

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<sup>563</sup> Bile (1988) 288 was obviously mistaken when affirming a) that ὄνυ would be a variant of ὄδε, and b) that ὄδε and ὄνυ coincide in some roles.

<sup>564</sup> See Brixhe (1991) 60-61; 65-67. He supports the hypothesis that ὄνυ, amongst other features, may have been passed on by a group of Mycenaean of Arcadian origin, who would have settled in Crete before the Doric invasion. The fact that the demonstrative comes up in central Crete (Axos, Eleutherna, Arkades) may indicate that the Mycenaean presence was particularly strong in this area (see p.75).

<sup>565</sup> However, ἰός seems to be used with pronominal force in *Iliad*, 6.422: οἱ μὲν πάντες ἰὼ κίον ἡματι Ἄϊδος εἶσω; ἰὼ ἡματι meaning “that day”. Nevertheless, it is true that the reference could also be to “on one day”.

given that it seemed to show a pronominal force that could not be translated as “the one” but as “that one” instead.<sup>566</sup> Chantraine (1968) 466 defines ἰός directly as a demonstrative, “celui-là”, but points out that the feminine is far more frequent, in this case with the sense of a numeral, “the one”, or a reflexive, “the same”. Chantraine argues that the form is morphologically related to PIE \*i-, and does not derive from εἶς,<sup>567</sup> despite the fact that feminine ἰα is declined like μία.

ἰός with pronominal force appears in Cretan only three times, and exclusively in Gortyn (IC IV 72, “Gortyn Law”, VII 23, VIII 8 and IX 29).<sup>568</sup> In VII 23, ἰός is used in the dative masculine singular pointing back to the group of “υἱέεδ δὲ ἐκς ἀδελπιῶν”, particularly to that one who is the son of the oldest brother: αἰ δέ κα μὲ ἰῶντι ἀδελπιῶν ἰ τῷ πατρὸς, υἱέεδ δὲ ἐκς ἀδελπιῶν, ὅπυιέθαι ἰῶι τῷ [ἐ]ς τῷ π[ρ]ειγίστῳ, “And if there should be no brothers of the father, but sons of the brothers, she is to be married to that one (who is the son) of the oldest”.<sup>569</sup> Buck (1906) 410 refutes that ἰῶι in this case can be taken as πρώτῳ, namely “the first of the oldest”, particularly because of the absence of an article, which would render the expression indefinite, “one of the oldest”, which is not the case. The defining expression that follows ἰῶι, on the other hand, would act precisely as an epexegetis of the pronoun, i.e.

<sup>566</sup> See also Buck (1955) 94.

<sup>567</sup> For PIE \*i- see I.1.3.1 above. According to Beekes (2010) 571, the pronoun “continues an inflected form of \*h<sub>1</sub>i-”.

<sup>568</sup> DELG: 466, the form, with this sense, is also found in another Doric dialect, Messenian, in a late cult inscription dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, 92/91 BC, from the city of Andania –IG V 1, 1390.B126: τ[ὸ]ν γ' ἰὸν ἐνιαυτόν, “on that year”: οἱ δαμιοργοὶ τοῦ ἕκτου μηνὸς τῶν δωδεκάται, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κλαῶρον τῶν ἱερῶν [καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γί-]νεσθαι, ἀποδόντ[ω] τῶν δάμωι χειροτολῖαν, ὅπως καταστάσει ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν δέκα, μὴ νεωτέρους ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα μὴ [δ]ὲ δις τοὺς αὐτοὺς τ[ὸ]ν γ' ἰὸν ἐνιαυτόν. (B 117-126)

<sup>569</sup> Translation by Willetts (1967) 45.

“that one who...”.<sup>570</sup> In the occurrence of VIII 8, ἀποδατῆθαι δὲ τῶν κρεμμάτων ἰοῖ, “but she is to give a share of the property to that one (i.e. to the rejected groom-elect)”,<sup>571</sup> the form is used again in the same case, gender and number, and again referring back to someone previously mentioned (VII 54-55, ἔἰς ἀνὼρος ἔστι ὁ ἐπιβιβάλλ[λ]ῶν).<sup>572</sup> Again, Buck (1906) 409 refutes the theory that in this case ἰός can be interpreted as πρῶτος, given that the reference is clearly not to “the first” (for which, again, the presence of an article would be preferred) but to “the aforementioned”. Finally, in IX 29, ἐπιμῶλιν ἰὸς πρὸ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, “one must bring suit against that person before the end of the year”,<sup>573</sup> ἰός again refers back to somebody mentioned before in the passage:

αἰὶ δὲ νικάσαι μὲ τᾶς πατρ[οῖ]όκλῳ ἔμῃν, μῶλῆν ὅπε κ’  
ἐπιβάλλει, ἔἰς φεκάστῳ ἔγρατται | αἰ ἀν[δ]εκσ[τάμ]ενος ἔἰς  
νενικαμένον[ος] ἔἰς ἐν]κ[οι]οτᾶνς ὀπέλῶν. ἔἰς διαβαλόμενος ἔἰς  
διαφειπάμενος ἀποθά[νο]ι ἔἰς τούτῳ ἄλλος, ἐπιμῶλιν ἰὸς πρὸ  
τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ (IC IV 72, IX 21-29)

It is interesting that in this passage another form of a demonstrative is used immediately before ἰός, namely οὗτος, and that some lines before, the series ὅδε appears as well (IX.16: ἄ | ι τὰδε τὰ γ[ράμμ]ατ’ [ἔγρατται.). ὅδε is clearly used for a specific and very different purpose, that is to say referring to the document itself (see above). However, the distinction between the use of οὗτος and ἰός is more delicate. According to Buck (1906) 411, who translates the sentence as “action shall be brought

<sup>570</sup> Bile (1988) 288 considers the occurrence of ἰός in VII 23 as a doubtful example, which could be translated either as a numeral or as a demonstrative. On the contrary, she considers the example of IX 29 as a certain example of ἰός used as a demonstrative. For the opposite view, see Buck (1906) 411.

<sup>571</sup> Willetts (1967) 46.

<sup>572</sup> Bile (1988) 288: “qu’elle partage les biens avec celui-ci”.

<sup>573</sup> Translation by Willetts (1967) 47.

against that one (the aforesaid deceased...) before the end of a year”, ἰὸ would be referring to the deceased –or rather the state of the deceased- but so would τούτῳ. Buck does not explain why the inscription would have two different demonstratives so close to each other used to refer to the same person. In Willetts’ translation it is not clear whether both demonstratives refer back to the same person or not.<sup>574</sup> One may think that τούτῳ is referring to the deceased but ἰὸ to ἄλλος: “If one dies who has gone surety or has lost a suit or owes money given as security or has been involved in fraud (?) or another (be in like relationship) to him, one must bring suit against that person before the end of the year”. Willetts (74) explains that τούτῳ ἄλλος refers to the fact that the creditor may die (“if the creditor should die”), and that ἰὸ is equivalent to ἐκεῖνος. It seems, however, that whereas τούτῳ refers to the person who dies owing money, ἰὸ refers to both the person who dies owing money and the person who dies being owed money, i.e. whatever the case, actions is to be taken before the end of the year. Other possible explanation of the use of both οὗτος and ἰός here may be that whereas οὗτος is pointing back to the deceased, ἰὸ may be in fact referring to the matter of the lawsuit, i.e. “one must bring suit in that matter before the end of the year” or “one must take care of this (i.e. the aforementioned matter) before the end of the year”.<sup>575</sup> If this was the case, it may have been necessary to have a demonstrative other than οὗτος to differentiate both references; otherwise the text would have become confusing and ambiguous.

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<sup>574</sup> Cf. Willetts (1967) 47.

<sup>575</sup> Cf. Guarducci (1950) 72: “ἰὸ pronominis genitivum ‘hinsichtlich dieser Sache’ iure vertit Maas”. Also Koerner (1993) 537. However, Koerner does not consider τούτῳ to be referring to a person, but rather to the situation, i.e. “in the afore-mentioned case”: “oder aber der Gläubiger zu diesem (d.h. in den genannten Fällen), see 537-538.

### ***IV.3. Demonstratives in Laconian***

#### **IV.3.1. Introduction**

The system of demonstratives of Laconian appears to be quite simple compared to some of the dialects discussed above (see Figure 28 below). There are 36 inscriptions showing the use of at least one demonstrative form, with a total of 52 occurrences. However, there is only evidence of the use of two series, ὄδε, 26 occurrences, and οὗτος, with the same number of cases. There is no evidence of ἐκεῖνος in inscriptions, but there is evidence of its use in literary sources in the dialect.<sup>576</sup> On the other hand, the article appears to be used as a regular definite article and does not perform demonstrative roles.<sup>577</sup> Unfortunately our evidence is rather limited, given that there are only a few archaic inscriptions that are non-metrical and/or completely dialectal. The rest of the evidence comprises epigrams, metrical epitaphs and dedications, and inscriptions that show *koiné* influence or are written mainly in *koiné*.

Brixhe (1996) 94-95 argues that the situation of the inscriptions in Laconia is more complex than it may appear at first sight, and that one should take into careful consideration both the periodization of the dialect and the linguistic history of the region before labelling inscriptions as “dialectal” or “written in *koiné*”. Firstly, there is

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<sup>576</sup> Even though there is no evidence of the use of ἐκεῖνος in Laconian inscriptions, there are examples of its use in literary texts, e.g. Alcman fragment 7.1 καὶ κῆνος, and fragment 26.81, κῆνας γενοίμην. The numeration and edition corresponds to Calame (1983). Calame (1983) 356: “cette forme du démonstratif représente la norme dans les dialectes du Nord-Ouest et de l’Ouest”. Also Page (1951) 150. In the second example, Calame (1983) 405 explains that the use of a form of ἐκεῖνος instead of a form of οὗτος is due to the fact that the person referred to by the demonstrative is in some way exterior to the main group of people alluded to in the fragment. For a similar use of ἐκεῖνος see also IV.4.3.3 below. Due to space limits this study will not deal with literary sources in detail.

<sup>577</sup> For a detailed analysis of the morphology and functions of the article in Laconian, see Striano Corrochano (1989c) 217-220. I am grateful to Dr. Striano Corrochano for giving me access to some of her publications.

the problem of the scarcity of the evidence, which is both limited and of poor content. Secondly, there is the question of what we define as *koiná*. According to Brixhe the *koiná* of many of the inscriptions is actually a mixed language that blossomed in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Brixhe considers that the Laconian dialect can be divided into four periods: 1) up to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, with a dialect almost completely free of foreign features; 2) 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> BC, emergence of non-Laconian features, preparing the ground for 3) 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> BC, when a mixed complex written language emerges and blossoms; and finally 4) beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, with Attic *koiné* taking over as the written language of inscriptions, but still showing some minor dialectal traces. In this period it is still possible to find some dialectal texts, but they are restricted to the sacred sphere.<sup>578</sup>

#### IV.3.2. Distribution of Laconian demonstratives

§1. The geographical distribution of the two series of demonstratives in Laconia seems to be fairly straightforward as well. There are enough examples of the use of both series in central Laconia (Mystras and Sparta), in the Eastern area (the Malea Peninsula to the East of the river Eurotas: Epidauros Limerá, Kotyrta, modern Phoiniki, Geronthrai, and also the island Kythera, off the south-eastern coast of Laconia) and in the Western area (to the West of the river Eurotas: Gytheion, Psamathous, and Tainaron). In both the Eastern and Western areas there are more examples of the use of οὔτος than of the use of ὅδε, but the latter is none the less well represented. There are also some examples of Laconian οὔτος and ὅδε found in inscriptions from Olympia

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<sup>578</sup> Brixhe (1996) 98-99.

and Delphi, and two cases of οὔτος of unknown/not specified provenance (general Laconia).<sup>579</sup>

§2. As regards the distribution of the two series across time, Figure 30 shows that the earliest example of a demonstrative in Laconian dates from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and is a case of the series ὄδε. The majority of our examples of this series are archaic, and extend as late as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. In contrast, the majority of the occurrences of οὔτος are quite late, but there are some archaic examples as well, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> (3 cases), 5<sup>th</sup> (1 case) and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (3 cases).

§3. Finally, concerning the distribution of demonstratives according to type of text, as expected, the majority of occurrences of οὔτος appear in decrees (19 out of 26) whereas the majority of occurrences of ὄδε appear in dedications (19 out of 26) and epitaphs (5). The number of instances of ὄδε in decrees is very low (only 2 out of 26) but there is a comparatively larger number of examples of οὔτος in dedications (7).<sup>580</sup>

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<sup>579</sup> See Figure 29.

<sup>580</sup> See Figure 31.



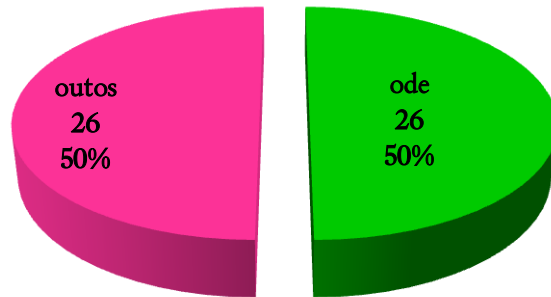


Figure 28. Demonstratives in Laconian Inscriptions

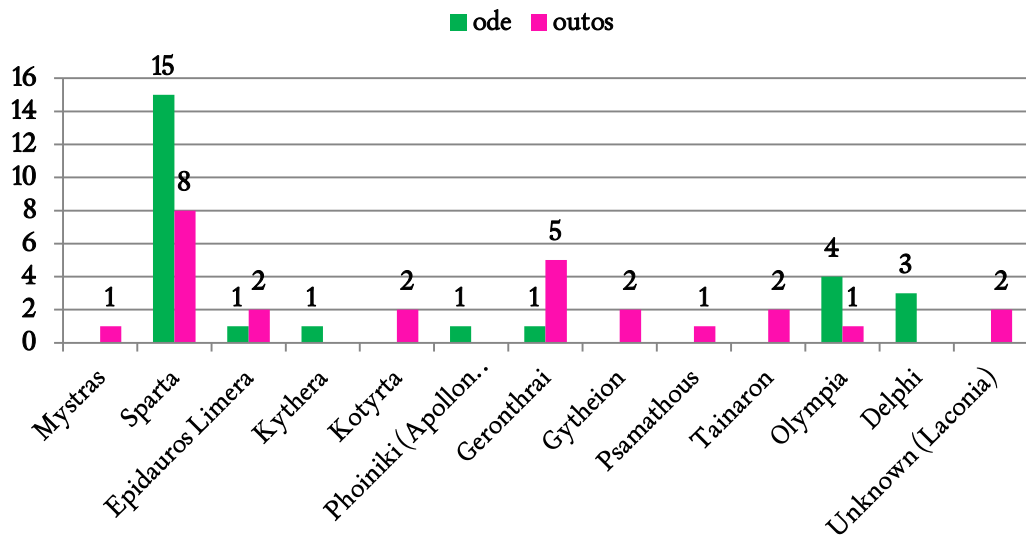


Figure 29. Distribution of Laconian demonstratives according to provenance of inscriptions



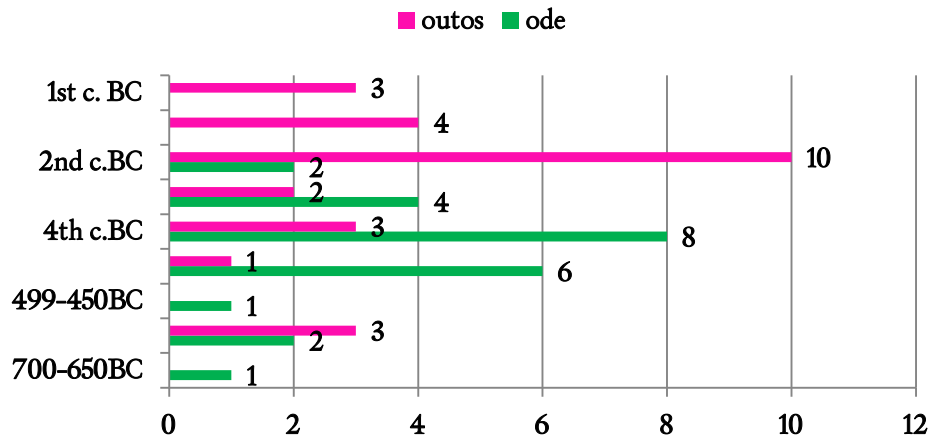


Figure 30. Distribution of Laconian demonstratives across time

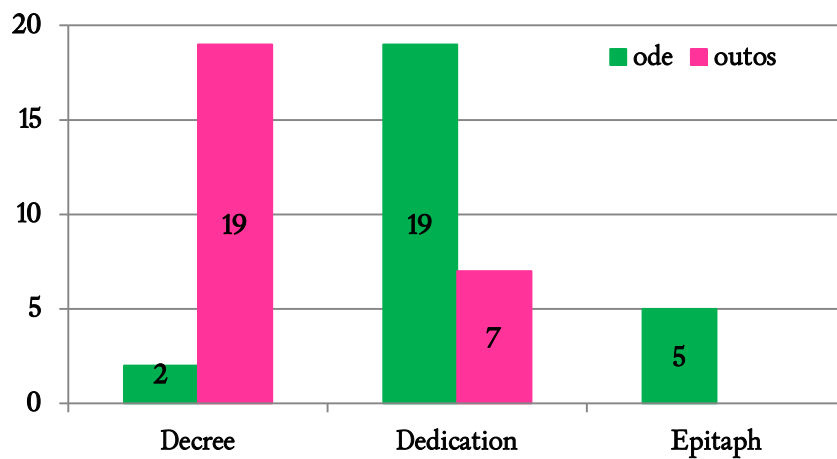


Figure 31. Distribution of Laconian demonstratives according to type of inscription



### IV.3.3. Syntax of Laconian demonstratives

#### IV.3.3.1. ὄδε

The oldest occurrence of this series in Laconian appears in a dedication to Helen, inscribed on a bronze *aryballos* from Sparta (ca. 675-650 BC): Δεῖνι[ς] τά<ν>δ' ἀνέθεκε χαλκῶ[ι]. ] (SEG 26.457.1), “Deinis dedicated this (offering?)”. The demonstrative is used to refer to the artefact, as is customary in dedications. It is used in the feminine singular, possibly agreeing with χαλκῶ[ι].<sup>581</sup>

ὄδε appears in the same role in several other dedications, mostly metrical, dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>582</sup> The demonstrative is used both as an independent pronoun and adnominally, both in pre- and post-position, e.g. [τ]ὸδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκε (IG V1, 222.2); ἀνέθε[ε]κε Εὐρυστρατίδας τάδε τὰ ὄπλα (SEG 11.956.1); φωρθείαι τάδ' Ἄρ[ή]ξιππος| νικῶν ἀνέσηκε (IG V1, 255.1); νικῶσα Κυνίσκα εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασε (IG V1 1564a.3);<sup>583</sup> καὶ τάδε ἔπαθλα λαβῶν (IG V1, 257.5).<sup>584</sup> Even though metrical dedications may pose a problem when used as

<sup>581</sup> χαλκῶ[ι]. ] probably = χάριν; see Colvin (2007) 132. For an analysis of some interesting features of the inscription, such as the spelling of the name “Helen”, see Skutsch (1987) 190 ff.

<sup>582</sup> For details on the inscriptions' dates and locations refer to the Appendix, Table 10.

<sup>583</sup> This inscription does not seem to bear any clear dialectal features, with perhaps one exception. For a discussion on λαβέν, with short vowel -ε, as a possible form of the Laconian infinitive, see Bourget (1927) 78-81. Bourget (80) affirms that this epigram is the only secure evidence attesting an infinitive with short ending -εν.

<sup>584</sup> In her index, Striano Corrochano (1989c) 321ff. includes all of the above mentioned inscriptions under the heading “*Epoca arcaica*”, where she lists all of what she seems to consider dialectal inscriptions, as opposed to those of “*Epoca helenística*”, where she includes inscriptions with various degrees of *koiné* influence. In most cases, however, metrical inscriptions are not purely dialectal or not dialectal at all, and need to be treated with caution. See e.g. SEG 42.329 (ca. 200 BC), a late verse epitaph from Sparta: Ἀριστολνίκα ἐπὶ θρωῖσμῶ δεῖμα πόνησε τόδε (5-6). τόδε is used to refer to the artefact but it appears in the context of an epic form; Steinhauer (1992) 241. See also Meiggs and Lewis (1969) 287-290, inscription 95 (SEG 19.394 + SEG 23.324), a public dedication from Laconia in Ionic writing. In line 3, πρότερο[ς] δ' ἔ[τι] τοῦδε ναυάρο[χου], ὄδε is employed again to refer to the artefact. According to Pouilloux and Roux (1963) 58, the phrase would allude to the statue of Polydeukes, to which the

supporting evidence for dialectal features, the dialectal use of ὄδε in this role is confirmed by its appearance in IG V1, 255, an inscription that appears to be completely dialectal:<sup>585</sup> φωρθείαι τάδ' Ἀρ[ή]ξιππος| νικῶν ἀνέσηκε| ἐν συνόδοις πα[ί]δων| πᾶσιν ἡορῆν φανερά. We notice the use of initial digamma in φωρθείαι,<sup>586</sup> the typical Laconian change  $\theta > \sigma$  in ἀνέσηκε,<sup>587</sup> the aspiration of intervocalic sigma in πᾶσιν, and the form ἡορῆν, with contraction  $\alpha + \epsilon > \eta$  and aspiration of original digamma.<sup>588</sup> Also in IvO 171, a dedication dating from 316 BC.<sup>589</sup> ὄδε is employed again to refer to the artefact, in this case to the pillar on which the inscription had been engraved. Demosthenes the Lakedaimonian won a foot race at Olympia and dedicated the stone to Zeus. The inscription registers the fact that from that very pillar (notice the emphatic pre-positioned demonstrative) to Lakedaimonia there were 630 stades: ἀ[π]ὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς στά|λας ἐλ Λακεδα|ίμονα ἑξακάτι|οι τριάκοντα (lines 7-10). The following lines contain what may interestingly look like a demonstrative use of the article: ἀπ|ὸ τᾶς δὲ πὸτ τὰ|ν πρῶταν στά|λαν τριάκον|τα (10-14). However, Dittenberger (1920) 224 argued that this was a mistake by the carver and that the text should read ἀπὸ τα(ύτα)ς δὲ, in which case the demonstrative would be simply used as anaphora to refer to another pillar –the one in Lakedaimonia, located at a distance of 630 stades from the pillar dedicated by Demosthenes at Olympia. According to the inscription, the pillar in Lakedaimonia

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inscription was attached, but according to Bousquet (1966) 434, 436 it would have referred to the statue of Lysander, which stood nearby. For a detailed analysis of the inscription see Bousquet (1966) 430-438.

<sup>585</sup> Brixhe (1996) 95.

<sup>586</sup> The absence of change  $\theta > \sigma$  in this case is normal Laconian.  $\theta$  remains unchanged when preceded by liquid. See Striano Corrochano (2008) 180-181. Also Bourguet (1927) 76, n. 1.

<sup>587</sup> Striano Corrochano (2008) 179.

<sup>588</sup> Bourguet (1927) 77.

<sup>589</sup> Bourguet (1927) 84.

would be at a distance of thirty further stades from a so-called “first pillar” whose location is not made clear.<sup>590</sup>

ὄδε seems to perform a different role in some epitaphs. In IG V1, 824, [τ]άυνδ’ Ὑρμι<ν>αί[αν κρύπτει κόνις ---, the demonstrative does not refer to the artefact or monument, namely the grave, but to the deceased. The demonstrative is used adnominally in pre-position, emphasizing the reference to “this Hyrminea” in some sort of contrast between this particular person and any other potential Hyrmineae. ὄδε appears in a presentational use: “(...) grave covers Hyrminea here”.<sup>591</sup>

There are some examples of ὄδε in a cataphoric function as well. In a thank-offering from Delphi (479 BC), SIG 31.1-3: [τ]ο[ί]δε τὸν| πόλεμον [ἐ]|πολ[έ]μεον, “The following fought the war (i.e. the war fought at Plataea)”, the demonstrative, although mostly restored, is used to refer forward to the cities mentioned in the inscription. The demonstrative has been restored with initial τ-, expected in Laconian.<sup>592</sup> In SEG 40.348.B1, the form is attested conveying the same function, but this time referring to a list of names: τοῖδε συνέδωκαν ἐς τὰν. κασκευάν, “The following (men)

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<sup>590</sup> For the reading ἀπὸ τα(ύτα)ς δὲ instead of ἀπὸ τᾶς δὲ, see also Bourguet (1927) 85 n.1. For a discussion on the location of “the first pillar” –probably at the temple at Amyklai, and of Pausanias’ misguided interpretation of the inscription, see Dittenberger (1920) 224.

<sup>591</sup> Unfortunately the evidence is too scarce. There is another epitaph from Sparta (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC) showing the demonstrative in a presentational use: IG V1, 724.1: τόνδε ποτὲ Σπάρατα Βότριχον (...) ἔτρεφεν, but the inscription is written in Doric *koiná*. Also possibly IG V1, 943.3, an epitaph from Kythera: τόδε σῶμα. Unfortunately the inscription is too fragmentary. A similar function can be seen in a 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC dedication from Geronthrai, but written in *koiné*, IG V1, 1119.1-2: *vacat* αἰέναος πηγῆ παρ’ Ἐπανδρίδα ἥδ’ ἀνάκειται. See also IV.4.3.1 for a Cyrenaean example.

<sup>592</sup> Even though the form is restored, τοῖδε is attested elsewhere in Laconian. See e.g. SEG 40.348.1. The reconstruction is nevertheless certain, see Bourguet (1927) 39. Expected Laconian forms such as ἐπολέμιον are absent, possibly due to the Pan-Hellenic character of the monument. Bourguet (1927) 39; Buck (1955) 267.

contributed towards the construction (of the water pipe system)".<sup>593</sup> The inscription contains good Laconian features, such as ἀνέσηκᾶν (A.1) –already mentioned, Κονοηουρέες (A.1),<sup>594</sup> ἀπορηγίᾶν (A.3), and ποιήσαντα (A.4), with aspiration of intervocalic sigma, and the noun κασκευᾶν (B.1).<sup>595</sup> The form Γοργοσθενίδας (B.5) is another example of unchanged θ in Laconian, a common outcome after sibilant.<sup>596</sup> There are other firm examples of dialectal ὄδε in a cataphoric role, e.g. IG V1, 213, a dedication dating from 450-431 BC,<sup>597</sup> comprising two hexameters plus 90 lines of prose. The dedication records the numerous victories won by Damonon, in every case introduced by demonstrative τάδε + verb νικάω either in the aorist, τάδε ἐνικάηε (6, 35), or the imperfect τάδε ἐνικῆε (67, 74, 82, 91),<sup>598</sup> “the following (victories) won Damonon”, where τάδε could be understood as a direct object or perhaps an accusative of respect (“with respect to the following, Damonon was victorious”).

#### IV.3.3.2. οὗτος

οὗτος appears in Laconian performing three different roles: referring back, referring to the document, and referring to the artefact. As is the case in most dialects, also in Laconian οὗτος is used as anaphora in the vast majority of cases, but there are plenty of examples of the demonstrative performing the second function as well.

Our oldest evidence for this series dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The inscriptions are both dedications, one from Mystras (IG V1, 2) and one from Sparta

<sup>593</sup> Perhaps also cataphora in IG V1, 3.8 (- τ[ό]νδε, too fragmentary) and IG V1, 977.10 (- ]νον. πατέρος, ὅς τόνδε διδάξας| κ[ - ... -] υιοῖς). Unfortunately, these inscriptions are both fragmentary and heavily influenced by *koiné*.

<sup>594</sup> See Peek (1974b) 298; Striano Corrochano (1999) 507.

<sup>595</sup> According to Peek (1974b) 300, the form is an example of “gut lakonisch”, and would have derived from κατασκευή (κατσκευᾶ > κασσκευᾶ > κασκευᾶ).

<sup>596</sup> Striano Corrochano (2008) 180.

<sup>597</sup> Striano Corrochano (1989c) 327.

<sup>598</sup> On the switch between aorist and imperfect, see Colvin (2007) 135.

(SEG 26.464). Regrettably both are in a fragmentary state, so it is difficult to establish the demonstrative's function with certainty. However, they provide us with evidence of a demonstrative form in the Accusative Singular Masculine (τοῦτον, 3) and Neuter (τοῦτ'ο, 5-6) respectively. IG V1, 1225.3 (Psamathous, 330 BC), also provides us with evidence of a dual form: τούτοιν. The demonstrative is probably functioning in an anaphoric role, referring to some names given in the previous lines. There is one clear reference to Θεόδωρος ἠνιὸς (3), preceded by καὶ and two undecipherable short lines that may correspond to two names. One may perhaps assume safely that the demonstrative refers back to the names of Theodoros' parents. As regards dialectal features, there is evidence of the aspiration of intervocalic sigma in ΣΙΧΚΟΙῆ (1) and the use of α for η in φιλοτάτας (4).<sup>599</sup>

In IG V1, 26 (Sparta, 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), there are two examples of anaphoric οὔτος: τὰν δὲ εἰς ταύταν δαπάναν δότω ἅ ὠβὰ καὶ λόγον| ἐνεγκόντω περὶ τᾶς γεγενημένας δαπάνας τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα| κατασταθέντας (15-17). In the first case the demonstrative alludes to the inscription mentioned before, whereas in the second case the demonstrative refers back to the setting up of the inscription, explained in the previous lines. Even though IG V1, 26 does not show many dialectal features, a lexical term is to be noted, namely the noun ὠβὰ.<sup>600</sup> Brixhe (1996) 103.h mentions ὠβὰ as a “laconisme” in this inscription, and Bourguet (1927) 101 affirms that the writing of ὠβὰ proves that the pronunciation of digamma had persisted in Sparta. In IG V1, 1111, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC inscription from Geronthrai showing also the use of οὔτος

<sup>599</sup> Striano Corrochano (1989c) 221 mentions this case as one example of Laconian οὔτος.

<sup>600</sup> For a detailed analysis of Laconian use and pronunciation of digamma in this and other nouns such as βίδυοι, see Bourguet (1927) 70. For the etymology of ὠβὰ see DELG: 1297.

as anaphora (εἰς τὰν πόλιν ταύταν, 24), there seem to be some dialectal traces as well. Brixhe (1996) 103 identifies the use of Genitive singular -ω instead of -ου (τῶ ἔθνεος 10, Κόσσω 20, πολέμω 34, στραταγῶ 36); as well as Accusative plural -ως instead of -ους (ἐγγόνως, προξένως 27), and also some examples of infinitive in -ην (ἔχην 29, ὑπάρχην 30).<sup>601</sup> See also IG V1, 1146: πάντα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες (24) and τούτων τ[ῶν] φ[ι]λαν[θρώ]πων (53), with a demonstrative referring back in both cases. Bourguet (1927) 106-107 suggests the presence of some dialectal traces in the inscription, particularly lexical, such as the term δαπάνημα (τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανάμασιν, 17), which would show a preference in the dialect for nouns in -μα.<sup>602</sup>

In nine cases οὔτος is employed to refer to the document, mostly in proxeny decrees. The demonstrative appears always in the same formula: τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύταν, eight times (IG V1, 962.32; IG V1, 965.17; IG V1, 1110.10; IG V1, 1111.35; IG V1, 1113.9; IG V1, 1226.18; IG V1, 1227.3; SEG 11.470.7),<sup>603</sup> and τὰν δὲ ῥήτραν ταύταν, only one case (IG V1, 1498.12).<sup>604</sup> According to Brixhe (1996) 102-103, it is possible to see in these inscriptions –all of them dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC, a

<sup>601</sup> Also Γερωνθητᾶν, 28 (< Γερωνθηρεατας) and Γυθειάταν, 22, with suffix -(α)τας, frequent in Laconian ethnic adjectives. See Striano Corrochano (1999) 508 3.3 and 509 4.

<sup>602</sup> Bourguet (1927) 107, n.1. There are other examples of anaphoric οὔτος in Laconian inscriptions, but all of the inscriptions present the problem of containing barely any evident dialectal feature. See e.g. IG V1, 7.3, 10: πε<ρ>ὶ τούτων, [περὶ] τούτ<ω>ν; IG V1, 931: ταῦται (7), ταύτ]αν τὰν κρίσιν (11), ταύταν (15); and IG V1, 1114.25-26: τοῦ τε [ἔργου τοῦ] | του. Nevertheless, Brixhe (1996) 102 includes IG V1, 931 and 1114 in his analysis of what he identifies as a composite language in 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC inscriptions.

<sup>603</sup> For details on the inscriptions, see the Appendix, Table 10.

<sup>604</sup> There are also a couple of cases of ὅδε used to refer to the document. However, the inscriptions are hardly dialectal. SEG 19.394 is a metrical dedication, and ὅδε, partially restored, refers to the type of text, namely an elegiac poem: Ἴων [καὶ τοῖς]δ' ἑλεγείο[ς] | λαϊνέαν] κρηπιδ' ἔστεφάνως[ε τεά]ν (1-2). In IG V1 931.35, a late decree from Epidaurus Limera, it is used to refer to the decree itself: ἀναγράψαι δὲ] καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε. However, the inscription shows, if any 'dialectal' feature, only the retention of α for η throughout, characteristic of the Doric *koiná*.

complex ‘composite’ mixed language, composed of some Laconian features, some features typical of Northwest Greek dialects, plenty of *koiné* characteristics, as well as some transitional elements. He mentions, for instance, the aspiration of sigma in Πειίτας <Πεισίτας (IG V1, 962.1) and Ἀγη<ι>ξένου <Ἀγησιξένου (IG V1, 965.1, 5-6); infinitive in -ην (ποιῆν, IG V1, 1498.8), and some lexical evidence in IG V1, 1498, such as βίδυοι (10, 13)<sup>605</sup> and θοιναρμοστρία (4-5, 6, 7-8, 11),<sup>606</sup> “mistress of the banquet”, a cult term especially referring to Demeter in Laconia.<sup>607</sup> The term does not show, however, Laconian expected change θ>σ.<sup>608</sup>

Another use of οὔτος in Laconian is recorded in a newly found epigram (SEG 46.400), a dedication from Sparta dating from ca. 400-375 BC. It is not very common to find οὔτος referring to the artefact, and this is the only extant example of such a role for this series in Laconian. The inscription was first published by Kourinou-Pikoula (1992-1998), and re-edited with translation and commentary by Cassio (2000); critical editions also by Colvin (2007) and Striano Corrochano (2007).

Μνᾶμα γεροντείας ἠππανσίδας | τοῦτ' ἀνέσηκε  
ταῖ ἡαλέαι καὶ σᾶ | τρον· ἡα μὲν κα λῆ ἡώστ' ἀπὸ τούτω |<sup>609</sup>  
σᾶσθαι, τῶς δὲ νέως τοῖς περγυ | τέροις ἠυποχάδδην.<sup>610</sup>

As a memorial of his service in the Council, Hippanthidas dedicated this to (Athena) Halea, and seating for spectators: so, whatever you want you can watch from this –but young men are to yield to their elders.

<sup>605</sup> See above.

<sup>606</sup> See also details on dialectal features in IG V1, 1111 above.

<sup>607</sup> Liddell and Scott (1996) 803.

<sup>608</sup> Bousquet (1966) 96; Brixhe (1996) 103.h. Bousquet acknowledges the presence of common Laconian features in this inscription.

<sup>609</sup> ἀπὸ τούτω = ἀπὸ τούτου; Kourinou-Pikoula (1992-1998) 262.

<sup>610</sup> Edition and translation by Colvin (2007) 135.

In both occurrences the demonstrative is used pronominally. In the first case, it points deictically to the artefact: the seat on which the inscription was found,<sup>611</sup> whereas in the second case it can be understood as either referring to the artefact, particularly because of its connection with  $\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , namely “to watch from *here*”, or anaphorically to  $\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ , the seat mentioned immediately before.<sup>612</sup>

In IG V1 213, the dedication of Damonon mentioned in the previous section, there is another example of the use of  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . This constitutes our only evidence in Laconian of the use of both  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\omicron\tilde{\delta}\epsilon$  in the same inscription.  $\omicron\tilde{\delta}\epsilon$  is used to refer forwards whereas  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is employed in an adverbial expression of manner:<sup>613</sup>  $\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu\mid$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\ \acute{\Lambda}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha\langle\iota\rangle\mid$   $\text{Πολιάχῳι νικάῃας} \mid$   $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\alpha},\ h\tilde{\alpha}\tau' \omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\mid$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\ \tau\omicron\nu$   
 $\nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  (lines 1-5).<sup>614</sup> This adverbial use of  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is based on an old instrumental form in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  of the demonstrative,<sup>615</sup>  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  acting as a correlative of  $h\tilde{\alpha}\tau(\epsilon)$ , and the expression meaning “in this way in which”.<sup>616</sup>

<sup>611</sup> Cassio (2000) 129 first translate the line as “Hippansidas ha dedicato ad Alea questo memoriale della sua carica di geronte, e un  $\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ ”.

<sup>612</sup> Cassio (2000) 130 argues that the text refers to two different seats, both dedicated by Hippanthidas. Also Colvin (2007) 136. For  $\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  as Laconian for  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , see Striano Corrochano (2008) 182.

<sup>613</sup> There is only one other inscription recording the use of both series,  $\omicron\tilde{\delta}\epsilon$  and  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , IG V1 931. However, the inscription is very late (post 146 BC) and written mainly in *koiná*. In any case, the functions of both demonstratives do not overlap; whereas the occurrences of  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  appear to be used to refer back in the text (7, 11, 15),  $\omicron\tilde{\delta}\epsilon$  is employed to refer to the document,  $\tau\omicron\ \psi\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\nu\ \lambda\iota\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\nu$  (35). For details on this inscription see Appendix, Table 10.

<sup>614</sup> Edition by Colvin (2007) 133.

<sup>615</sup> Striano Corrochano (1989c) 223, both the demonstrative and the relative derive from old instrumental forms. Cf. also Ionic  $\tilde{\eta}$ .

<sup>616</sup> See Colvin (2007) 133, “in a way which”; 134: compare also with Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\tilde{\eta}\iota$ . Striano Corrochano (1989c) 223: “en la manera en que”, “como”.

## ***IV.4. Demonstratives in Cyrenaean and Theran***

### **IV.4.1. Introduction**

The system of demonstratives of both Cyrenaean and Theran appears to be fairly simple, and to comply, roughly, with the morphology and syntax of other West Greek dialects, as discussed in previous chapters. The dialectal evidence at hand with regard to demonstratives is, unfortunately, not as prolific as desired, but there is enough data to give us a fair picture of how their system of demonstratives would have worked and what it would have looked like. There are 15 inscriptions in Cyrenaean showing evidence of the use of demonstratives. Even though most of them bear signs of *koiné* influence, and some others are metrical inscriptions with questionable dialectal value, there are at least two substantial dialectal inscriptions containing enough evidence to support some general claims. As regards Theran, there are 14 inscriptions containing demonstratives, with at least one considerably long document.

As Buck (1946) 129 notes, one must take into account the different nature of the material at hand for each dialect. Whereas the inscriptions from Kyrene are longer but more recent (4<sup>th</sup> -2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), the inscriptions from Thera are shorter but more archaic (some of the material dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries). In any case, there is sufficient dialectal evidence for both dialects.<sup>617</sup> In the case of Cyrenaean, we can identify 35 demonstrative forms: 17 cases of ὄδε and 18 of οὗτος. For Theran we have

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<sup>617</sup> As Dobias-Lalou (2000) 7 suggests, the classification of Cyrenaean inscriptions and the description of the Cyrenaean dialect are difficult tasks. She acknowledges the fact that apart from inscriptions written in dialect and others written in *koiné*, there are two further categories: “textes d’idiome ambigu” and “textes d’idiome mixte”.

34 demonstratives: 15 cases of ὄδε, 18 of οὗτος, and one of ἐκεῖνος, our only evidence of the series in these dialects (see figures 32 and 33 below).

#### IV.4.2. Distribution of Cyrenaean and Theran demonstratives

§1. As regards geographical distribution, most of our evidence for Cyrenaean comes from the city of Kyrene, with a few inscriptions of uncertain provenance and single cases coming from Ptolemais, Berenike, Apollonia and Tokra.<sup>618</sup> The provenance of Theran inscriptions is generally unspecified.

§2. Figures 34 and 35 show the distribution of Cyrenaean and Theran demonstratives across time. It is clear from the Figures that our evidence for Kyrene is more recent than our evidence from Thera. Both ὄδε and οὗτος are attested in Cyrenaean consistently throughout the centuries, from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup>. However, only ὄδε is attested in Thera in archaic inscriptions. Our evidence of both οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος is quite recent, dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, which might indicate that they are due to *koiné* influence, particularly in the case of ἐκεῖνος.<sup>619</sup>

§3. Figure 36 shows the distribution of demonstratives according to type of text. In Cyrenaean most of the occurrences of ὄδε appear in dedications (10 cases), with 4 occurrences in decrees/public documents, 2 in epitaphs and one in an incantation (*defixio*). οὗτος occurs mostly in decrees (17 cases), with one occurrence in the above-mentioned incantation. In Theran, the 18 occurrences of οὗτος appear in decrees, as

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<sup>618</sup> For details refer to the Appendix, Tables 11 and 12.

<sup>619</sup> See section IV.4.3.3 below.

well as our only example of ἐκεῖνος. ὅδε occurs 6 times in decrees, 4 times in erotic graffiti, 3 in dedications and 2 in epitaphs.



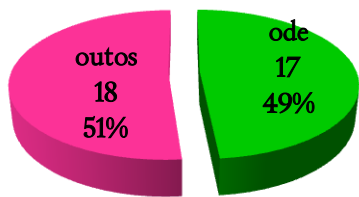


Figure 32. Demonstratives in Cyrenaean

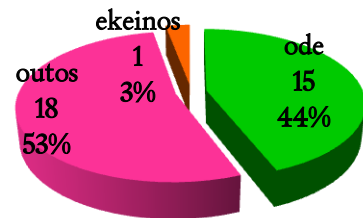


Figure 33. Demonstratives in Theran

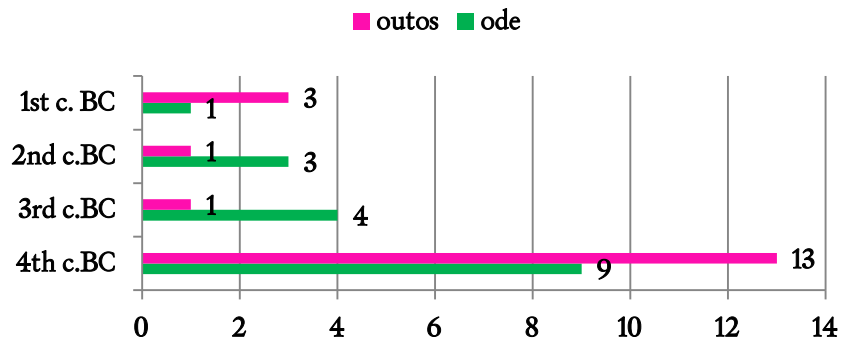


Figure 34. Distribution of Cyrenaean demonstratives across time



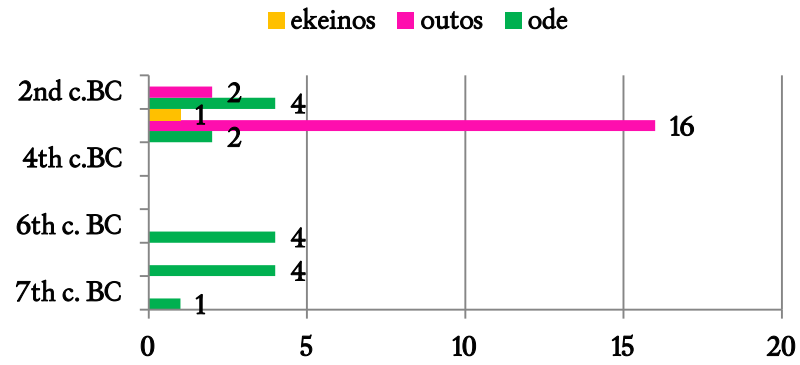


Figure 35. Distribution of Theran demonstratives across time

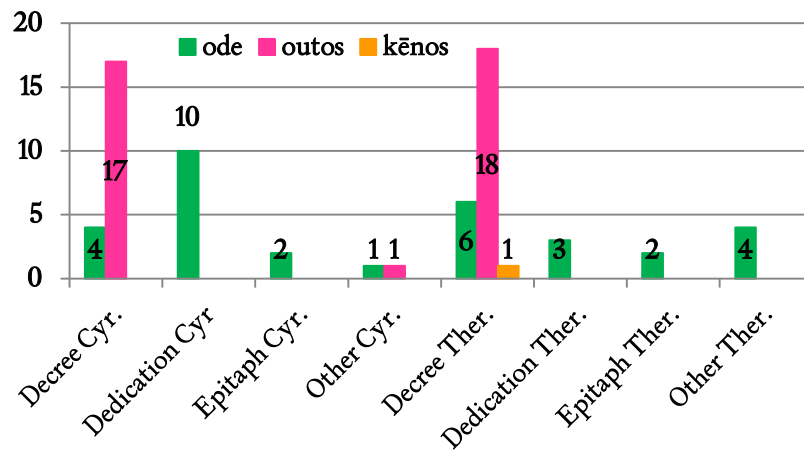


Figure 36. Distribution of Cyrenaean/Theran demonstratives according to type of inscription



### IV.4.3. Syntax of Cyrenaean and Theran demonstratives

#### IV.4.3.1. ὄδε

Our oldest evidence of the series in Cyrenaean comes from a dedication from Ain el Hofra, near Kyrene, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (SEG 9 345.1): ὄδε προβώμιος.<sup>620</sup> Although the inscription is fragmentary, the recurring patterns of this type of dedication allow us to interpret the role of the demonstrative without major problems. The demonstrative, in the feminine singular, appears in a characteristic opening position, clearly referring to the object dedicated to the god. Both the morphology and the syntactic function of the demonstrative are in line with what one would expect from a West Greek dialect.<sup>621</sup> We can identify another potential example of the use of this demonstrative to point to the artefact/object dedicated, in a dedication from Apollonia, dating from 283-250 BC (SEG 17 817.3). Although the dedication is metrical and includes numerous features belonging to the epic tradition, there are also some general Doric features and particular Cyrenaean features, including the use of the demonstrative.<sup>622</sup> This epigram is in fact quoted by Lonati (1990) 159 as an example of

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<sup>620</sup> See Lonati (1990) 159, 4.1.2.B.

<sup>621</sup> The use of ὄδε to refer to the artefact is also recorded in various other inscriptions, as indicated in the table of data for this dialect. See for instance SeCir 161.1 and 162.1, two records of dedications –one a copy of the other, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC: μνᾶμα τόδ' Ἐρμῆσανδρος. The reference to the artefact is repeated at the end of the inscriptions: τῶν τάδε κείται | κόσμος καὶ μνᾶμα καὶ κλέος εὐδόκιμον (SeCir 161.3-4 and 162.6-8). However, these dedications are metrical and represent inconclusive evidence. Also in SEG 20 746.3, a metrical epitaph. ὄδε most probably refers to the artefact, being in close proximity to σαμῆιον (4): ἤμεν καὶ τοδ- - - | σαμῆιον εὐτυ- - -. For a reading of the epitaph see Peek (1972) 4-5. Dobias-Lalou (2004) 72 assures us that even though metrical and written in poetic language, the inscription still bears some dialectal features, such as infinitive ἤμεν and nominal morpheme -ῆιον. Dobias-Lalou (1970)251-252 mentions a very fragmentary inscription transcribed as τὰ]νδε ταν[. The demonstrative may refer to the artefact, pointing perhaps to the cup on which it was engraved. Due to the fragmentary state of the inscription and its dubious reading, it has not been included in the table of data.

<sup>622</sup> See Chamoux (1958) 585. Dobias-Lalou (2004) 72 identifies some dialectal features in the inscription, such as the lack of sibilant in φάτι, and the “isoglosse épico-cyrénéenne” ἀνθεμα, ἀνθέμεν.

the use of Cyrenaean ὄδε. As noticed by Chamoux (1958) 577-80, there is a structural and semantic paralellism between the two parts of the epigram. There is an offering, [ἀσπ]ίς καὶ φάλαρα (1)/ τὰν Νίκαν (2), fitting for the god of war/ the king, offered by the dedicant, ἄνθεμα/ ἀνθέμεν. Even though the demonstrative could be interpreted as an anaphoric reference to the offerings mentioned immediately before, both feminine, or to Nike (namely the deity herself, not the object), the demonstrative might also be referring to the actual object, i.e. the statue of Victory dedicated to the king,<sup>623</sup> and under whose patronage Eupolemos expects the king to be able to preserve his power, and the people and cities under his rule:

[ἀσπ]ίς Ἐνυαλίῳ πρέπον ἄνθεμα καὶ φάλαρα ἵππων /  
 ποικίλα· τὰν Νίκαν δὲ ἀνθέμεν Εὐπόλεμος /  
 φατὶ Μάγαι βασιλῆϊ καλὸν γέρας, ὄφρα ὑπὸ τᾶιδε /  
 σκῆπτρά τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πτολίεθρα σοῖ.

A shield, and a coloured cheek-piece for horses, is for Enyalios a fitting offering; and Eupolemos proclaims that he dedicates the Victory to King Magas as a beautiful gift of honour, so that under this one here he can preserve his sceptres, and his people, and his cities.

As regards the role of ὄδε, which in this case appears as an independent pronoun, evidence from across the different dialects shows that it is highly unlikely that ὄδε functions anaphorically in a system where there is at least one more series of demonstratives; in the case of Cyrenaean the system also has οὗτος.<sup>624</sup>

Our evidence from Thera agrees both in form and in function with our Cyrenaean evidence as regards ὄδε, with the only difference being that the former is of older date.

There are three occurrences of ὄδε in Theran pointing to the artefact, all dating from the

<sup>623</sup> Chamoux (1968) 48 affirms that there is a clear mention to a statue of Victory in the dedication, referring most likely to the expedition in which Eupolemos had recently participated.

<sup>624</sup> See IV.4.3.2 below.

6<sup>th</sup> century BC: a dedication (SEG 26, 947.1: Αἰσάλω τάνδε Εὐμάθης), an epitaph (SEG 48, 1067.1: Παρθενίκας : τόδε μνᾶμα)<sup>625</sup> and a signature (τάδε).<sup>626</sup>

As is the case in most dialects, ὄδε is also used in Cyrenaean and Theran to refer forwards. Three Theran examples can be mentioned here, all dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC: οἶδε ἀνεγράφεν ὑπὸ γραμματέως, IG XII 3. Suppl. 1298.6 and 1299.20, two catalogues where the demonstrative points forward to the list of “registered” names that follows, and τάδε διέθετο (...) Ἐπικτήτα, IG XII 3, 330.B2, Epicteta’s will, where the demonstrative points forward to Epicteta’s arrangements. As regards Cyrenaean, we can mention two examples of ὄδε used to refer forwards, SEG 9, 769.1, a dedication (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC): [ο]ἶδε καὶ εἰρήνηι καὶ ἐν [πολέμωι - -]; and SEG 9, 4.43, a decree dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC: κατὰ τάδε καὶ ἀγρόν... “according to the following/ on the following (terms)...”. Ferri (1926) 29 calls attention to the peculiarities of the language in this inscription, a mixture of Aeolicisms, archaic features, and Cyrenaean features, which might be real or artificial. Buck (1946) 129 affirms that the inscription is “an almost faithful representation of the native dialect”. In SEG 20 716, a short metrical inscription preceding the decree shows two further occurrences of ὄδε. The inscription dates from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, 335 BC according to Dobias-Lalou (2004) 81. In line 5, πρ<ὸ>ς τάδ’ [ό]ρᾶι καὶ ἀκούει, the demonstrative, an independent pronoun, is used to point forwards in the text. The reference of the demonstrative, namely the conditions/ respects according to which people should act to make the city greater, are mentioned in the long prose section that

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<sup>625</sup> Dobias-Lalou (2007) 214: “Voici le monument de Parthénika”. She acknowledges that the writing is archaic and the inscription should be dated mid 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

<sup>626</sup> For the signature see Sigalas and Matthaiou (2004-2009) 476.5. *Non vidi*, cited in Domínguez Casado (forthcoming) 2.5.5.1.

follows the metrical inscription.<sup>627</sup> The second occurrence of ὄδε, on the other hand, is much more interesting given its role in the text. There are not as many examples in inscriptions of the use of ὄδε to refer to the current place as there are of its other roles, namely referring forwards, referring to the artefact or to the document. In line 6 the text alludes to the final aim of the conditions set by the inscription and to the wish of those who may want to follow them, namely “to make *this* city greater”, — — με]ίζονα τήνδε πόλιν. Evidently the demonstrative, adnominal and in an emphatic position, is referring to the actual place where the inscription was placed, the city of Kyrene, “this city and no other”.<sup>628</sup> Another likely example of ὄδε in this role can be found in SECir 80.7, a fragmentary paeon dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>629</sup> Oliverio et al. (1963) 262 read τᾶιδε πό[λει, “to/for this city”. SECir 193.1 presents a further example of the use of ὄδε as a locative. The inscription is an incantation dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, engraved on a lead tablet.<sup>630</sup> According to Pugliese Carratelli (1963) 340, the language of the tablet shows clear dialectal features: future ἐρήσω (5), infinitive παρῆμεν (1), the uncontracted form καλέω (1), χῆρας for χεῖρας (4).<sup>631</sup> The first line of the text records the only occurrence in Cyrenaean of the demonstrative adverb τῆδε, a locative that, as Pugliese Carratelli argues, would correspond to the old Theraean form:<sup>632</sup> δεῦρο[ο] Τύχαν καλέω· νῦν δὴ τὺ <γα> τῆδε παρῆμεν | σὺν τε Ζηνί,

<sup>627</sup> See Peek (1972) 7. Also for a full reading and interpretation of the text.

<sup>628</sup> Even though the inscription shows the presence of /e:/ instead of expected dialectal /a:/, Dobias-Lalou (2004) 71 suggests that this is due to a “bouffée d’exotisme”. The inscription still bears dialectal features, and /a:/ is conserved in Τιμαγόρας (4) for instance.

<sup>629</sup> See Dobias-Lalou (2004) 82.

<sup>630</sup> For the dating of the text, and an analysis of the cultic implications of the incantation and the figure of Tyche, see Pugliese Carratelli (1963) and Pugliese Carratelli (1964) 102-105.

<sup>631</sup> Line numbers correspond to Faraone’s edition. See Faraone (1995) 6.

<sup>632</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (1963) 340. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1927) 176: “Lokaladverbia gehen hier auf η aus. ἦ B54 ὄπη 24; das wechselt in den dorischen Dialekten mit der Endung ει”. See also Devoto

<Τύχα,> σὺν <καί> τε δυοῖσ<ι> Χάρισσιν.<sup>633</sup> The locative points deictically to the place where the inscription currently is, i.e. “here”, regardless of where exactly “here” might be. Faraone (1995) 7 translates “I summon Tyche hither. You, come here right now...”.

Three archaic erotic graffitti and a dedication from Thera bear evidence of the “old Theran form” mentioned by Pugliese Carratelli. The inscriptions date from the 7<sup>th</sup> Century BC and were discovered close to the temple of Apollo, engraved into rock.<sup>634</sup> In IG XII 3, 536.b1, Ἐντυλος τάδε - πόρνος, “Enpylos (was) here a fornicator” (Scanlon (2002) 84), the demonstrative adverb points deictically to the place where the sexual activity took place.<sup>635</sup> The second occurrence of τάδε in this inscription may have various interpretations: Ἐνπεδοκλῆς ἐνερόπτετο τάδε ρώρκ(h)ε(ι)το μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλ(λ)ω (536 c.1). Gallavotti (1975) 190 considers that the demonstrative is not τάδε but τᾶδε, feminine dative singular ταῖδε, and that it would be an instrumental referring to an elided σάθη, the writer’s sexual organ. Empedokles would be the passive subject of ἐνερόπτετο and ρώρκ(h)ε(ι)το, which would be a metaphor for sexual intercourse.<sup>636</sup> However, he adds, the demonstrative could be simply referring deictically to the current place, “here”, as in other inscriptions.<sup>637</sup> Scanlon (2002) 84, on

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(1928) 399. Also Dobias-Lalou (1996) 76. For a reference to the connection between these forms and Theran τῆδε, see below. For the adverb in Elean see IV.1.3.2 above.

<sup>633</sup> The text belongs to Faraone’s edition. See Faraone (1995) 6.

<sup>634</sup> According to Inglese (2008) 221, 226, 259, “a ridosso del Ginnasio degli efebi”. Also Jeffery (1990) 323.1. She dates the graffitti to the “end of 8<sup>th</sup> c. onwards”.

<sup>635</sup> Whether the graffitti point to an initiatory ephebic practice or are mere obscenities has been extensively discussed. See e.g. Brongersma (1990); Scanlon (2002) 83-86; Chankowski (2002); Inglese (2008) 219.

<sup>636</sup> Buck (1955) 305: “apparently a pun was intended in ἐνερόπτετο, which may be used in an obscene sense, and perhaps in ρώρκ(h)ε(ι)το”.

<sup>637</sup> Nevertheless, Gallavotti (1975) 190 still considers τάδε to be τᾶδε, presumably in the dative feminine singular. In “Il poeta Krimon a Thera” Gallavotti (1979a) 58 studies the metrics of the inscription and reads again τᾶδε, interpreting τα- as a long syllable. It is not likely that τάδε represents demonstrative adverb τῆδε instead of dative ταῖδε. There is a separate sign in use for -η in this

the other hand, translates “Empedokles inscribed this [and] danced by Apollo”, clearly taking the demonstrative to refer to the document, and reading τᾶδε as an accusative neuter plural. Given the nature of this set of inscriptions, and the content of the first two lines of IG XII 3, 536, I agree with Gallavotti as regards the sexual content of the verbs, but I think that we should read both instances of τᾶδε as deictic adverbs of place meaning “here”.

Also in IG XII 3, 537a: ναὶ τὸν Δελφίνιον ἡο Κρίμων τῆδε οἶπθε παῖδα Βαθυκλέος ἀδελπθεο[, “By the Delphinion Krimon had sexual intercourse here with a boy, the brother of Bathykes”,<sup>638</sup> and IG XII 3, 538b: Ἀμοτιῶνα οἶπ<h>ε Κρίμων τῆ[δε], “Krimon had sexual intercourse here with Amotion”, the demonstrative adverb refers to the current place. We have a further example in IG XII 3, 551: Ἐπίλ[υτος] | Λυκεῖοι τῆδε, but in this case the text is a dedication. The deity to which the text is dedicated appears in the dative, with the name of the dedicator indicated at the beginning of the inscription, but the dedicatory verb missing.<sup>639</sup>

The subject of whether the epsilon in τῆδε should be read as εἰ or ἦ has been addressed at some length by Domínguez Casado (forthcoming) §2.9.2. In contrast,

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inscription, different from the sign used for -α and -ε, so we should have τῆδε, or at least τῆδε, but not τᾶδε See below. Chankowski (2002) 13, on the other hand, leaves both occurrences as edited by Hiller von Gaertringen (1904), i.e. τᾶδε, giving the first τᾶδε an anaphoric sense, and interpreting the second as a reference to the document/text of the inscription. In both cases the demonstrative is read as a neuter accusative plural. “Enpylos... ces choses-là... prostitué... Empédocles a gravé cela et dansé par Apollon”.

<sup>638</sup> The identity of the brother of Bathykes, whether the boy or Krimon himself, has been discussed by Gallavotti (1975) 186. See also Inglese (2008) 223-224. For a metrical analysis of the text see Gallavotti (1979b) 260.

<sup>639</sup> For an analysis of the text see Inglese (2008) 260. According to her, this would be the oldest attested dedication with the deity’s name in the dative. As regards the place referred to, she notes that the dedication is engraved less than a metre away from IG XII 537, where τὸν Δελφίνιον had been mentioned and the same adverb τῆδε had been used, and that the epithet Λυκεῖοι and the demonstrative τῆδε could point to the gymnasium of the ephebes in whose vicinities the inscriptions were discovered, and consequently to the cult of Apollo.

Gallavotti (1975) 186 simply states that he reads τῆδε and not τεῖδε, without giving further explanation as to why he favours one reading over the other. Inglese (2008), on the other hand, follows Hiller von Gaertringen's edition without questioning, reading τε(ῖ)δε in each case instead of τῆδε.<sup>640</sup> Domínguez Casado explains that both τάδε and TEΔE were used as locative adverbs in Thera, and acknowledges the fact that the interpretation of TEΔE is difficult due to the lack of suitable evidence.<sup>641</sup> In his opinion, TEΔE should be interpreted as τεῖδε, given that there is another case of the use of E for εἰ in IG XII 3, 537b: Δἔνῶ for Δεινω. For my part, I agree with Gallavotti's reading. According to Buck (1955) 102-103, adverbs of place in -εἰ such as τεῖδε appear in Cretan and other West Greek dialects, but not in Thera. On the contrary, adverbs of place in -ῆ, such as τῆδε are common in Elean, Megarian, Eretrian and Thera. Furthermore, according to Sihler (1995) 257 Thera τῆ-δε would be an example of the instrumental case ending derived from \*-eH<sub>1</sub>.<sup>642</sup> According to Dobias-Lalou (2000) 118, the Western dialects tended to use the Indo-European instrumental ending \*-e with a locative value, and in Cyrenaean this is shown in locative adverbs such as ὄπη, ἄλλη πη, ῆ (SEG 9, 72.24, 114, 136) and τῆδε (SECIr 193.2).

As regards other functions of ὄδε, a 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC Cyrenaean epitaph from Ptolemais (SEG 9, 362.6) shows the use of the demonstrative to refer to the person deceased: εἴ γε τάνδ' ὑπὸ λυγαίαν ἄγαγες αἰόνα. The demonstrative refers to Arata, who is mentioned in the heading of the metrical epitaph as well as in the line preceding the use

<sup>640</sup> See Inglese (2008) inscriptions 30, 31 and 44; Hiller von Gaertringen (1904) 307-309.

<sup>641</sup> Domínguez Casado (forthcoming) §2.9.2 note 1.

<sup>642</sup> See also Schwyzler (1953) 550 and Schwyzler (1950) 579.2. Under the same form he quotes also Hom. τῆ, a presentative: “*hier, tiens*”, perhaps related to the Thera form. Liddell and Scott (1996) 1786: “τῆδε. Dor. and Ion. Adv *here*”, quoting examples from Thera, Eretria and Megara.

of τάνδ'. This may appear as an anaphoric use of ὄδε. However, given the nature of the inscription it could be argued that τάνδ' is used to point deictically to the deceased, subject matter of the inscription and presumably buried on the site: “when you have brought her (i.e. this one here) over to the dark shore”.<sup>643</sup>

Lastly, as in most dialects, ὄδε is used in Cyrenaean (and Thera) to refer to the document. In the “Stèle des Fondateurs” (SEG 9, 3.16),<sup>644</sup> a long Cyrenaean decree dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC touching upon the foundation of Kyrene, the demonstrative appears referring to the document in a similar wording and same positioning (adnominal pre- or post-positioned) to that of other dialects: καταγράφεν δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν στάλλ[αν] λυγδίναν.<sup>645</sup> Even though the reality and authenticity of a 7<sup>th</sup> century decree from Thera, presumably included within the 4<sup>th</sup> century decree, has been extensively debated,<sup>646</sup> the fact that the text of the inscription is mainly dialectal has not been questioned.<sup>647</sup> There are two further examples of the use of ὄδε in the same role in a late decree from Arsinoe (SEG 26, 1817; 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), written in the Cyrenaean dialect but showing some *koiné* features:<sup>648</sup> ἔχον|τα ἐπιγραφᾶν. τάνδε (accusative feminine singular, line 70), and ἔχοισαν ἀντίγραφον τῶδε [τῶ ψα]| [φίσμα]τος (genitive neuter singular, line 76).

<sup>643</sup> For an interpretation of the text see Meyer (2005) 81-83. For a similar presentational use of ὄδε referring to the deceased, see some Laconian examples in section IV.3.3.1.

<sup>644</sup> Chamoux (1953) 105.

<sup>645</sup> Also in two Thera inscriptions dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC: τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τόδε (IG XII 3, 320.13), λάβοντες τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα; ἀναγραψάντων... τόδε τὸ ψά|φισμα ἐστάλαν λιθίναν (IG XII 3, 322.3 and 18).

<sup>646</sup> See Chamoux (1953) 110, or Graham (1960) and Dušanić (1978). Also Meiggs and Lewis (1969) 8.

<sup>647</sup> Buck (1946) 129 states that the inscription is in pure dialect but for some *koiné* forms. See also Ferrabino (1928) 251. Dobias-Lalou (2007) 215 explains that the inscription contains three different texts, of which only the first one, a Cyrenaean decree, would be contemporary to the engraving of the inscription, i.e. 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>648</sup> Reynolds (1973-1974) 629; Moretti (1976) 386. Striano Corrochano (1989a) 211: “hay junto a formas dialectales, otras claramente de *koiné*”. Lonati (1990) 159 includes both forms as examples of Cyrenaean demonstratives. See also Dobias-Lalou (1987) 43 and table at 45-46.

#### IV.4.3.2. οὗτος

The morphology and syntax of οὗτος are quite straightforward both in Cyrenaean and in Thera.<sup>649</sup> The demonstrative, as in most dialects, is used to perform two different roles, namely referring back and referring to the document. The roles of οὗτος and ὅδε do not seem to clash or overlap, at least not in inscriptions where they are both in use; the functions they perform seem to be different. Whereas referring forward and to the artefact is reserved for ὅδε, referring back and to the documents is reserved for οὗτος. That is, except in SEG 9, 3 where there is one occurrence of ὅδε<sup>650</sup> and two of οὗτος both used to refer to the document. However, there seems to be a difference. In the case of ὅδε, the mention of the document is intrinsically related to its physicality, to its nature as something tangible, that can be inscribed, that is visible and can be touched. The document is to be carved on a stone stele and *placed* somewhere:

Καταγράφεν δὲ  
τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν στάλλ[αν] | λυγδίναν, θέμεν τὰν στάλαν  
ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πατρῶιον τῶ | Απόλλωνος τῶ Πυθίῳ,  
καταγράφεν καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον ἐς τὰν στάλλ[αν], | τὸ οἱ οἰκιστῆρες  
ἐποίησαντο καταπλεύσαντες Λιβύανδε [σὺ]||μ Βάττωι  
Θήραθε Κυράνανδε. (SEG 9, 3, 16-20)

The mention of the document is almost a reference to the artefact. Conversely, the two occurrences of οὗτος in that role allude to the document as a text, to its content rather than to its form, to the oaths that have been mentioned before and discussed so

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<sup>649</sup> As Dobias-Lalou (2000) 115 states, the forms attested in Cyrenaean do not seem to show any dialectal variations.

<sup>650</sup> See above.

far in the decree, namely they are more of an anaphoric reference; the allusion is to “those who are true to these (i.e. the aforementioned) oaths”.<sup>651</sup>

τὸμ μὴ ἐμμένοντα τούτοις | τοῖς ὀρκίοις ἀλλὰ παρβεῶντα  
καταλείβεθαί νιν καὶ καταρρὲν ὥσπερ τὸς κολοσός, καὶ  
αὐτὸν καὶ γόνον καὶ χρῆματα. Τοῖσι δὲ ἐμμένοισιν τούτοις  
τοῖς ὀρκίοις... (SEG, 3, 46-50)

There is another example of οὔτος referring to the document in Cyrenaean; SECir 193: ταῦτα δ{ἐ} ἐγὼ ἐρησῶ (τὰ γράμματα ? - ὤ - χ )| ἐν βοέωι κέρατι πολιᾶς ὑπένερθέ τε γαίας, “I shall deposit these <words?...> in an ox-horn and (then?) beneath the hoary earth” (SECir 193.5-6).<sup>652</sup> The demonstrative, with or without the accompanying noun, which may or may not have been τὰ γράμματα, is clearly referring to the incantation itself as a document, to the words, the text/content of the *defixio*, but this time there is physicality involved too, as in the case of ὄδε above. According to Faraone (1995) 7-8, “In defixiones, however –and in other magical texts as well- demonstrative pronouns (such as the ταῦτα used here) nearly always refer either to some physical object near at hand or employed in the ongoing spell or to the text that is itself inscribed back, trampled, or otherwise manipulated”.<sup>653</sup>

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<sup>651</sup> This is also helped by the fact that both occurrences of οὔτος appear almost at the end of the inscription (lines 46 and 50), whereas ὄδε is used near the beginning (line 16). Dobias-Lalou (2007) 215 considers that the decree is linguistically heterogeneous, containing a mixture of Cyrenaean and Theran features divided amongst three different sections. The first section, where ὄδε is, would correspond to the Cyrenaean dialect whilst the second, where οὔτος appears, to the Theran dialect. Whether or not the occurrences of οὔτος in this inscription are Theran rather than Cyrenaean does not compromise what has been said so far regarding the morphology and use of the demonstrative. There is enough evidence from both dialects to show that οὔτος looks and behaves similarly both in Cyrenaean and in Theran. In addition, there is further evidence of the use of ὄδε referring to the document in both dialects.

<sup>652</sup> The translation belongs to Faraone (1995) 7.

<sup>653</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (1963) 341: “ταῦτα indica evidentemente le invocazioni e l’imprecazione scritte sul piombo”. It would be interesting to see what the difference would be if ὄδε was used in this inscription as well, but unfortunately οὔτος is the only demonstrative employed here.

In contrast to the limited evidence we have of οὔτος referring to the document in Cyrenaean and Theraean, there are numerous examples of its anaphoric use in both dialects.<sup>654</sup> SEG 9, 72, the “Sacred Law of Kyrene”, a long set of religious laws dating from 325-300 BC, is the best known, best preserved and most extensive example of the Cyrenaean dialect.<sup>655</sup> There are seven occurrences of οὔτος in this inscription, all of them performing anaphoric functions. The morphology of the series is what we would expect from a West Greek dialect: nominative masculine οὔτος (A19-20), nominative feminine αὐτά (B84, 108), genitive feminine ταύτας (B103), neuter singular τοὔτο (B129), neuter plural ταῦτα (B86), demonstrative adverb οὔτως (B124).

The demonstrative is, in every case, used to refer back to some piece of information provided before in the text: οὔτος (A19-20) refers back to the person who may be inside the house when a woman is in childbed, “this –i.e. the aforementioned-person...”; αὐτά (B84) points back to the bride mentioned immediately before; ταῦτα (B86) alludes to what has been said that the bride should do to remain unpolluted; ταύτας (B103) takes us back to a set of specific days on which the bride had to remain pure; αὐτά (B108) refers to the house of the said woman, already mentioned at the beginning of the inscription;<sup>656</sup> τοὔτο (B129) refers back to the payment due to the god by a child who may have omitted it in ignorance; and demonstrative adverb οὔτως

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<sup>654</sup> For details see the Appendix, Tables 11 and 12.

<sup>655</sup> For a recent edition, translation and commentary of the text, see Dobias-Lalou (2000) 297-309. Also Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 494-505 and Robertson (2010) 259-277. For a detailed analysis on the regulations addressed in the inscription, see Robertson (2010) 279ff. According to Striano Corrochano (1989a) 211 the text is completely dialectal.

<sup>656</sup> Robertson (2010) 266 translates “the house itself is polluted as if by childbirth”, reading pronoun αὐτά instead of demonstrative αὐτά. See also 275. However, as Dobias-Lalou (2000) 309 suggests, the demonstrative is more convenient, as if referring to the actual house, given that the house was already mentioned in lines 19-20.

(B124), points back to its correlative *ὀπόσσω*, which appears just before in the same line.<sup>657</sup>

The same can be said of Theran regarding *οὔτως*'s role. In every occurrence the demonstrative seems to be working anaphorically. IG XII 3, 330, the so-called "Testament of Epicteta", a decree dating from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC written in a mixture of dialect and *koiné*,<sup>658</sup> contains the largest number of occurrences of *οὔτως* in Theran.<sup>659</sup> The inscription deals with the will of Epicteta, a woman who made a substantial donation to found a cultic association made up of relatives who would worship Epicteta, her husband, and their two sons as heroes, organising yearly celebrations, sacrifices and banquets to honour them.<sup>660</sup> The morphology of the demonstrative is, again, as expected in a West Greek dialect, as is its use as anaphora.<sup>661</sup> In B53 *τούτων* refers back to some specific rules, namely that people are not allowed to use the Mouseion, sell it or change in any way the statues in it. In B 59-60 *οὔτως* points back to Epicteta's son Andragoras, and in C272 to the elected supervisor, mentioned before. *τούτοις* (B94) alludes to the male relatives named immediately before and *ταύταις* (B105) to the female. *ἐκ τούτων* (B97) and *ἐκ ταυτᾶν* (B99, and

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<sup>657</sup> According to Servais (1960) 134-135, *οὔτως* is more than a simple correlative of *ὀπόσσω*, and would be referring more to manner than to quantity, even though the payment amount is referred to as well. He compares the phrase with *ὁ τι...τούτο* (B129), and states that *οὔτως* can be understood in all its relevance not only by its relationship with *ὀπόσσω* but also with what follows in the text.

<sup>658</sup> According to Wittenburg (1990) 18, the inscription can be dated between 210 and 195 BC. Wittenburg studies the language of the inscription (39-49) and confirms that the text is a mixture, often uncertain, of dialectal and *koiné* features, with predominant Doric elements (48).

<sup>659</sup> For an analysis of dialectal and *koiné* features in this inscription, see Striano Corrochano (1989b).

<sup>660</sup> The inscription provides valuable evidence on the foundation of family cults and private associations, on their regulations, management and everyday running. For details on Epicteta's commandments and the establishment of the cult's particulars see Klauck (2000) 47-48; Lupu (2004) 86-87 and McRae (2008) 40-45, 84-85. For a comprehensive analysis of the inscription, its historical and religious context and implications for the foundation of family cults, see Wittenburg (1990).

<sup>661</sup> There are not many examples of this series in Theran apart from the will of Epicteta, and all the evidence of its use is late (late 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC). There are two other occurrences, one in IG XII 3, 322.20 and another in IG XII 3, Suppl. 1294.8, both functioning as anaphora.

B106) refer to the descendants of the male and female members respectively, hence the masculine and feminine demonstratives. οὗτος is also used to point back to a period of time, a specific set of years just mentioned, hence the contrastive pre-positioned demonstrative: ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔτη (C146). In C183 (ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων), and C195, C200 (τὰς θυσίας ταύτας), the demonstratives allude to the offerings and the sacrifices to be made, described in the previous lines.<sup>662</sup>

#### **IV.4.3.3. ἐκεῖνος**

There is only one occurrence of this series in Cyrenaen and Thera. It appears in Thera in the “Testament of Epicteta” discussed above (κατὰ τὰς ἐκεῖνων ἐντολάς, IG XII 3, 330.B26). The demonstrative is used anaphorically, as it is normally the case. However, as Domínguez Casado (forthcoming) § 2.5.5.3 points out, its use appears to be due to *koiné* Greek influence, as one would expect τῆνος to appear in a Doric dialect and not ἐκεῖνος. The demonstrative’s role is not different from the role of οὗτος, but it is worth noting that the election of ἐκεῖνων instead of τούτων may have to do with the fact that those referred to by the demonstrative are all dead, namely Phoenix and his sons. It is interesting to compare this use of ἐκεῖνος with its use in drama, since when a character is referred to by the use of ἐκεῖνος, it normally indicates that the character is either dead or outside the performing space.<sup>663</sup> Unfortunately, there are no other occurrences of this series in either dialect.

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<sup>662</sup> For an edition and commentary of the text, and translations in Italian and English, see Wittenburg (1990) 22-37 and 159-166.

<sup>663</sup> Ruijgh (2006) 159. This use of ἐκεῖνος appears repeatedly in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* precisely in this sense. For a detailed analysis of this series in the play, see Nelli (2006) 19-21.



## CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this thesis has been to identify, describe, examine and compare the constitution, patterns, distribution and operation of the systems of demonstratives of a selection of early Greek dialects, studying as well the way in which deixis and anaphora seem to have worked in dialectal inscriptions.

In the Introduction to this work, demonstratives were defined as a closed word class (pronouns) formed by intrinsically definite referring expressions that could work both pronominally and adnominally, namely as heads of noun phrases and as determiners, whose reference shifted in correspondence to changes in the situation of communication, and which were used to pinpoint the participants, objects and events of the communication act within a spatial-temporal grid and in relation to a zero-point “I-here-now”. In addition, it was argued that their function was to synchronize both speaker’s and hearer’s attention, helping them focus onto the same object or event. The pointing-to capacity of demonstratives belongs to the workings of deixis, and demonstratives were accordingly defined as “deictics”.

Three levels of deixis were also identified: perceptual (deixis in a strict sense), imaginative and textual (discourse deixis or anaphora in the wide sense). Within the context of ancient Greek dialectal inscriptions, only cases of perceptual and textual deixis were considered, and a working classification was proposed in order to study and compare syntactic functions and pragmatic uses of the different series of demonstratives present in the selected dialects. It was argued that demonstratives in inscriptions could refer to the participants in the communication act, the current time of the communication, its current place, the artefact, the document as such, and the text of the

document. The first four categories fall under perceptual deixis, whereas the sixth, under textual deixis. As regards the fifth category, it was suggested that it was a complex hybrid type, with a foothold both in perceptual deixis (if the document was taken in its material/physical sense) and textual deixis (if the document was considered in terms of content, i.e. as text). Of the six functions proposed in our working classification, an analysis of the evidence revealed that the first one, referring to the participants in the communication act, was not attested in dialectal inscriptions.

In addition, this work addressed the origins and development of Greek demonstratives, stating that Greek had inherited PIE stem *\*so-* /*\*to-* in *ὁ ἦ τό* (<*\*so* *\*seh2* *\*tod*), originally a demonstrative that was later reanalysed as a definite article. Evidence showed that the demonstrative force of the article was still present in a number of dialects where *ὁ ἦ τό* was an essential part of the system of demonstratives, such as Lesbian and Thessalian, on the one hand, and Boeotian and Elean, with the addition of particle *-ί*, on the other. The old demonstrative value of the article was evident also in Mycenaean Greek, although our evidence for the dialect was rather limited. It was argued that when *ὁ ἦ τό* lost its demonstrative value, Greek had used the same stem (*\*so/ \*to*) to build new demonstratives, reinforcing them with the addition of various other particles which varied depending on the dialect, as was discussed in Chapters II to IV. In connection with this topic, a detailed study of particles *νι/νυ* concluded that these intensive particles, found in other Indo-European languages as well as in various formations in Greek, were possibly related to particle *νε*, found in Cyprian *o-ne*, Mycenaean *to-so-ne* and Thessalian *ὄνε*, and appeared in combination in Arcadian demonstratives *ὄνι/ὄνυ*, Cyprian *o-nu*, Cretan *ὄνυ*; in Arcadian adverbs

ὦννυ and τεῖθενυ, Cyprian *o-i-nu* = οἶνυ and Boeotian προτηνί; and on their own in Pamphylian νι and Cyprian νυ, where they seem to have possessed an emphatic value.

The research also focused on a description of the system of demonstratives of Attic, and it was argued that even though the system was tripartite, it expressed a twofold contrast between “here”, namely what belonged to the sphere of speaker and hearer (with a further internal contrast between ὅδε, related to the speaker, and οὗτος, related to the hearer), and “not here”, namely what lay outside such a sphere, ἐκεῖνος. Although the contrast had to do more with distance, proximal-distal, than with person, it also involved a cognitive dimension that was related to the subjective experience of the participants in the communication act, which had influence not only on the choice of a particular demonstrative, but also on the pragmatic use/s and semantic value/s given to each series.

As an additional objective of the research, this thesis had set to correct some traditional misconceptions about the constitution, usage and inter-dialectal connections of some systems of demonstratives, particularly with regards to Arcadian and Cyprian. Even though the title of Chapter II was “The Arcado-Cyprian Group”, alluding to the traditional classification of Greek dialects, our findings revealed that, at least with regard to demonstratives, there was no such thing as an “Arcado-Cyprian arrangement” or an “Arcado-Cyprian demonstrative”. On the contrary, the evidence pointed to the existence of two very different dialectal systems.

Our analysis of the evidence suggested that Arcadian might have had a bipartite system of demonstratives, with ὅδε on the one hand and ὄνυ/ὄνι on the other. There were no occurrences of ἐκεῖνος in the surviving Arcadian inscriptions, or evidence of a demonstrative use of the article. As regards οὗτος, the demonstrative occurred only

once in the whole of the Arcadian corpus in an inscription of late date that did not show many dialectal features, its appearance being most likely due to *koiné* influence. ὄδε and ὄνυ/ὄνι seemed not only to be able to express the above-mentioned contrast distal-proximal, but also to perform most demonstrative roles without the apparent need for a further series. The distribution of demonstratives across time showed that both ὄδε and ὄνυ/ὄνι were of old date and were well in use before the first (and only) appearance of οὔτος in Arcadian. Moreover, the fact that the functions normally attributed to οὔτος in Attic were carried out by ὄνυ/ὄνι in Arcadian, suggested that οὔτος might have not belonged to the Arcadian system in the first place, as there was already a dialectal equivalent to it. From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards, dialectal inscriptions started showing an increasing influence of *koiné* Greek. As a consequence, ὄνυ/ὄνι were taken over by οὔτος and disappeared completely. Remarkably, ὄνυ and ὄνι appeared to be equivalent and completely interchangeable, presumably two different orthographic/phonological variants of the same series, without a clear pattern for the election of one ending over the other. Given the fact that ὄνι had a shorter existence, that it first appeared in inscriptions a century after the first occurrence of ὄνυ, and that it was used nearly always in inscriptions that also contained ὄνυ, it was suggested that ὄνι might have been a late variant of original ὄνυ, based on the same phonological variation between υ and ι that characterized other endings in the Arcadian dialect.

Concerning their functions, our findings demonstrated that each series was allocated a different set of roles: ὄδε could be used to refer to the artefact –and perhaps the document- to anticipate new information by pointing forwards in the text (cataphora), and –in a particular case- to punctuate the discourse alluding to a salient piece of

information. On the other hand, ὄνυ/ὄνι could be employed to refer back in the text, alluding to a shared/already known piece of information (anaphora), and to refer to the document as such. Both series could be used as independent pronouns or adnominally, and in the case of ὄνυ/ὄνι (there was not sufficient evidence regarding ὄδε), the demonstrative could appear in both pre- and post-position, with a subsequent semantic distinction: the pre-positioned demonstrative expressed a contrastive value, whereas the post-positioned demonstrative indicated non-saliency. The same syntactic arrangement and resulting semantic variation were found in most dialects.

The research carried out on the Cyprian dialect revealed that the system of demonstratives of Cyprian was completely different from that of Arcadian. Although both systems seemed to share the use of two series of demonstratives, ὄδε and ὄνυ, that were morphologically similar (ὄδε =o-te; ὄνυ =o-nu), the series –and the systems– seemed to work in entirely different ways.

The evidence showed the use of three series of demonstratives in Cyprian, ὄδε, ὄνυ and ὄνε, but only one series in use per city (apart from the potential case of ὄνυ in Nea Paphos). Each series seemed to be able to perform an array of roles that suggested that there was no need for the use of a further element. In fact, the use of one form seemed to have excluded the others. The vast majority of Cyprian inscriptions, regardless of city of origin, recorded almost exclusively the use of ὄδε, our evidence of the use of ὄνε and ὄνυ being very limited. Given the fact that each series seemed to be able to perform roles that were usually attributed to two, three or four different series of demonstratives in other dialects, it was argued that Cyprian might have had a single-term system. Our evidence suggested that neither οὔτος nor ἐκεῖνος were part of the

system, and as regards the article, it did not seem to have been used with demonstrative value as a contemporary alternative to ὄδε, ὄνυ and ὄνε, although there was admittedly some evidence of its demonstrative use in a few archaic inscriptions.

The fact that a single series of demonstratives was able to perform all roles required was sufficiently demonstrated by examples of the use of Cyprian ὄδε. The demonstrative could refer to the artefact, the current place as a locative, the document, and a section of text, not only introducing new information, i.e. referring forwards in the text (cataphora), but most importantly, also pointing back to a piece of information mentioned before in the text, performing a clear and strong anaphoric function. In the case of ὄνυ, two of its three occurrences in Cyprian showed the demonstrative referring to the artefact, whereas the remaining occurrence suggested an anaphoric role. As for ὄνε, it too appeared performing a clear anaphoric role, but it was used as well to refer to the current place.

Notably, Cyprian seemed to prefer the use of adnominal demonstratives rather than the use of independent pronouns, and to favour the demonstrative in post-position, which, as was suggested, might have had to do with the fact that the system was single-termed and needed a more clear and explicit reference, but could also be an indicator of a connection with similar arrangements in Phoenician.

The scarcity of our evidence regarding demonstrative forms in Pamphylian made it difficult to illustrate accurately what the Pamphylian system of demonstratives might have looked like. Inscriptions did not provide us with sufficient data, apart from a few potential demonstrative forms. There was no evidence of the use of οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος in dialectal inscriptions which might have suggested that they belonged in the dialect – although their absence might have been due to the insufficiency and unsuitability of our

evidence. The article, on the other hand, appeared not to be used to perform its regular functions as a definite article but seemed to behave in a demonstrative-like manner and perform roles normally seen in more archaic texts, such as behaving as a relative pronoun. In fact, some scholars argued that the article in Pamphylian had never developed into a proper definite article. Likewise, ὄδε was not employed in its most frequent roles, namely pointing to the monument, the document, or forwards in the text, but was used in an anaphoric role, a function normally attributed to series such as οὗτος –with the exception, as we have seen, of the Cyprian dialect, where ὄδε was able to perform any role. Additionally, Pamphylian seemed to have used αὐτός in positions and functions normally attributed to the definite article in Attic, and in some cases to demonstratives, being used both to define expressions and as an anaphoric “pick-up” pronoun. A plausible explanation for this might be that if this particular dialect used the article to convey demonstrative force or value, and ὄδε to refer back, it might have resorted to other elements, such as αὐτός, to determine the noun or perform functions normally allocated to the definite article in other dialects. Unfortunately, the lack of further evidence prevented us from taking these conjectures any further or drawing any firmer conclusions.

Our research on the Mycenaean dialect encountered similar difficulties, as Mycenaean inscriptions did not present enough data regarding the system of demonstratives of the dialect. There were a few occurrences of the old demonstrative ὄ ἤ τό and some occurrences of a demonstrative form *to-to*, a reduplication of the pronominal theme *\*to-*, and of a form *za-we-te*, comprising an initial demonstrative element *\*ky-*. Additionally, there was evidence of a comparatively abundant use of the demonstrative of quantity τόσ(σ)ος/ τοσ(σ)όςδε (*to-so, to-sa, to-so-de, to-sa-de, to-*

*so-jo*), with a single occurrence of the form *to-so-ne*, interpreted as τος(σ)ό(ν)-νε, which proved that the choice of different particles (*-ky*, *-de*, *-ne*) to build new demonstrative forms was already available in Mycenaean. Our evidence showed that ὁ ἦ τό was used as an independent pronoun, whereas the form *to-to* was always adnominal. Conversely, the demonstrative of quantity could be both adnominal and pronominal. Interestingly, whenever a demonstrative was used adnominally, it appeared in pre-position. The definite article, on the other hand, was not attested as such. Concerning their roles in the text, whereas ὁ ἦ τό was used anaphorically, the demonstrative of quantity was used to introduce new information, i.e. cataphorically. and *to-to* and *za-we-te* were employed to refer to the current time.

Concerning the “Aeolic Group”, our findings suggested that the Lesbian system of demonstratives comprised not three, as Attic, but four series: ὁ ἦ τό, ὄδε, οὗτος, and κῆνος. The functions that each series was able to perform did not differ from what one would normally expect from them in classical Greek, with the exception of the roles performed by the article, which seemed not to be exclusive to Lesbian but were found also in Boeotian and Thessalian. There was not much epigraphical evidence of Lesbian ὄδε in cases other than the accusative, but there was evidence of many more cases and also of some peculiar forms in both Sappho and Alcaeus, such as genitive τῶνδέων, with secondary declension, and locative adverb τυίδε. Our research revealed that whereas ὄδε was used to refer to the artefact and to the document, it was not employed to refer forwards. For this function the dialect appears to have preferred ὁ ἦ τό, which was possibly also used to refer to the current time. It was suggested that the particular ending -οισι/-αισι for the dative plural might have carried a demonstrative value that

differed from the ending -οις /-αις, as illustrated by the lyric poets. Concerning οὔτος, this series was well represented in inscriptions, mainly performing an anaphoric role, but also regularly used to refer to the document. It could be both adnominal and pronominal, and appear in both pre- and post-position. In a couple of cases both οὔτος and ὅδε were used to refer to the document in the same inscription, which could be explained as a reference forwards/back, or as an allusion to new/shared information, but could also have a connection with the type of verb to which each of the occurrences was linked, namely a verb of giving in the case of ὅδε, and a verb of saying in the case of οὔτος. Finally, κῆνος appeared in a fixed formula that seemed to be used not only in Lesbian but also in Attic, Ionic and Thessalian, performing an anaphoric role. The choice of κῆνος instead of οὔτος had to do with the fact that the demonstrative pointed back to a reference (“the former”), that indicated both a textual distinction and a cognitive distance that was better expressed by distal κῆνος than by proximal οὔτος.

Our research on the Boeotian dialect showed evidence of the presence of four different series of demonstratives in inscriptions, ὁ ἢ τό + ι, οὔτος, ὅδε and ἐκεῖνος, as well as adverb προτηνί. However, a deeper analysis revealed that ὅδε and ἐκεῖνος were most likely due to *koiné* influence and probably did not belong in the dialect, and suggested that the dialectal system of demonstratives might have been either bi- or tripartite. Each of the remaining series was employed to perform a specific role or to express a specific nuance of that role, without overlap or clash of functions. ὁ ἢ τό + ι was used to refer forwards, οὔτος to refer back in the text and to refer to the document, and προτηνί to refer back in time. There was also an example of the article being used to refer to the artefact in an archaic inscription. The article was used with demonstrative

force without the addition of any particles, but the lack of evidence of such a use in later inscriptions suggested that this case might have been a conservative feature, a remnant of the use of the old demonstrative article, and not an additional series of demonstratives, contemporary to the use of ὁ ἢ τό + ι and οὗτος, although the evidence was not conclusive. Regarding their morphology, the dialectal form of οὗτος curiously showed the use of aspiration all through the declension instead of forms beginning with τ-. On the contrary, the nominative masculine plural form of the article, τοί, showed initial τ- instead of aspiration, plus the addition of particle -ι added at the end, the dialectal form τυί being a variation of the latter. As for their syntax, ὁ ἢ τό + ι appeared to have been used only pronominally, although there was a potential example of an adnominal occurrence, whereas οὗτος could also be used adnominally, and appear both in pre- and post-position.

Both the quantity and quality of our data regarding Thessalian were disappointingly limited, and it was difficult to determine whether the system/s of demonstratives in place had two, three or more elements. Unfortunately, it will be necessary to wait until new evidence is made public to draw further conclusions. Nevertheless, it was still possible to examine the various series of demonstratives operating in the different regions. Our analysis of the evidence suggested that the dialect had in fact several systems of demonstratives at work, varying not only from region to region but also within the same region. We discovered the use of both ὄνε and οὗτος in regions which were traditionally considered as preserving either one or the other demonstrative; there were examples of both the article and ὅδε performing similar roles in the same regions; κείνος and αὐτός were also found in places in which we would have expected the use

of οὔτος. Demonstratives in Thessalian are still an open subject and presumptions drawn from the evidence available are tentative and inconclusive. However, our research led to some interesting findings. οὔτος and ὄνε appeared to be equivalent, their distribution being not only geographical but also temporal: our evidence of οὔτος dated from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, whereas our evidence of ὄνε dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, in what appeared to have been a reaction to the influence of *koiné* and a reaffirmation of Thessalian identity. οὔτος was used to refer back and to refer to the document in decrees coming from all the regions, dating from 6<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c BC. ὄνε appeared to be used only in decrees in the regions of Pelasgiotis, Perrhaibia and Hestiaiōtis (formerly known as a οὔτος-only region), also referring back and referring to the document, in inscriptions dating from 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c BC. Notably, there were examples of the use of a double inflected ὄνε. The series seemed to appear as an independent pronoun when its role was anaphoric, and adnominally when referring to the document, both in pre- and post-position. The same applied to οὔτος. Neither of these series were used in dedications or epitaphs. Conversely, ὄδε appeared to be used only in dedications and epitaphs, and was never found in decrees. This series appeared mostly in metrical texts, coming from all regions and all periods, referring both to the artefact and to the current place, namely as a locative. Although in the above-mentioned cases the series was considered non dialectal, evidence was provided of a dialectal use of ὄδε in an archaic inscription from Thessaliōtis, where the demonstrative was used to refer to the artefact, which suggested that the series might have been part of the dialectal system after all. With regard to ὁ ἢ τό, there was evidence of its use as a demonstrative from all regions except Hestiaiōtis. The demonstrative appeared to have been used in decrees

as part of nominal phrases introducing new information (accompanying ὄνε in Pelasgiotis, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c BC), and in dedications and epitaphs to refer to the artefact (in inscriptions dating from 6<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC). Finally, in spite of the scarcity of the evidence, it was argued that one should not rule out the possibility that κείνος had formed part of the dialectal system of demonstratives; the demonstrative appeared in an anaphoric role used in a formula of which there was also evidence from another Aeolic dialect, namely Lesbian.

The research also focused on the analysis of the systems of demonstratives of a selection of West Greek dialects. Elean, even though classified as a Northwest Greek dialect, had been considered by some scholars as a strict Doric dialect with Northwest and Aeolic influence. Our research on the Elean system of demonstratives revealed that there were indeed some connections with the system of demonstratives of some Aeolic dialects, particularly in what concerned the series ὁ ἦ τό and ὁ ἦ τό + ί. Elean inscriptions showed evidence of the use of four, perhaps five, series of demonstratives, comprising ὁ ἦ τό, ὁ ἦ τό + ί, ὄδε, οὔτος and, potentially, κείνος/τένος. The series ὁ ἦ τό appeared in three main roles, referring forwards, its most frequent function, just as in the Aeolic dialects, referring to the artefact, and referring to the document. The series ὁ ἦ τό + ί was also employed to refer to the artefact and the document, and to refer to the current time. Remarkably, our evidence showed the adnominal use of the series, a case for which there was no conclusive evidence in Boeotian. ὄδε was employed as well to refer to the document, but also to refer to the artefact and to the current place (locative adverb τέδε), and, apparently, it might have been used anaphorically as well. There was evidence of both an adnominal and pronominal use of the series, and when adnominal, the demonstrative appeared always in post-position. οὔτος, on the other

hand, was mainly employed to perform an anaphoric role, but in some occurrences it could be taken as referring to the document, just like the other series did. The morphology of οὔτος seemed to be an interesting feature of the dialect, with forms such as genitive plural feminine ταυτᾶν and masculine ταύτῶν, probably developed by analogy from neuter plural ταῦτα. As regards the alleged fifth series in use, even though some scholars suggested the presence of a form κῆνος/τῆνος in the dialect, the evidence was too questionable to provide a conclusive reading. Concerning the unusual use of four different series to perform the same function, namely referring to the document, it was argued that this abnormality did not seem to imply a consecutive progression in the use of the different series, corresponding to a progressive weakening of the demonstrative article, but rather suggest a period of transition in which there seems to have been an overlap between the different forms.

Cretan inscriptions also showed the presence of numerous series of demonstratives: ὄδε, οὔτος, ὄνυ, ἰός, and κῆνος, with no evidence of the use of ὁ ἢ τό in a demonstrative role. The evidence suggested that there might have been different systems of demonstratives in place in the various cities. Most of our evidence came from Gortyn in Central Crete: many cases of οὔτος and ὄδε, all of the occurrences of ἰός and our only example of κῆνος. The system of demonstratives of Gortyn, however, seems to have been tripartite, comprising only ὄδε, οὔτος and κῆνος. The fourth demonstrative form in use, ἰός, did not appear to be a full series on its own, but to be used occasionally with demonstrative value. Although there were no examples from Gortyn of the use of ὄνυ, the demonstrative appeared also in Central Crete in Lyktos, as well as in Western Crete in Eleutherna. The fact that ὄνυ appeared in inscriptions

dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BC suggested that the demonstrative was not an innovation or a borrowing, but an original dialectal form. ὄδε appeared to be used both as an independent pronoun and adnominally, both preceding and following the noun, in a variety of roles: referring to the artefact, to the document, forwards (its most frequent function), and pointing to the current place. On the other hand, οὔτος appeared mostly in an anaphoric role, but was also employed to refer to the document. Its presence in the same cities that showed evidence of the use of ὄνυ was disconcerting. However, the occurrences of οὔτος were either late, perhaps influenced by *koiné* Greek, or too dubious. Moreover, the evidence collected showed that ὄδε and ὄνυ, ὄδε and οὔτος, κῆνος and οὔτος, and ὄδε, οὔτος and ἰός could appear together in the same inscription, but not ὄνυ and οὔτος, which suggested that the use of one series excluded the other. Conversely, our evidence showed the use of ὄδε and ὄνυ in the same inscription, but performing different roles, ὄδε referring forwards or to the artefact, ὄνυ always in an anaphoric function. It was argued that in the cases of Lyktos, Eleutherna and possibly Axos, the system of demonstratives seemed to have included ὄδε and ὄνυ working in a parallel way to ὄδε and ὄνυ in Arcadian, which suggested that the presence of ὄνυ in the dialect might have been a pre-Doric remnant. In the cities in which ὄδε and οὔτος appeared together in the same text, there was also a clear distribution of roles: ὄδε would refer to the document or forwards, and οὔτος would refer back. Our only evidence of the use of κῆνος was anaphoric, and it was argued that as the series was distal and not proximal like οὔτος, and normally pointed to a more distant reference, it had been employed in this case in opposition to αὐτός as a

way of expressing “otherness”. As regards ἰός, the form appeared in combination with other demonstratives in Gortyn, used with pronominal force and in an anaphoric role.

The system of demonstratives of Laconian appeared to be comparatively much simpler than the systems of other dialects, comprising only ὄδε and οὔτος. There was no evidence of ἐκεῖνος in inscriptions, only in literary texts, and the article was not used with demonstrative force either. ὄδε seemed to be used to refer to the artefact, to refer forwards/introduce new information, and in a presentational role in epitaphs, whereas οὔτος appeared to refer back, to the document, and, unusually, also to the artefact. There was evidence of both demonstratives used as independent pronouns and adnominally, both in pre- and post-position. Even though the evidence seemed to indicate that Laconian had a bipartite system of demonstratives, the fact that ἐκεῖνος was used in the rest of the West Greek dialects addressed in this work suggested that, in spite of not being attested in dialectal inscriptions (it appeared in literary texts, i.e. in Alcman, but that might have been an epic element and not a true dialectal feature), ἐκεῖνος might have been part of the Laconian system as well.

Like Laconian, the systems of demonstratives of both Cyrenaean and Theran appeared to be quite simple. Our evidence recorded the use of ὄδε, οὔτος and ἐκεῖνος (only one example) in the dialects, which might suggest that the systems were also tripartite. ὄδε appeared to have been used to refer to the artefact, to the current place, in the same presentational role (also in an epitaph) as Laconian ὄδε, to refer forwards, and to the document. Interestingly, there was evidence of the use of a locative demonstrative adverb τῆδε in Cyrenaean, τάδε and τεῆδε in Theran, of which there was also evidence in Elean (τεῆδε). In contrast, οὔτος had mostly an anaphoric role, but

could be used as well to refer to the document. Both ὄδε and οὗτος could be pronominal or adnominal and appear in both positions, before and after the noun. Concerning ἐκεῖνος, which appeared in an anaphoric role, the evidence was dubious and most probably due to *koiné* influence.

The present study was regrettably constrained by time and space limits, and many issues related to the subject of its research could not be addressed properly, requiring further investigation. Additional research is needed into the dialectal morphology, distribution and use of other demonstrative forms, such as demonstratives of quantity and quality (τόσος/ τοσόσδε/ τοσοῦτος, τοῖος/ τοιόσδε/ τοιοῦτος), demonstrative adverbs (δεῦρο, ἐνθάδε, ἐνθένδε, τῆδε, ὧδε, ταύτη, ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖσε, ἐκεῖθεν), as well as other forms comprising a demonstrative element, adverbs of time and place, and the pronoun αὐτός, which even though it developed into a full demonstrative late in the history of the Greek language, appears to have had some demonstrative value already in some early Greek dialects, i.e. Pamphylian. Further research is also needed into the systems of demonstratives of other West Greek dialects not included in the present study, as well as an in-depth comparative analysis of the structure and operation of the various systems of demonstratives in both epigraphic and literary sources.

## **APPENDIX. TABLES OF DATA**

### **References:**

-In the “Line/Form” column, the number in brackets corresponds to the line number in the inscription.

-Discrepancies in the dating of inscriptions are referred to in brackets, indicating author/work and date proposed.

-In the “Form Analysis” column, the letters correspond to Case (Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative), Gender (Masculine, Feminine, Neuter), and Number (Singular, Plural, Dual), in that order.

-For abbreviations of works and authors see the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of this work.



## 1. Demonstratives in Arcadian. Data from Inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
IG V <sup>2</sup> 1	Tegea	362/361 BC (PHI) IG:IVc.BC	Decree	(9) οἴδε	N M P	Cataphora (+ names)
IG V <sup>2</sup> 3	Tegea	a. 400 BC IG: 5c.BC - 390. IPArk: 5 <sup>th</sup> /4 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(14) πὰρ τάνυ	A N P	Anaphora
IG V <sup>2</sup> 4	Tegea	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Decree Lex sacra	(5) τάνυ	A N P	too frag- mentary
IG V <sup>2</sup> 6	Tegea	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC  IPArk: a. 350 BC	Decree	(36) τωνί	A N D	Anaphora
				(53) ταν[ν]ί	A F S	Ref. to document
				(61) τοῖσδε	D M P	Cataphora (+ names?)
				(72) τοῖσδε	D M P	Cataphora (+ names?)
				(100) τοῖσδε	D M P	Cataphora (+ names?)
IG V <sup>2</sup> 113 =DGE 651	Tegea	500-475BC (LSAG)	Tit. honor.	Column b (2) τ[ε]ιδένυ	Adverb	Locative
IG V <sup>2</sup> 173	Tegea	IG:4 <sup>th</sup> cBC PHI: 362	Epitaph	(37) οἴδε	N M P	Cataphora
IG V <sup>2</sup> 262	Mantineia	5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC IPArk: ca. 460  LSAG: 450 BC	Decree.  Judgement	(23) κα(τ) τδνν[υ]	G N? P	Anaphora
				(1) οἴδε	N M P	Cataphora (+ names)
				(18) τοῖ(δ)δ'	D M S	Cataphora
				(24) ἄδε	N F S	Cataphora
IG V <sup>2</sup> 343 =IPArk15	Orchom.	360/350 BC  (DGE and IPArk)	Decree  Agreement	(IG 38, Db 59) τάδε	A N P	Cataphora
				(IG 57, Db 78) τάδε	A N P	Cataphora
				Db: 148-149, DGE 665: 323 (51) τανν' (δίκας)	A F P	Anaphora
IG V <sup>2</sup> 412	Thelphousa	IG: 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. 4 <sup>th</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (PHI)	Decree	(2) οἴδε	N M P	Cataphora (+probably names)
IG V <sup>2</sup> 429	Phigaleia	325 BC	Private inscr.(Manumis sion)	(6) τούτοις	D M P	Anaphora
DGE 664 =IPArk 14  (BCH 39.	Orchom.	369 BC  IPArk: 369 terminus	Decree	(8, 9) ἀπὸ τωνί	D M S	Anaphora (ref. to τῶι ὀρίῳ, the boundary)

1915: 53-97)		post quem, date: 369- 361 BC		(10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28) 15 times! ἀπὸ τῶινυ	D M S	Anaphora (ref. to a boundary indicated before)
				(30) οἶδε	N M P	Cataphora (+ names?)
				(31) οἶδε	N M P	Cataphora (+ names?)
<b>SEG XI 1112= IPArk 20</b>	Pheneos	6 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC IPArk 20: 525 BC	Decree <i>Lex sacra</i>	(6) ὄδε	N M S	Textual deixis
				(7) τόδε	A N S	Ref. to artefact?
<b>SIG 306 =DGE 657 =IPArk 5</b>	Delphi (Tegea)	a. 324 BC	Decree	(9) τα(ν)νὶ	G F S	Anaphora
				(14-Velsen/15) τῶνι	G M S	Anaphora
				(30) ἰν ταῖνυ	D F P	Anaphora
				(36) ἰν ταιν(νὶ/ιν)	D F P	Anaphora
				(51) ταννὶ	A F P	Anaphora
				(55) ταννί	G F P	Anaphora
				(56) ἐς ταιννὶ	D F P	Anaphora
(59) τῶννυ	G M P	Anaphora				

### 3<sup>RD</sup> CENTURY BC INSCRIPTIONS WITH DIALECTAL FEATURES (DIALECT REVIVAL)

<b>IG V<sup>2</sup> 16</b>	Tegea	218 BC (PHI) IG: 221 BC	Decree	(8)τόδε (ψάφισμα)	A N S	Ref. to document
<b>IG V<sup>2</sup> 358</b>	Stymphal.	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC? (SEG)	Decree	(2) τοῖσδε	D M P	Cataphora
<b>SEG XXV 447 =IPArk 24</b>	Alipheira	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC (SEG) 273 BC (PHI)	Decree	(13, 23) πὰρ τάνυ	A N P	Anaphora
<b>SIG 559 =IvM 38</b>	Megalop.	207/206 BC (Dubois)	Decree	(44) ταινὶ	D F S	Anaphora
				(47) περὶ τοινί	D N? S	Anaphora
				(48) ταννὺν	A F S	Anaphora
				(49) τοσσὺν	A M P	Anaphora

## 2. Demonstratives in Cyprian. Data from Inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>ICS 2 = Hoff 98</b>	Paphos (Nea Paphos)	350 BC 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication to Apollo Hylatés	(2) to-te = τῶ[δε]	G N S	Locative
<b>ICS 3= Hoff 99</b>	Paphos (Nea Paphos)	350 BC 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication to Apollo Hylatés	(2) to-te = τῶδε	G N S	Locative
<b>ICS 8= Hoff 109</b>	Paphos (ancient Paphos, later Kouklia)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC? Mitford mid. 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC (p. 32)	Dedication	(6,7) to-te = τó(ν)δε  (6) ὁμῶμοκον τὸν ῥρκον τó(ν)δε (7) [τὸν οῖ]ρκον τό(ν)δε	A M S	Anaphora
<b>ICS 9 = Hoff 108</b>	Paphos (Kouklia)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Fragmentary	(1) ta-sa-te = τάσδε?	A F P	Too frag- mentary
<b>ICS 11= DGE 683.6</b>	Paphos (Kouklia)		Epitaph	(2) i-ta-τε = Att. ἐνθάδε (Mass: 107) Previous hypothesis (i-ta-ηυ= ἱ(ν)θα νυ) considered wrong	Adverb	Locative
<b>ICS 37</b>	Rantidi (district of Paphos)	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedication?	(1) to-te = τóδε	N N S	Locative
<b>ICS 84 = DGE 683.7 Hoff 93</b>	Dhrymou (district Paphos)	?	Epitaph	(2) o-te = ὄδε	N M S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 92= Hoff 106</b>	Salamiou (district Paphos)	450 BC?  2 <sup>nd</sup> half 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC or beg. Hellenistic period	Dedication?	(3) to-te = τóδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 108</b>	Marion (district Paphos)	5 <sup>th</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c BC (Site I, western necropolis)	Epitaph	(1) to-te?= τóδε? o-na-sa-ko-ra-u-to- te-?-to-?	N N S	obscure and fragment.
<b>ICS 184= IK 19 Hoff 115 Hall<sup>2</sup> 233.7</b>	Kourion (district of Limassol)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Dedication (fragmtry.)	(1) to-te = τóδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 185= IK 18 Hoff 114</b>	Kourion (Limassol)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Dedication (fragmtry.)	(1) to-te = τóδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 215 = DGE 682.15 Hoff 140</b>	Tamassos -Phrangissa- (district Nicosia)	ca. 362 BC  361-372 BC (DGE: 332)	Dedication (Phoenic. + Cypr. texts)	(1) to-nu = τó(ν)νυ	A M S	Ref to the artefact

<b>ICS 216 = DGE 682.16 Hoff 141</b>	Tamassos -Phrangissa- (district Nicosia)	ca. 375 BC	Dedication (Phoenic. + Cypr. texts)	(1) o-nu = ὄνυ	N M S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 217 = DGE 679 Hoff 135A</b>	Idalion (district Nicosia)	478-470BC	Decree	(A7) to-te = τῶδε (A11) to-i-te = τῶιδε (A13) to-te = τὸ(ν)δε (B17) to-te = τῶδε (B24) ta-i-te = τᾶιδε (B24) to-i-te = τῶιδε (B25) to-te = τὸ(ν)δε (B26) ta-te = τά(ν)δε (B26) ta-te = τᾶδε (B28) ta-sa-te = τάσδε (B29) ta-sa-te = τάσδε (B30) ta-sa-te = τάσδε (B30) to-so-te = τόσδε	G M S D M S A M S G M S D F S D M S A M S A F S A N P A F P A F P A M P	Anaph.. Anaph. Cataph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Cataph. Ref art. Ref. Doc. Ref. Doc. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.
<b>ICS 220 = DGE 680 Hoff 134</b>	Idalion (Nicosia)	380 BC  ca. 380 BC (DGE: 330) 375 BC or maybe earlier in 4 <sup>th</sup> c (Masson: 247)	Dedication (Phoenic. + Cypr. texts)	(2) to-te = τὸ(ν)δε	A M S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 265= Hoff 147 Hall<sup>1</sup> 1 Hall<sup>2</sup> 221-2 Deecke 72</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (district of Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, ca. 325 BC (Cyprian Hellenistic)	Dedication (fragment.)	(1) to-te= τῶδε	A N/M? S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 273</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC Masson: 289: “texte obscure”	Dedication (fragment.)	(1) to-te=τῶδε ?	A N/M? S	Too obscure
<b>ICS 275= Deecke 90,112 Hall<sup>2</sup> 227</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Dedication	(a-b) -to  te-pa-to-- = τῶδε?	N? N S	Ref to the artefact?
<b>ICS 276= Deecke76 Hall<sup>2</sup> 223</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Dedication	(2) ta-te-ne= τά(ν)δεν (?)	A F S	Ref to the artefact

<b>ICS 283</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC Masson: 291 “l’inscription demeure obscuré”	Dedication?  (fragmentary)	(2) to-te= τόδε (?)	A N S	Ref to the artefact?
<b>ICS 295 = Deecke88 Hoff 161</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?  Masson: 296 “texte extremement obscuré”	Dedication  Written in an alabaster vase	(1) ta-te= τά(ν)δ’  Hoffmann: χόο(ν) τά(ν)δ’	A F S	Ref to the artefact?
<b>ICS 296 = Deecke 102 Hall<sup>2</sup> 229</b>	Golgoi [Ayios Phôtios] (Larnaca)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?  Masson: 296 “texte obscuré”	Dedication?	(1) to-te= τόδε?	A/N N S	Ref to the artefact?
<b>ICS 306=</b>	Pyla (district Larnaca)	5 <sup>th</sup> /4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Decree	(2) to-ne= τῶνε (5) o-ne= ὄνε (7) to-ne= τῶνε	D M S D M S D M S	Locative Anaphora Anaphora
<b>ICS 311 = Deecke 126 Hoff 130</b>	Salamis (district Famagusta)	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Tabella defixionis placed in a tomb	(2) to-te= τόδε	A/N? N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>ICS 327= SSSWC p. 38ff</b>	Aphrodision? (near Akanthou, district Famagusta)	ca. 400BC  Masson:402 end of 5 <sup>th</sup> c BC or begin. 4 <sup>th</sup>	Enigmatic Inscription (long list of names)	(B 15) ta-nu?= τά(ν)νυ	A F S	Anaphora?
<b>ICS 338= DGE 683.9</b>	Loci incerti	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Epitaph	(3) to-te= = τόδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>IK 218</b>	Kourion (district Limassol)	early 5 <sup>th</sup> c BC  (Mitford 1971 p. 377)	Decree?	(3) ta-te = τά(ν)δε	A F S	Locative
<b>ISKP 1= SSSWC 1 ICS Add. p. 394</b>	Paphos (Kouklia)	ca. 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(1) ]-te= [---τό]δε	A M? S	Ref to the artefact
<b>NK 117(b)</b>	Kafizin (district Nicosia)	221/220 BC	Dedication (Frying pan)	(b) to-po-ro-xe-ni- o-to-te= τὸ προξένιό(ν) τόδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>NK 133(b)</b>	Kafizin (Nicosia)	225/4 BC	Dedication Porringer (porridge bowl)	(b) [a-ta-ro-po-ro] to-te ἄθαρροφόρο(ν) τόδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact

<b>NK 217(b)</b>	Kafizin (Nicosia)	225/4 BC	Dedication <i>Chidbrochon</i> (type of pot, wheaten groat soaker)	(b) ki-to-ro-po-ko- TO-TE χιδρόβ(ρ)οχο(ν) τόδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>NK 218(b)</b>	Kafizin (Nicosia)	223/2 BC	Dedication <i>Chidbrochon</i>	(b) [ki-to-ro]-po-ro- ko-to-ta !! χιδρό]βροχο(ν) τό<δε>	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>NK 225</b>	Kafizin (Nicosia)	225-220 BC?	Dedication <i>Chidbrochon</i>	(b) [ki-to-ro-po-ro- ko]-to-te χιδρόβροχο(ν)] vac. Τόδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>NK 267(b).2</b>	Kafizin (Nicosia)	225/4- 223/2 BC	Dedication Pitcher	(b) we-[te-i-u-ti]- RI-wi-o-to-te Ἐ[τεος ὑδ]ρί Wio(ν) τόδε	A N S	Ref to the artefact

### 3. Demonstratives in Pamphylian. Data from Inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>DGP3</b>	Sillyon	1 <sup>st</sup> half 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Peace agreement?	(13) καὶ ὁ βολέμενυς	. N M S	Nominalizes the participle, Demonstrative force
<b>DGP6</b>	Sillyon	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Text obscure	(3) τῶι Μη[ν]ι? ΤΩΙΜΗ[	. D M S	Text obscure
<b>CIDP V 275</b>	Belkis-Camiliköy (Aspendos)	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC (influenced by koiné)	Dedication	(4) Βερενίκα τὰ Τιτι εὐχά	A F S.	“Demarcative” ( <i>demarcatif</i> )
<b>CIDP V 276</b>	Aspendos	End of 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC/ beginning 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC  (after DGP 3)	Lease contract?	(25) καὶ πρόσοδ[υ καὶ] τὰ στάσι τὰδε ἀπὸς Φιρῆ	A F S	Definite article
				(25) καὶ πρόσοδ[υ καὶ] τὰ στάσι τὰδε ἀπὸς Φιρῆ	Demonstrative A F S	Anaphora
				(28) κατὰ τὰ κεκραμμέν-[α]	A/N N P	Nominalizes the participle
				(29) ζαμίας τὰς κεκραμμένας	Article A F P	Nominalizes the participle
				(30) κατεθέκετυ Δάμαρχυς τὰ ἴστακε ἐν ἐγ[αῖο	A N P	Relative article
				(31) τὰ στάσι τὰδε αἴφε	A F S	Definite article
				(31) τὰ στάσι τὰδε αἴφε	Demonstrative A F S	Anaphora
<b>PARTICLE</b> <i>vi</i>						
<b>DGP3</b>	Sillyon	1 <sup>st</sup> half 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Peace agreement?	(12) καὶ νι σκυδρὺ κατεφέρξοδυ	Particle	Emphatic
				(14) [κ]αὶ νι Βοῖκυ π[ό]λις ἐχέτο	Particle	Emphatic
				(17) καὶ νι Βοῖκυ πόλ[ις...]	Particle	Emphatic
				(22) καὶ νι θεδ[υ]	Particle	Emphatic

				(23) καί ν[ι] + obscure sequence	Particle	Emphatic
<b>CIDP V 276</b>	Aspendos	End of 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC/ beginning 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Lease contract? (Brixhe (2000) 50)	(21) καὶ νι μῆρῃ ἄρχοδες	Particle	Emphatic
				(35) καὶ ν(ι) ἰσμαῖοδυ	Particle	Emphatic
αὐτός						
<b>DGP3</b>	Silyon	1 <sup>st</sup> half 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Peace agreement?	(7) ἀτρώποισι περτ(ι) ἰρῆνι ἀἰταῖσι ἡἔἰόταισι	D F P	Comitative dative
<b>CIDP V 276</b>	Aspendos	End of 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC/ beginning 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Lease contract? (Brixhe (2000) 50)	(18) ἀ[Ἰ]τὺς φέπος [	N M S	Anaphoric 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun “he”
				(20) ἀἰτῶ τίς	G M? P	Partitive Genitive, anaphoric
				(22) ἔ τις κατ’ ἐγαῖῶ ἀἰτῶ ἔγαυ ἀἰτὺ ἐφάλ[ῶσε(?)]	G N P A/G? NS	Anaph? Anaph?
				(24) καὶ ἀἰτὸς φῖ ἐγαῖυ ἀἰτῦ καὶ πρόσοδ[υ]	A M P  G N S	Anaph? 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun “they” Anaphoric
				(25) καὶ] τὰ στάσι τάδε ἀἰτὸς φῖρῃ	A M P	Anaph? 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun “they”
				(31) ]υ τὰ στάσι τάδε αἰφῆ περ’ ἀἰτὰ φῖ	A M P	Anaphoric
				(32) ἔ]γαυ ἀἰτῦ	G N? S	Too fragm.

#### 4. Demonstratives in Mycenaean. Data from the Tablets

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>MY Oe 118</b>	Mycenae	Linear B Late Minoan II (c. 1450-1405 BC)	List of commodities (wool)	(1) to-so-ne? = τόσ(σ)ον-νε?	N N S ? +part.ve?	Cataphora
<b>Py Aq 64</b> (=DOC 43)	Pylos	Linear B Late Helladic III (c. 1405-1200)	List of personnel?	(2) to-to we-to (5) to-to we-to (6) to-to-we-to (7) to-to-we-to (13) to-to-we-to (14) to-to to-to we-to (15) to-to we-to (16) to-to-we-to  = *tod-tod? = τοτο φέτος	A N S	Ref. to current time
<b>Py Eb 156</b>	Pylos	Linear B Late Helladic III (c. 1405-1200)	List of grain consignment	(2) to-jo-ka possibly to-jo-qe = τοῖο τε	G M S	Anaphora
<b>Py Eb 842.B</b>	Pylos	Linear B Late Helladic III (c. 1405-1200)	List of grain consignment	(B) to-e = τῶι / *τῶι	D N S	Anaphora
<b>Py Ep 613</b> (=DOC 148)	Pylos	Linear B Late Helladic III (c. 1405-1200)	List of land ownership and land use	(8) to-me = tohmei < *tosmei,	D N S	Anaphora
<b>Py Na 520.A</b> (=DOC 193)	Pylos	Linear B Late Helladic III (c. 1405-1200)	List of commodities (linen?)	to-ṛ-qe = toi(h)i k <sup>w</sup> e = τοῖσί τε	D M P	Anaphora



## 5. Demonstratives in Lesbian. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>DGE 639</b> =Hodot <b>TRO103</b>	Neandreaia (Troad)	5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(1) τόνδε τὸν ἀνδ[ριάντα	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>EA (1984) 4: 9-11</b>  =Hodot <b>EOL07</b>	Southern Aiolis  (Kyme?)	3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC (Hodot)  before 200 BC (EA)	Decree	(22) τόνδε τὸν ῥῥον (24) τοιδ[ (47) ταύταισι (56) τᾶν δικᾶν ταύταν (62) κατ ταῦτα δὲ (63) τούτοισι	A M S  D M S?  D F P G F P  A N P D M P	Ref. to document ??  Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph.
<b>IG XII 2, 5</b> (+ IG XII Suppl. 2)  =Hodot <b>MYT 09</b>	Mytilene	before 324/3 BC	Decree	(14) τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο] (26) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦτο] (52) [τ]οὔτο τὸ ψάφισ[μ]α	A N S  N N S  A N S	Ref. to the docum. Ref. to the docum. Ref. to the docum.
<b>IG XII 2, 5[1]</b> = IG XII 2, 5 (different restoration)	Mytilene	before 324/3 BC	Decree	(9) ἐν τοῖσι Διονυσίο]ισι	D N P (article)	Ref. to current time
<b>IG XII 2, 6</b> (+ IG XII Suppl. 3-4)  =Hodot <b>MYT04</b> =DGE 620 =SEG 36: 752	Mytilene	ca. 332 BC	Decree	(3) ἐν ταῖς διαλυσί[ε]σσι ταύ[ταισι] (6) ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα (11) περὶ τ[ο]ύτων (20-1) ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψα[φίσματι] (23) [οὔτοι δὲ (32) περὶ τούτων πάντων (38) [περὶ τούτω (49) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τ]οὔτο	D F P  A N P  G M P D M S  N M P G M P  G M S  A N S	Ref. to document  Anaph.  Anaph. Ref. to document Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph. Ref. to document
<b>IG XII 2, 8</b>  =Hodot <b>MYT07</b>	Mytilene	ca. 330 BC	Decree	(8) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τ<ο>[ῦτο	A N S	Ref. to document
<b>IG XII 2, 15</b>  =Hodot <b>MYT018</b> =DGE 622	Mytilene	214/213 BC	Decree	(32) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦτο (36) τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τοῦτ[ο]	A N S  A N S	Ref. to document  Anaph.

<b>IG XII 2, 498</b> =Hodot MAT05 =DGE 630	Methymna	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC 229-205 BC (IG: 101)	Decree	(11) εἰς ταῦτα πάντα	A N P	Anaph.
<b>IG XII 2, 500</b> =Hodot MAT07	Methymna	Beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(20-1) τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο	A N S	Ref. to document
<b>IG XII 2, 502</b> =Hodot MAT03	Methymna	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(6) εἰς ταῦτα πάντα (8) περὶ δὴ τ[ούτων	A N P G M P	Anaph. Anaph.
<b>IG XII 2, 503</b> =Hodot MAT08	Methymna	Beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> c BC	Decree	(7) εἰς ταῦτα πάντα	A N P	Anaph.
<b>IG XII 2 526</b>  =Hodot ERE01 =DGE 632	Eresos	Second half 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Decree	(a23) καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κ<ή>νω (a29) τὰ ἐνάντια τούτων (a31) ἀπὸ ταύταν (d8) καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[όνων]ν [τῶν τούτων (d30-1) καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν το[ύτ]ων (d33) ταῖς κατὰ τούτων (d36) παρὰ ταῦτα (d37-8) τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν [τού]των	G M S  G M P  G F P G M P  G M P  G M P  A N P G M P	Anaph.  Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph.  Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph.
<b>IG XII 2, 527</b>  =Hodot ERE05	Eresos	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC	Decree	(19) εἰς τοῦτο (21) περὶ τοῦτω (58) τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο]	A N S G M S A N S	Anaph. Anaph. Ref. to document
<b>IG XII 2, 529</b>  =Hodot ERE02	Eresos	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(15) τὰν θυσίαν ταύταν (17) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦτο	A F S  A N S	Anaph.  Ref. to document
<b>IG XII 2, 645</b> =Hodot NAS01 =DGE 634	Nesos	ca. 318 BC	Decree	(b34) πὰρ τ]αῦτα  (b59) τὸ δὲ ψάφι[σμ]α τοῦτο	A N P  A N S	Anaph.  Ref. to document
<b>IG XII 2, 646</b>  =Hodot NAS02	Nesos	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC? end 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC?	Catalogue	(a7) οἱ [λι]π[όν]αυ[τ]αι ἐπ[ι] πρυ]τάνι[ος] Παισι[κρέοντος] + list of names	N M P (article)	Cataphora
<b>IG XII Suppl. 2 (p. 6)</b> =Hodot MYT010	Mytilene	end 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Decree	(6) τοῖσ[ι] πρώτοις έόντεσσι Δι]ονυσίοισι	D N P (article)	Ref. to current time

<b>IG XII Suppl. 83 (p. 25)</b> =Hodot MYT373	Mytilene	2 <sup>nd</sup> c BC (writing; 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD relief)	Epitaph	(5-6) αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω	G M S	Anaph.
<b>IG XII Suppl. 120 (p. 34)</b> =Hodot ERE09	Eresos	Beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(20) τάνδε τὰν συνθήκων	A F S	Ref. to document
<b>IG XII Suppl. 121 (p. 34)</b> =Hodot ERE03	Eresos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree  (mixed dialect, some inconsistency in forms)	(2) τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α] (4) ἐπὶ τούτω[ι] (35-6) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμ[α το]ῦτό	A N S  D N S A N S	Ref. to docum.  Anaph. Ref. to docum.
<b>IG XII Suppl. 125 (p. 38)</b> =Hodot ERE06	Eresos	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	“Decree” in honour of Hyperochidas	(21) τὸν δὲ στέφανον τοῦτον	A N S	Anaph.
<b>IG XII Suppl. 137 (p. 43)</b> =Hodot MYT021 =DGE 623 =IK I, 122	Mytilene (Erythrai)	Beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(55) ταῦτα ποιήσαντες	A N P	Anaph.
<b>IG XII Suppl. 139 (p. 45)</b> =Hodot MAT010 (lines 1-57) + ERE010 (lines 58-106)	Methymna / Eresos	1 <sup>st</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(8-9) περὶ τούτων (36) ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις (54-5) καὶ τὸ ψάφισμ[α τ[οῦ]το (56) ταῦτα ποιήσαντες	G M? P D M P  A N S  A N P	Anaph. Anaph.  Ref. to document Anaph.
<b>IG XII Suppl. 140 (p. 47)</b>  =Hodot LES04	Miletos (decree from Eresos?)	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(16) τὸ τε ψάφισμα τόδε (22) καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο	A N S  A N S	Ref. to document Ref. to document
<b>IG XII Suppl. 141 (p. 48)</b> =Hodot LES05	Priene (from Eresos?)	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(19) τὸ τε ψήφισμα το[ῦ]το	A N S	Ref. to document
<b>IG XII Suppl. 143 (p. 49)</b> =Hodot LES01 =IK 6, 34	Lampsakos (from Eresos/ Methymna)	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC?	Decree	(35) τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο	A N S	Ref. to document
<b>IG XII Suppl. 692 (p. 210)</b> =Hodot LES013	Eresos	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(15) εἰς ταύτ[αν]	A F S	Anaph.
<b>IK 4, 3</b> =Hodot ASS03 =DGE 640	Assos	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC?	Catalogue	(1) [τ]ὰ σκευέα ἐσσι (article at beg. of catalogue)	N N P (article)	Cataphora
<b>IK 5, 5</b> =Hodot KYM010 =DGE 646	Kyme	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Proxeny decree	(14) πρὸς τούτων  (15) τῷ περὶ τούτων τέλεος	G M P  G M P	Anaph.  Anaph.

<b>IK 5, 11</b> =Hodot <b>KYM06</b>	Kyme	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(13) τῶν νόμων τούτων (13) τὸν δὲ νόμον τούτων (15) ὁ νόμος οὗτος	D M S A M S N M S	Ref. to document  Ref. to document Ref. doc.
<b>IK 5, 30</b> =Hodot <b>KYM08</b>	Kyme	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC (IK p. 80, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC)	Decree	(2) τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο (5) τὰν στά[λ]λαν ταῦτα	A N S A F S	Ref. to document Anaph.
<b>IK 5, 101c</b> =Hodot <b>EOL101.1</b>	Kyme	7 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	τάνδε τὰ [ - - - Ἀθων]αία	A F S	Ref. to artefact?
<b>SEG 26.877</b> =Hodot <b>MYT039</b>	Mytilene	Empire? (Hodot: 276)	Decree? (fragment)	(2) [τοῦτ]-ον	A M S	?
<b>SEG 29.1216</b> =Hodot <b>KYM05</b> =Chiron 9: 73-81	Kyme	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(7) ἐπὶ τούτοις (11) τοῦτο τε τὸ ψάφισμα (14) εἰς ταῦτα (16) τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο (18) εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα	D M P A N S A N P A N S A N P	Anaph.  Ref. to document Anaph. Ref. to document Anaph.
<b>SEG 36.750</b> =Hodot <b>MYT05</b>	Mytilene	ca. 334- 332 BC	Decree	(12) ταῦτα μὲν ἤχθαι (20) χρήματα τ[οῦ]των	A N P G M P	Anaph.  Anaph.

## 6. Demonstratives in Boeotian. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function	
<b>CEG 114</b> =SEG 25.551 =LGVI 120	Kopai (Kastron- Topolia)	458 BC?	Epitaph (epigram)	(2) τόδ'	A N S	Ref. to artefact	+
<b>CEG 115</b> =LGVI 121	Thebai	450 BC?	Epitaph (epigram)	(3) τεῖδε	Adverb	Locative	+
<b>CEG 329</b> =LGVI 343	Thisbai	475 BC?	Metrical dedication	(1) τεῖδ' (IG VII 2230: [- - τό]γδ' or [τά]γδ')	Adverb	Locative	+
<b>CEG 786</b> =IG VII 2533 =LGVI 2318	Thebai	post 316 BC  Hansen: 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Dedication	(iv.10) ὄδε	N M S	Cataph? (name after)	+
<b>CEG 789</b> =LGVI 2319	Thespiai	312 BC?	Dedication	(4) τοῦδε μεθ' ἀγεμόνος	G M S	Anaph?	+
<b>Darmezi</b> 118	Orchomenos	ca. 250- 200 BC (2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC; Vottéro: 106)	Manumission	(b2) τάνδε (b6) τὸν οὔτων τι πουίοντα	A F S A M S	Cataph.  Anaph.	
<b>Darmezi</b> 123	Koroneia	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (Vottéro: 80)	Manumission	(16) τὸν δὲ μεθ' οὔτα	A N P	Anaph.	
<b>Darmezi</b> 127	Koroneia	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> - beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC (Vottéro: 80)	Manumission	(9) τὰ ἐξ οὐ[τας] πάντα	G F S	Anaph.	
<b>DGE 462</b> =SEG 43.212(A); 212(B)	Tanagra	A =2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (Vottéro: 200) B =1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(a8) οὔτο ποιμεν (a20) οὔτα τὰ χρείματα (a35) ἀναγράψη ο]ῦτ' (a37) ἀφ' οὔτων τῶν χρειμάτων (b39) οὔτα ἔχι ἀ ίαρεια	A N S A N P  A N S  G N P  N N P	Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph.  Anaph.  Anaph.	
<b>DGE 503a</b> = AD 2: 218ff	Koroneia	ca. 200 BC Vottéro (2001) 80, end 3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC	Manumission decree	(15) μεθ' οὔτα	A N P	Anaph.	

<b>IG VII 685</b> =DGE 463.1	Tanagra	beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(2) οὔτον ἔθαψαν	A M S	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 686</b> =DGE 463.2	Tanagra	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(2) οὔτον ἔθαψαν	A M S	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 687</b> =DGE 463.4	Tanagra	beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(3) οὔτον ἔθαψ[α]ν	A M S	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 1670</b> =CEG 328 =LGVI 342	Plataiai? near Thebes (LGVI: 33)	525-500 BC?	Dedication	(1) τόδ' ἄγαλμα	A N S	Ref. to artefact	+
<b>IG VII 1737</b> =IThesp 40 B	Thespiiai	Post 229BC	Decree	(5) οὔτο γίνυτη (6) οὔτα τὰ χρήματα (11, 12, 14, 17) οὔτω ἀπέδομεν ἀπὸ τῶ κεφαλῆω	N N S A N P G N S	Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 1738</b> =IThesp 40C	Thespiiai	Post 229BC	Decree	(5) οὔτο (6) οὔτω τῶ ἀργυρίω	N N S G N S	Anaph. Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 1739</b> =IThesp 48	Thespiiai	ca. 240 BC	Decree	(2) [κατ' τάδε (5) [κατ' τὰν πρόρρεισιν] τανί (8) [κατ' τὰν προτηνί πρόρρεισιν] (10) τὸμ προτηνί ἐμβ]άντα (14) τὸμ προτηνί ἐμβάντα (16) κή ὄ[ὔτο οἷσονθι	A N P A F S Adverb Adverb Adverb A N S	Cataph? Cataph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.	* * *
<b>IG VII 1747</b> =IThesp 91	Thespiiai	ca. 255- 250 BC (IThes III:7)	Military catalogue	(2) τοί	N M P	Cataph. (+ list of names)	
<b>IG VII 1780</b> =IThesp 214	Thespiiai	Post 240 BC	Manumission	(11) οὔτα τὰ σώμα[τα] (14) οὔτ[ως] (22) <οὔτ>α τὰ σώ[μ]ατα	A N P A M P A N P	Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 1794</b> =CEG 332	Thespiiai	450-400? (CEG: 178)	Dedication	(3) μνᾶμ'...τόδε	A N S	Ref. to artefact	+
<b>IG VII 2248</b> =CEG 634 =LGVI 2167	Thisbai	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Epitaph	(1) [τῶιδ' ὑ]πὸ πῆ[τ]ρω[ι]  (3) τοῦδε	D M S G M S	Ref. to artefact ?	* +

<b>IG VII 2406</b>	Thebai	Post 229 BC	Decree	(6) τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν προτην[ι πεπρ]αγμέν[ων	Adverb	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 2410</b> =IThesp 155	Thebai	ca. 215- 208 BC	Decree	(13) κείνως (ἐκείνως, IThes IV: 18)	A M P	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 2418</b> =Buck 40	Thebai	355-346 BC	Decree	(1) [τοιῖ	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IG VII 2420</b>	Thebai	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(37) ἐν οὔτο	A N S	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 2534</b> =CEG 633	Thebai	Late 4 <sup>th</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(6) ὠραία χάρις...αὕτη (7) δημοῦ...τοῦδ'	N F S G M S	Anaph? Ref. to current place	+ +
<b>IG VII 2536</b> =CEG 635 =LGVI 2169	Thebai	4 <sup>th</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(1) τῶ[ιδε]	D M S	Cataph? (name after)	+
<b>IG VII 2715</b>	Akraiphia	mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(4) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2716</b>	Akraiphia	Before mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(4) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2717</b>	Akraiphia	mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυ<ῖ> ἀπε<γ>ρά[ψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2718</b>	Akraiphia	mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2719</b>	Akraiphia	mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(4) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2720</b>	Akraiphia	mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2721</b>	Akraiphia	mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(1) τυῖ ἐς ἐφήβων	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 2781</b>	Kopai	Bef. mid. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(2) τοῖ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.	

<b>IG VII 2782</b>	Kopai	Ca. 250-200 BC	Military catalogue	(7) [τ]υῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2783</b>	Kopai	??	Military catalogue	(7) τυῖ ἀπεγράψαν[θο]	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2786</b>	Kopai	??	Military catalogue	(8) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2787</b>	Kopai	??	Military catalogue	(8) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2788</b>	Kopai	??	Military catalogue	(9) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2789</b>	Kopai	??	Military catalogue	(9) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2809</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-254 BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2811</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(11) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2812</b> =SEG 26.504[1]	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2813</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(7) τυῖ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2814</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2815</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(4) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2816</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(10) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2817</b> =SEG 26:509	Hyettos	ca. 246 BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2818</b>	Hyettos	ca. 223-201 BC	Military catalogue	(9) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.

<b>IG VII 2819</b>	Hyettos	before 223 BC	Military catalogue	(4) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2820</b>	Hyettos	223-192 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2821</b>	Hyettos	After ca. 260 BC	Military catalogue	(7) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2822</b>	Hyettos	214-193 BC	Military catalogue	(4) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2823</b>	Hyettos	223-192 BC	Military catalogue	(9) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2824</b>	Hyettos	After ca. 260 BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυὶ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2826</b>	Hyettos	223-192 BC	Military catalogue	(8) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2827</b>	Hyettos	223-192 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2828</b>	Hyettos	??	Military catalogue	(6) τυὶ] ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2829</b>	Hyettos	ca. 260-246 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυὶ ἀπεγ[ρά]ψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2830</b>	Hyettos	ca. 240-230 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2831</b>	Hyettos	Before 210 BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2832</b>	Hyettos	Before 210 BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυὶ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG VII 2849</b>	Haliartos	Before 168 BC	Decree	(15) τὸ ψάφισμα [τόδε	A N S	Ref to document
<b>IG VII 3054 =DGE 550</b>	Lebadeia	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (Vottéro: 87)	Decree	(8) περὶ οὔτων	G F? P	Anaph.

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<b>IG VII 3070</b>	Lebadeia	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(3) [τοιὶ ἐς ἐφείβων	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IG VII 3080</b> =Buck 45	Lebadeia	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> - beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Manumission	(3) ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς ἀμέρας	G F S	Ref. to current time	
<b>IG VII 3083</b> =Buck 44	Lebadeia	Beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Manumission	(26) ἐν τῆς θοσίης τῶ[ν] θιῶν οὔτων	G M P	Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 3086</b>	Lebadeia	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 5 <sup>th</sup> BC?	Decree	(1) [τοιὶ	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IG VII 3172</b> =Buck 43	Orchomenos	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC  (222-220 BC, Buck: 231)	Decree	(a121) [ο]ὔτων τῶν χρειμάτων (a125) οὔτα (a131) τὸ τε ψάφισμα οὔτο (a150) ἐν οὔτο (a161) ἐν οὔτο	G N P  A N P A N S  A N S A N S	Anaph.  Anaph. Ref. to document Anaph. Anaph.	
<b>IG VII 3174</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(26) τυ[ῖ π]ρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3175</b>	Orchomenos	1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(6) τοιὶ πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3178</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(9) τυῖ πρᾶτον [ἐ]στροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3179</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυῖ πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3180</b>	Orchomenos	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(13) τυ[ῖ π]ρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3184</b>	Orchomenos	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(6) τυῖ πρᾶτον	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3185</b>	Orchomenos	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυ<ῖ> ἀπ[ε]γράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3191</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(2) τοιὶ [σ]υνεβάλλονθο ἐν τὸν ναὸν	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3192</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(1) τυῖ σ[υν]εβάλλονθ[ο] ἐν τὸν ναὸν	N M P	Cataph.	

<b>IG VII 3195</b>	Orchomenos	Beg 1 <sup>st</sup> BC	Decree	(3) τύδε ἐνίκωσαν	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3292</b>	Chaironeia	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(3) τυὶ ἀπεγράφανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IG VII 3293</b>	Chaironeia	1 <sup>st</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(4)[-- τυὶ ἐς ἐφήβ]ων	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IG VII 3598</b> =CEG 330	Thebai (Kabeireion)	500-475 BC? (Hansen: 177)	Dedication	(1) τόνδε τ[ὸν --	A N S	Ref. to artefact?	+
<b>IG VII 4136</b> =DGE 545	Akraiphia	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (Vottéro: 124)	Decree	(4) κῆ μεί ἀδικίμεν μειδένα οὕτως. οὕτως δὲ ἀγρέμεν ἀμφοτέρως	A M P A M P	Anaph. Anaph.	
<b>IThesp 44</b>	Thespiiai	ca. 250-245 BC	Decree	(5) κ[ὰτ τάδε (9)κὰτ τὰν [προτηνὶ πρόρρεισιν (11)[τὸν προτηνὶ ἐμβάντα (15)τὸμ προτ]ηνὶ [ἐ]μβάντα	A N P Adverb Adverb Adverb	Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.	* * *
<b>IThesp 53</b>	Thespiiai	ca. 230 BC	Decree	(7) ἐν οὔτα	A N P	Anaph.	
<b>IThesp 54</b> =BCH (1936) 177 (Face A)	Thespiiai	ca. 230-228 BC	Decree	(12) [τοιὶ ἐμισθώσ]αντο (27) ἀφ' οὔτω τῷ ἀργυρίῳ (37) τοιὶ ἐμισθώσαντο	N M P G N S N M P	Cataph. Anaph. Cataph.	*
<b>IThesp 55</b> =BCH (1936) 181 (Face B) =Buck 42	Thespiiai	ca. 230-228 BC	Decree	(3) τοιὶ ἐμι]σθώσαντο	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IThesp 56</b> =DGE 485	Thespiiai	Ca. 220 BC	Decree	(2) ἐν τῇ π[ροτ]ηνὶ π[ρ]ορρείσει (10) ἐν οὔτα (14) τυὶ ὑπεγράφανθο	Adverb A N P N M P	Anaph. Anaph. Cataph.	
<b>IThesp 62</b>	Thespiiai	210-203 BC	Decree	(6) οὔτ[ων] τῶν χρεμάτων	G N P	Anaph.	
<b>IThesp 93</b>	Thespiiai	250-245 BC	Military catalogue	(2) τοιὶ ἀπεγ[ρ]άψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	

<b>IThesp 94</b>	Thespiai	245-235 BC	Military Catalogue	(2) τ]οῖ ἀπειλθον ἐς τῶν ἐφείβων	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IThesp 95</b>	Thespiai	245-235 BC?	Military catalogue	(3) τοῖ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IThesp 96</b>	Thespiai	240-230 BC	Military catalogue	(2) [τοῖ ἀπεγρ]ά[ψ]αντο	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IThesp 99</b>	Thespiai	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(2) τοῖ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IThesp 100</b>	Thespiai	225 BC-beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(1) τοῖ ἀ]πειλ<θ>ειόντες	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>IThesp 104</b>	Thespiai	beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(3) τ]υῖ ἀπ[εγρ]άψ[α]ντο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>IThesp 106</b>	Thespiai	185-175 BC?	Military catalogue	(3) τυῖ [ἀ]πεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>SEG 3.351</b>	Thisbai	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(3) [τυῖ] ἐσσε[γρά]φ[ε]ν	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>SEG 3.352</b>	Thisbai	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(3) τυῖ ἐσσεγράφεν ἐς ἐφείβων	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>SEG 3.353</b>	Thisbai	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(2) τυῖ ἐσσεγράφεν ἐς ἐφείβων	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>SEG 3.356</b>	Akraiphia	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(5) ἀφ' οὔτω	G N S	Anaph.	
<b>SEG 3.359</b>	Akraiphia	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(11) ἀφ' οὔτω	G N S	Anaph.	
<b>SEG 3.361</b>	Akraiphia	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(7) τυῖ ἀπ]εγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	*
<b>SEG 3.362(2)</b>	Akraiphia	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυῖ ἀπεγράψανθο	N M P	Cataph.	
<b>SEG 3.371</b>	Orchomenos	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυῖ πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.	

<b>SEG 3.372</b>	Orchomenos	1 <sup>st</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τυὶ [πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 3.374(1)</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τοιὶ [πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθη	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 22.407</b>	Thisbai	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> - beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Decree	(10) οὔτα τὰ χρεῖματα (27) τὰ χρεῖματα οὔτα	A N P A N P	Anaph. Anaph.
<b>SEG 25.504</b> =IThesp 98	Thespiiai	230-225 BC	Military catalogue	(2) τοιὶ ἐς τῶν ἐφείβων	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 26.498</b>	Hyettos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(10) τυὶ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 26.499</b>	Hyettos	end 3 <sup>rd</sup> - beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(11) τυὶ ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 26.502</b> =IG VII 2810	Hyettos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(4) <τυὶ> ἀπεγράψαντο	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 26.614</b>	Aulis	3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(2) οὔτον ἔθαψαν	N N S	Anaph.
<b>SEG 28.461</b>	Orchomenos	ca. 287-280 BC	Decree	(9) τὰς μὲν προτεινὶ στροτειάς	Adverb	Anaph.
<b>SEG 30.447A</b>	Orchomenos	1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(a3) τοιὶ πρᾶτον ἐστροτε[ύαθη	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 30.447B</b>	Orchomenos	1 <sup>st</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(b6) τοιὶ πρᾶτον ἐστροτεύαθ[η]	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 30.448C</b>	Orchomenos	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(5) τοιὶ π[ρᾶτον ἐστροτεύ[αθη	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 32.486</b>	Tanagra	1 <sup>st</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph	(2) οὔτον ἔθαψαν	N N S	Anaph.
<b>SEG 42.431</b>	Thespiiai	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Military catalogue	(2) τοιὶ ἀπειλ]θεί[οντες	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 43.205</b>	Koroneia	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> - beg 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Decree	(3) τῶ ἀργουρίῳ οὔτω (28-9) κῆ ἔστω οὔτο	G N S A N S	Anaph. Anaph.

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## 7. Demonstratives in Thessalian. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>BCH 59 55,2</b>	Larisa	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(29) τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τόνε	A N S	Ref. to document
	Pelasgiotis			(45) τὸ μ[ὰ] ψά- [φισμα]   [τόνε]	A N S	Ref. to document
<b>BCH 59 64, 3B</b>  =McDevitt 1179	Larisa  Pelasgiotis	end 2 <sup>nd</sup> c BC (Béquignon: 69 “au plus tôt de l’année 109/8”)	Decree	(44) ---ανεονσαν τάνε δὴ τὰν βραβείαν (52) ΤΑΝΝΕ	A F S?  A F S?	Anaph.  Fragment. context
<b>BCH 94 161-2</b>  =SEG.36. 548	Metropolis	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(5) ἐς τύτου (8) ἐν τύτει (19) τύτο[υ]	G M P D N? P	Anaph. Anaph.
	Hestiaotis		Agreement of Basaidai		G N? P	Anaph.
<b>BCH 128-9 378.I</b>  =GHW 5794 =SEG 55.605	Larisa  Pelasgiotis	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(12) καὶ τάνε ἀμφοτέροις (29) τὸ μὰ ψα[φι]σμα τόνε	A N P  A N S	Anaph.  Ref. to document
<b>BCH 130 436-7</b>  =GHW 5862	Larisa	170-169 BC?	Decree	(25) τὸ ψάφισμα τόνε (33-4) τὸ ψάφισμα τό-νε (34-5) τό-νε τε καὶ τὸ πρὸ ...ψάφισμα	A N S  A N S	Ref. to document Ref. to document
	Pelasgiotis				A N S	Anaph. (bare demonstr.)
<b>BCH 130 472</b>  =SEG 42.510 =GHW 3580	Larisa  Pelasgiotis	179-172 BC?	Decree  (provisory reediting by Helly)	(13) [τοῖνε ἐπαγγέλ]λονθο τᾶ πόλι	G S?	??
<b>CEG 119</b>  =GVI.942 = TGG 10	Oloosson  Perrhaibia	ante 5 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Epitaph	(3) τῆιδε	D F S	Ref. to current place
<b>CEG 123</b>  =GVI.77 = TGG 12	Pelion (Mt)  Magnesia	Ca. 450/425 BC	Epitaph	τόδε σᾶμα	N N S	Ref to the artefact

<b>CEG2 646</b> = <b>GVIT 6</b> = <b>LGVI2. 2174</b>	Oloosson Perrhaibia	End 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Epitaph	(1) ἦδε Μελανθῶ  (1) τόνδε ....τύμβον	N F S A M S	Ref. to the person Ref. to the artefact
<b>CEG 2 648</b> = <b>LGVI2. 2181</b> = <b>IT 93</b> = <b>TGG 28</b>	Pharsalos (Thessaliot.)	3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC	Epitaph (Epigram)	(4) τῶιδε τάφωι	D N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>CEG 2 649</b> = <b>TGG 27</b> <b>LGVI2. 2179</b>	Azoros Perrhaibia	4 <sup>th</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC	Epitaph	(1) [τ]ῆιδε	D F S	Ref to current place?
<b>CEG2 650</b> = <b>LGVI2. 2180</b> = <b>TGG 29</b>	Pyrasos Achaia Phthiotis	3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC?	Epitaph (Epigram)	(4) τῶιδε	D F S	Ref to the current place
<b>CEG2 796</b> = <b>GVIT 7</b>	Azoros Perrhaibia	Late 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedication	(1) [εἰ]κόνα τήνδε	A F S	Ref. to the artef.
<b>DGE 605</b>	Meliboia Magnesia	5th c. BC	Epitaph	(2) ἁ στάλα	N N S	Ref. to Artefact
<b>DGE 607</b> = <b>JHS 33, 316 n.7</b>	ι? Perrhaibia	5th c. BC	Epitaph	(1) τῶπίσῃμα	N N S	Ref. to Artefact
<b>DGE 616a</b> = <b>AE (1916) 17,271</b>	Phalanna Perrhaibia	?	Dedication	(4) τὸ ἄγαλμα	A N S	Ref. to Artefact
<b>GHW 5759</b>	Atrax Pelasgiotis	3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> c BC  Unpublished inscription <sup>664</sup>	Decree	(6) τυτοῖς  (8) εἰν ταῖς συνθεικαῖς ταυτα[ῖς]	D N/M? P  D F P	?  Referring to doc.?
<b>IG IX, 2 223</b>	Ekkarra?  Achaia Phthiotis <sup>665</sup>	?	Decree  Proxeny	(5) τοῖς τούτ[ου] ἐκγόνοις	G M S	Anaphoric

<sup>664</sup> Reference in García Ramón (2005) 128; García Ramón (2007a) 92-3.

<sup>665</sup> For the attribution of the inscription to Ekkarra and of Ekkarra (as well as Pyrasos and Thebai below) to the region of Achaia Phthiotis refer to Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 714, 716 and 717.

<b>IG IX, 2 252</b>	Pharsalos Thessaliotis	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication?	(3) τόδε ἀείμναστον μνα[μεῖον]	A N S	Ref to Artefact
<b>IG IX, 2 255</b> = DGE 565 =CEG 117	Pharsalos Thessaliotis	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Epitaph	(1) [μνᾶμα τό]δ'	A N S	Ref to Artefact
<b>IG IX, 2 257</b> =SEG 45.656	Thetionion Thessaliotis	5th c. BC	Decree	(7) ταῦτα	A N P	Anaphoric
<b>IG IX, 2 258</b> =SEG 45.607 =IT 15	Kierion Thessaliotis	Early 2 <sup>nd</sup> c BC	Proxeny decree	(11) τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα <α>ὕτό ἀγγρα[φᾶ]ν[αι] ἐγ κίονα λιθίαν	αὐτὸς A N S.	Ref. to document
<b>IG IX, 2 260</b> <b>a</b> =IT 14	Kierion (Pyrgos) Thessaliotis	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree <i>(koiné + dialectal traces)</i>	(3) τοῦτο τὸ δόγμ[α—] (4) τὰν ἐν ταῦτα δαπάναν	A N S A N P	Ref. to document Anaphoric
<b>IG IX, 2 270</b> = DGE 561 = TGG 2 =CEG 118	Grammatiko -Ouzoun Karalar (?) Thessaliotis	5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Epitaph	(3) πὲρ γᾶς   τᾶσδε	G F S	Ref to current place
<b>IG IX, 2 427</b> =TGG 26 =CEG 647	Pherai Pelasgiotis	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Epitaph	(2-3) τὰ ν θείκαν	A F S	Ref. to Artefact
<b>IG IX, 2 460</b>	Krannon Pelasgiotis	2 <sup>nd</sup> c BC	Decree	(5) ἐσγραφεῖ ἐ]ν κίονα λιθίαν ὄσσα οὔννε	Adverb	?
<b>IG IX, 2 461.a</b>	Krannon Pelasgiotis	Ante 168 BC (PHI)	Decree	(9) τότε   τὸ ψάφισμα (11) τ[ὸ ἐν τάνε γελνόμ]ε[ν]ον	A N S A F S	Ref. to document Anaphoric
<b>IG IX, 2 461.b</b>	Krannon Pelasgiotis	Ante 168 BC (PHI)	Decree	(36) [τόνε τὸ  [ψάφισμ]α (39) [ἐν τάνε	A N S A F S	Ref. to document Anaphoric
<b>IG IX, 2 512</b>	Larisa Pelasgiotis	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	a (17) τὸ ψάφισμ[α τόνε b (28) τότε τὸ [ψ]ά[φ]ισμα	A N S A N S	Ref. to document Ref. to document
<b>IG IX, 2 514</b>	Larisa Pelasgiotis	??	Decree	(5) [τὸ μὰ ψάφι]σμα τόνε	A N S	Ref. to document

<b>IG IX, 2 517</b> =DGE 590 =SIG 543	Larisa	214 BC	Decree	(15) τοίνεος γὰρ συντελεσθέντος (17) πὲρ τούννεουν	G M S G M P	Anaph. Anaph.		
	Pelasgiotis			(20) τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τόνε (23) ἐν τάνε (45) τὰν ἐν τάνε γινυμέναν (46) τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τόνε (7, 28, 37, 37, 38, 39) τούτου, τοῦτο, ταύτης, τούτων, τούτων, τοῦτο	A N S A F S A F S A N S (Koiné Greek, included in the Letter of Philip)	Ref. to document Anaph. Anaph. Ref. to document Anaph.		
	Larisa			??	Dedication	(2) τόδ' ἄγαλμα·	A N S	Ref. to Artefact
	Pelasgiotis							
	Larisa			??	Epitaph	(5) ταῦτα	A N P	Anaphoric
<b>IG IX, 2 575</b> =CEG 342	Larisa	??	Dedication	(2) τόδ' ἄγαλμα·	A N S	Ref. to Artefact		
<b>IG IX, 2 984</b>	Larisa	??	Epitaph	(5) ταῦτα	A N P	Anaphoric		
<b>IG IX, 2 1098</b> =CEG 341	Kerkinion? Amygdali	c. 450-425 BC	Dedication	(2) τόδ' ἄγαλμα	A N S	Ref. to Artefact		
<b>IG IX, 2 1229</b>	Phalanna	Beginnings 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(31) τόνε τὸ ψάφισμα	A N S	Ref. to document		
<b>IG IX, 2 1237</b>	Phalanna	??	Dedication	(5) [τό ἄγαλμ]α	A N S	Ref. to Artefact		
<b>IG IX, 2 1354</b> =CEG 116	Palaeokastro (IG) Armenion: Kanalia S. of (PHI)	??	Epitaph	(1) τόδε σᾶ]μα.	A/N N S	Ref. to Artefact		
<b>ITA Fig. 1</b>	Western Thessaly	ca. 7 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Inscription on a krater	τόνδε, Σίμον, πίε[- - -]	A M S	Ref. to Artefact		
<b>ITA Fig. 5</b> =GVIT 26 =SEG 25.661	Skotoussa	6 <sup>th</sup> - 5 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Dedication	ταῦτ' Ἐρακλεῖ Κρατερόφ[ρονη- - -] Μελάντας ὀνέθεκε Παῖσο τὸς ἄνδρ[ιάντας - - -]	D F S?/ A N P? A M P	Locat?/ Ref. to Artefact? Ref to Artefact		

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<b>LSAG: 436-7</b>	Thebai (Gardiki)	500-450 BC?	Epitaph	τοῖ (=τοδί) σᾶμα	A N S	Ref to the artefact
<b>Matthaiou 51</b>	Achaia Phthiotis					
<b>McDevitt 244</b> = RAPH, 82.21	Pherai Pelasgiotis	??	??	(5) τοῖσνε / τοῖς νε	D M/N P	? too fragment.
<b>McDevitt 347</b> = Mnem. 1970; 251	Larisa Pelasgiotis	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC	Decree?	(8) ἐτ τάνε ἐπβάσκει  (15) ἐτ τόνε ἐπβ[άσκ]ει (36) [του]ννέουν ἐπβάσκει	A N P  A N S G M P	Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph.
<b>SEG 1.247</b> =IT 72 =LGVI 1 357	Pharsalos Thessaliot.	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Non metrical dedication	(3) τόδ' ἔργον  (4) τὰν δὲ δάφν[αν]	A N S A F S	Ref. to the artefact Ref. to the artefact
<b>SEG 23.415</b> =BCH 88 (1964) n. 3.1	Pherai Pelasgiotis	5th c BC	Proxeny Decree	(5) το<ι>ς κένο	G M S	Anaph.
<b>SEG 23.418</b> =BCH 88 (1964) n. 3.4	Pherai Pelasgiotis	4th c. BC	Proxeny Decree	(6) τᾶι τούτων	G M P	Anaph.
<b>SEG 23.420</b> =BCH 88 (1964) n. 3.6	Pherai Pelasgiotis	4th c. BC	Proxeny Decree	(8) τοῖς [κεῖ]νου	G M S	Anaph.
<b>SEG 23.433=</b> <b>TGG 19</b> =CEG 2 643	Pherai Pelasgiotis	4 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Epitaph	(1) χθῶν ἦδε	N F S	Ref. to current place
<b>SEG 25.668=</b> <b>TGG 25</b> =CEG 2 645	Peneias (near Atrax) Pelasgiotis	End 4 <sup>th</sup> c BC	Epitaph	(2) μνημα τόδ' ἀθάνατον  (4) ὄδ'	A N S  N M S	Ref. to Artefact  Anaph.
<b>SEG 27.202</b>	Larisa Pelasgiotis	220-210 BC	Decree	(23) τὸ μὰ ψά φισμα τόνε  (27) ἐν τάνε	A N S  A F S	Ref. to document  Anaph.
<b>SEG 27.222</b> =CEG 2 792	Pharsalos Thessaliotis	Beg. 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication?	(1) βωμὸς ὄδ'  (4) τήνδε	N M S  A F S	Ref. to Artefact  Ref. to Artefact?

<b>SEG 27.226</b>	Krannon Pelasgiotis	150-130 BC	Decree	(5) ταν μα διακουσαιεν τανεουν (JL.García Ramón's reading)	G F P	Anaphora?	
<b>SEG 34.566</b> <b>=CEG2 638</b>	Pherai Pelasgiotis	5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Epitaph	(1) τάνδε ...στά[λαν	A F S	Ref. to Artefact	
<b>SEG 35.594</b>	Larisa Pelasgiotis	200-150 BC	Decree fragmentary	(5) τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τόνε (8) ἐν τάνε  (15) [τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τόνε (24) [τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τόνε (27) ἐν τάνε	A N S A F S? A N S A N S A F S?	Ref. to document Anaph.  Ref. to document  Ref. to document  Anaph.	* * * * *
<b>SEG 37.494</b>	Itonion (Philia) Hestiaiotis	230-220 BC	Decree	(11) τάν]εα μὰ χοῦρα τὰ ποτ' ἐνλίμενα	A N P?	Anaph? (very fragment.)	
<b>SEG 55.619</b>	Pythoinon Perrhaibia	3 <sup>rd</sup> c BC	Dedication	(1) Ἀντίφιλος Λυσαν[- -] τήνδε ἀνέθηκαν Λυσικλῆς εὐξάμενοι	A F S	Ref. to artefact	

## 8. Demonstratives in Elean. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>IED 3</b> <b>=IvO 5</b>	Olympia	ca. 525/500 BC	Decree	(1) ὁ δέ κα ξένος (Roehl: Θύοι κα(τ) τ]όδε κα ξένος) (5) θ]οαδοον τάδε ( <i>Nomima</i> I.4)	A N S?  A N P?	Cataph?  Anaph?
<b>IED 4</b> <b>=IvO 7</b> <b>=DGE 412</b>	Olympia	525/500 BC	Decree	(2) παρ τὸ γράφος  (3) τὸν δέ κα γραφέδων	A N S (article) G N P (article)	Ref. to doc. Ref. to doc.
<b>IED 5</b>	Olympia	ca. 525/500 BC		(3) τούτοι ὑπασχέσον[ται (4) ἐν καὶ τούτοι μ[- -	D M S D M S	Anaph. Anaph?
<b>IED 6</b> <b>=IvO 1</b> <b>=DGE 411</b>	Olympia	ca. 525/500 BC	Decree	(5) ταῦτα παρ[βαίνοι	A N P	Anaph.
<b>IED 9</b> <b>=IvO 4</b>	Olympia	500/475 BC	Decree	(5)τὸ δίκαιον τόδε	A N S	Anaph?
<b>IED 10</b> <b>=IvO 9</b> <b>=DGE 413</b>	Olympia	500/475 BC	Treaty	(1) ἀ φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις  (3) συνμαχία κ' ἕα ἑκατὸν φέτεια ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ  (7-8) αἰ δέ τιρ τὰ γ ράφεια : ταῖ κα(δ)δαλέοιτο  (10) τοῖ ἴνταῦτ' ἐγραμένοι	N N P (article) N N S (articl. + i)  A N P (articl +i)  Adverb	Cataph.  Ref. to current time  Ref. to doc./artef.  Ref doc/Anaph
<b>IED 12</b> <b>=IvO 11</b> <b>=DGE 415</b>	Olympia	500/475 BC	Agreement	(1) ἀ φράτρα τοῖρ Χαλαδρίορ : καὶ Δευ καλίονι	N N P (article)	Cataph.
<b>IED 13</b> <b>=IvO 3</b> <b>=DGE 410</b>	Olympia	ca. 475 BC	Decree	(6) τὸν γραφέδων : ταύτων	G N P	Ref. to document/ Anaph.
<b>IED 14</b> <b>=IvO 10</b> <b>=DGE 414</b>	Olympia	ca. 475 BC	Treaty	(1) ἀ φράτρα τὸς Ἄναίτῳ[ς] καὶ τῳ[ς]   Μεταπίδος	N N P (article)	Cataph.
<b>IED 19</b> <b>=IvO 13</b>	Olympia	475/450 BC	Decree	(2) τὰ δίκαια [τ]ῆνα	A N S (=Doric dem.?)	Cataph.
<b>IED 20</b> <b>=IvO 2</b> <b>=DGE 409</b>	Olympia	475/450 BC	Decree	(1) ἀ φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις  (9) ὁ π[ί]ναξ ἱαρὸς Ὀλυμπίαι	N N P (article) N M S (article)	Cataph.  Ref. to artefact

<b>IED 22</b> =IvO 16 =DGE 418	Olympia?	450-425 BC	Decree	(4) αἰ δ]ε̄ μὲ ταύτας (5) αἰ δὲ μὲ ταυτᾶν (14) τ]οῖ ταύτῃ γεγραμ(μ)ένοι (16-17) τένταύ[[τα γεγραμένα (19) τὸ γράφος τόδε  (23) τοῖ τ]ε̄[δε γεγραμ(μ)ένοι (20) το[ῖ τ]ε̄δε γεγραμ(μ)ένοι	G F S G F P  Adverb  Adverb  A N S  Adverb  Adverb	Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph.  Ref. doc.  Ref. to artefact  Ref. doc.  Ref. doc.
<b>IED 30</b> =DGE 424	Olympia	post 370/365 BC	Decree	(10) αἰ δὲ τι ταύτων παρ' τὸ γράμμα ποιέοι	G N P	Anaph.
<b>IED 33</b> =IvO 38	Olympia	End 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC?	Decree	(26) -- ]τ[ω]νὶ τῶν [ --	G N/M? P (article)	Anaph.?
<b>IED 66</b>	Olympia	ca. 450/400 BC?	Dedicat.	τάν]δε Δίκων Διὶ δῶρον	A F S	Ref. to artefact

## 9. Demonstratives in Cretan. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
<b>DCA 1</b> =SEG 26.1050	Phaistos (IC I)	8 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Inscription on a pithos	(1) Ἐρπετιδαμο Παιδοπίλας ὄδε	N M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 2</b> =Nomima I, 81 =SEG 27.620 =Meiggs-Lewis 2	Dreros (IC I)	End 7 <sup>th</sup> - beg. 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Decree	(2) ἄδ' =τάδε	A N P	Cataph.
<b>DCA 12B</b> =BCH 109.1 (1985), 157 =Nomima I, 12 =SEG 35.991B	Lyktos (IC I)	Beg. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(4) ὄρο(ν) τόνδε (6) καὶ τῶνυ (7) καὶ τῶνυ (9) καὶ τῶνυ (11) καὶ τῶ]νυ	A M S G N S G N S G N S G N S	Cataph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.
<b>DCA 17</b> =SEG 52.832	Aphrati (IC I)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC? (SEG: late 7 <sup>th</sup> /early 6 <sup>th</sup> )	Dedication (inscribed piece of weaponry)	(1) Φισοκάρτης τόνδε	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 18</b> =SEG 52.835	Aphrati (IC I)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedic.	(1) [Νέ]ων τόνδ' ἦλε	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 20</b> =SEG 52.831	Aphrati (IC I)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedic.	(1) Συνήνιτος τόδε   ὁ Εὐκλώτα	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 21</b> =SEG 52.838	Aphrati (IC I)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedic.	(1) Αἰσονίδας τόνδ' ἦλε ὁ Κλοριδίο	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 22</b> =SEG 52.840	Aphrati (IC I)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedic.	(1) Εὐώνυμος ἦλε τόδε ὁ Ἐ[ρ']ασιμένιος	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 23</b> =SEG 52.839	Aphrati (IC I)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedic.	(1) Καρισθένης ὁ Πειθία τόν δ' ἀπήλευσε	A M S Article	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 25</b> =SEG 52.837	Axos? (SEG:Aphrati) (IC II?)	5 <sup>th</sup> c BC?	Dedic.	(1) Οπριος ὅς τόνδε ἦλε	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>DCA 28</b> =SEG 27.631 =Kadmos 9, (1970) 118 =Nomima I, 22	Lyktos- Aphrati (IC I)  (Arkades)	Ca. 500 BC  (Nomima : ca. 550 BC)	Decree	(8) αὐτὸν τε καὶ γενιὰν τῶνυ (10) ἦ γενιὰ τῶνυ	G M S  G M S	Anaph.  Anaph.
<b>DCA 34</b> =SEG 23.566	Axos (IC II)	End 4 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(21) ἐπιβᾶ <α>λλούσας ταῦτα	A N P	Anaph.

<b>DCA 35</b> =SEG 28.746	Kydonia (IC II)	Beg. 4 <sup>th</sup> BC	Dedication	(1) τάνδε [πό]λ[ιν] (3) ἄδε δωροτέλει μναμεῖο[ν	A F S Adverb (A N P)	Locative -Adverb of manner (cataph. sense? “in the following way”?)
<b>DCA 36</b>	Kydonia (IC II)	4 <sup>th</sup> BC?	Decree (fragment)	(1) τάδε συνέθεντο Κυδωνιάται καὶ --	A N P	Cataph.
<b>DCA 38</b> =SEG 23.589	Gortyn (IC IV)	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(11) ταῦτ[α -- (fragmentary)	A? N P	Anaph.?
<b>DCA 39</b> =SEG 23.563	Gortyn (IC IV)	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(20) --- τ]αῦτα (fragmentary)	A? N P	Anaph.?
<b>DCA 56</b>	Lisos (IC II)	??	Epigram Dedication	(2) Θαρσύτας δ' υἱὸς τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεῶι	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>IC I, viii 4*</b>  =Meiggs- Lewis 42B =Nomima I, 54.II	Knosos	Mid. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(26) ποιγραψάνθῳ τάδε	A N P	Cataph.
<b>IC I, ix 1</b> =Nomima I, 48 (lines 137- 164)	Dreros	3 <sup>rd</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC (Nomima = lines 137-164 copy of a doc. dating from end 6 <sup>th</sup> ? BC)	Decree	(A.10) τάδε ὤμοσαν (B.75) εἰ δὲ τάδε  μὴ κατέχοιμι (D.137) τάδε ὑπομνάμα τα	A N P  A N P  A N P	Cataph.  Cataph.  Ref. to doc.
<b>IC I, xvi 20</b>	Lato	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree?	(5) τ]αῦτα δὲ ἀγγράψ[αι	A N P	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC I, xviii 8</b>	Lyktos	249 BC	Decree	(9) ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ φήψισμα τοῦτο	A N S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC I, xxii 4C</b>	Olous	Beg. 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC (Column A 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC)	Proxeny Decree	(57) ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε  τὸ ψάψισμα	A N S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC I, xxiii 1*</b>	Phaistos	Post 260 BC	Decree	(2) τάδε συνέθεντο Φαίστιοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι	A N P	Cataph.
<b>IC I, xxvii 2</b>	Rhaukos	3 <sup>rd</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph (metrical)	(3) τεῖδε θανὼν κεῖται	Adverb	Locative
<b>IC I, xxviii 7</b> =Nomima I, 63	Rhizenia? (Nomima+ Rhitten)	Beg. 6 <sup>th</sup> BC (Nomima )	Decree (boustr.)	(A4) ἐπεὶ τάδε	A N P	Cataph? (fragm.)

<b>IC I, xxx 1</b> =Meiggs-Lewis 42 A =Nomima I, 54.I	Tylosos	Mid. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(A2) τουτ]ων	G M? P	?
<b>IC I, xxx 3</b>	Tylosos	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Dedication	(5) μνᾶμ' ἀνέθ ηκε τόδε.	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>IC II, v 1</b> =Nomima I, 28	Axos	6 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Decree	(6) τᾶνδ' ἄμερᾶν (12) - - τὰ]δε	G F P A N P	Cataph. Cataph.
<b>IC II, x 1</b>	Kydonia	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC (250- 200?)	Decree	(2) τὰδε ἐπρίατο ἂ πόλις	A N P	Cataph.
<b>IC II, xii 3</b>	Eleutherna	6 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(5) —]τα ἄπατον ἤμεν ὄφο]—	A? N? S	Anaph?
<b>IC II, xii 11</b> =Nomima I, 14	Eleutherna	6 <sup>th</sup> /5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(3) αἴ τις τοίνυ ποινικα[— (4) [— — τ]οίνυ μῆ δικάζοντας	D M S D M S	Anaph. Anaph?
<b>IC II, xii 22</b>	Eleutherna	3 <sup>rd</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Decree	(A2) —]αγ τόδε (B13) τὰ θῖνα μῆ ἰ νῆμεν τῶινυ	A? N S D M S	? Anaph.
<b>IC II, xix 7</b> =SEG 42.818	Phalasarna	4 <sup>th</sup> /beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Protect. charm	(1) τᾶνδε κελεύω  [φε]ύγ[εμε]ν [ἤμ]ετέρων οἴκων	G M P	Locative ?
<b>IC II, xxiii 20</b>	Polyrhen	3 <sup>rd</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph (verse)	(7) τελεσσαμένα τόδε σᾶμα	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>IC III, iii 1</b>	Hierapytna	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (250-200 BC)	Decree	(10) τῆιδε τῆι συμ[μαχίαι	D F S	Cataph?
<b>IC III, iv 1</b>	Itanos	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(6-7) καὶ οὐ τῶ πολιτ ευέσθω	Adverb	Anaph.
<b>IC III, iv 3</b>	Itanos	266-262 BC	Decree	(22) τὰν δὲ γνώμαν  τάνδε	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC III, iv 4</b>	Itanos	Mid 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(14) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα  τόδε	A N S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC III, iv 6</b>	Itanos	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(5) ἐς τὰν συνθήκαν τάνδε	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC III, iv 7</b>	Itanos	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(4) τὸν ὄρκον τόνδε	A M S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IC III, iv 8</b>	Itanos	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(2) τὰ]δε ὤμοσαν (20) τουτων τι ποιεῖν	A N P G N? P	Cataph. Anaph.
<b>IC III, iv 11</b>	Itanos	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(6-7) εἴ τινι τουτ]ων	G M P	Anaph.

<b>IC III, vi 7</b>	Praisos	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(A3) ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν (A7) τούτων πάντων (A8) ταῦτα δὲ ἔδωκαν (A14) τόνδε τὸν ὄρ κον  (B4) κα[ὶ τὸν ὄρκο]ν τόνδε (B10) κατὰ τάδε (B18) οὔτοι πλεόντ[ω - -	D M P G M P A N P A M S  A M S  A N P N M P	Cataph. Anaph. Anaph. Ref. to doc.  Ref. to doc. Cataph. Anaph.
<b>IC III, vi8</b>	Praisos	Beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Decree	(5-6) εἶναι δὲ τὰῦτα (8) ταῦτα δὲ ἔδοξεν	N N P A? N P	Anaph. Anaph.
<b>IC III, vi14 fragment b</b>	Praisos	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	? Very fragment.	(6) ἐ]πὶ τούτω	G M S?	Anaph?
<b>IC IV, 3</b>	Gortyn	Mid 7 <sup>th</sup> /end 6 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(6) —]αξ   οἱ ὄφτοι ον[—	N M P	Anaph?
<b>IC IV, 41 =Nomima II, 65</b>	Gortyn	Beg. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(I.4) τὸ ε[ὸν] αὐτ ὸ δόμην τὸ δὲ κήνδ ξ κεν (VII.6) τουτον[.	G N S  A M S/ G N/M P	Anaph.  Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 42 =Nomima II, 5</b>	Gortyn	Beg. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(B11) ταύταις	D F P	Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 43 =Nomima I, 47; II, 70</b>	Gortyn	Beg. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(B.a.4) α ἴ τις ταύταν πρίαιτο ἢ κα ταθε[ῖ]το	A F S?	Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 65</b>	Gortyn	Beg. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(9) κατ]α ταδε	A N P	Cataph?
<b>IC IV, 72 I = LG I =Nomima II, 6</b>	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(I44) ἔ α ὐτὸς ἔ ἄλος πρὸ τούτῳ·	G M S	Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 72 IV = LG IV =Nomima II, 52</b>	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(IV53) ταῦτ' ἔκεν	A N P	Anaph.

IC IV, 72 V = LG V  =Nomima II, 48, 49	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(V6-7) ταύτ ας μὲν ἀπολανκάνεν (V11) ἔ ἐς τούτων τέ κνα (V12) τούτος ἔκε[ν] τὰ κρέμα τα (V13-14) αἱ δέ κα μῆτις ἔι τούτῳ ν (V16) ἔ ἐς τούτων τέκνα (V16-17) τούτ ος ἔκεν τὰ κρέματα (V18) αἱ δέ κα  μῆτις ἔι τούτων (V19-20) κῆς ταυτ ᾶν τέκνα (V21) τούτος ἔκεν τὰ κρέμα τα (V22) αἱ δέ κα μῆτις ἔι τούτων (V24) τούτος ἀναλιέθθα ι (V27) τούτους ἔ κεν τὰ κρέματα	A F P G N P A M P  G M P  G N P A M P G M P G F P A M P G M P A M P A M P	Anaph. (all of them)
IC IV, 72 VI = LG VI =Nomima II, 54	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(VI15) τάδε τὰ γράμματα	A N P	Ref. to doc.
IC IV, 72 VII = LG VII	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(VII23) ὀπιέθαι ἰδί τῷ [ἐ]ς τῷ πρειγίστῷ	D M S	Anaph.
IC IV, 72 VIII = LG VIII	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(VIII8) ἀποδατέθαι δὲ τῶν κρεμάτων ἰδί	D M S	Anaph.
IC IV, 72 IX = LG IX =Nomima II, 45, 51	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(IX16) τὰδε τὰ γ[ράμμα]τ' (IX, 28) ἔ τούτῳ ἄλλος (IX, 29) ἰδὸ πρὸ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ	A N P D M S G M S	Ref. to doc . Anaph. Anaph
IC IV, 72 X = LG X =Nomima II, 6	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(X30) αἱ  δέ τις τούτων τι φέρκσαι	G N P	Anaph.
IC IV, 72 XI = LG XI =Nomima II, 40	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(XI19-20) κρέθαι δὲ τοῖδδε ἄ ι τάδε τὰ γράμματ' ἔγραψε	D M P A N P	Ref. to doc. (both cases)
IC IV, 72 XII = LG XII =Nomima II, 51	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(XII3) ἄι ἔγρατ το πρὸ τῶνδε τὸν γραμμάτων	G N P	Ref. to doc.
IC IV, 75  =Nomima II, 46	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(A9) ὀμνύμῃν δὲ  ἔ μὰν τούτῷ μ[έν (C6) ἄλλον π[ρὸ] τούτῷ	A N S G M S	Anaph.  Anaph.

<b>IC IV, 78</b> =Nomima I, 16	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(1) τὰδ' ἔφαδε τοῖς Γορτυνίοις (τὰδ' ἔφαδε also in IC IV 232.1; 162 and 378.B1, C1 –all restored; 165; 195.a.1. All 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC. [τὰδ' ἔ]βαδε in IC I xvi.1.1) (3) καὶ μέτινα τοῦτον	A N P A M S	Cataph. Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 80</b> =Nomima I, 7	Gortyn	Beg. 5 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(1) ἐπὶ τοῖδε (11) τούτων (13) ἐν ταῖδ (δ)έ κα (14) π[ρ]ὸ [τούτων ἀπ]οκρίνεθαι	D S M A M P D F S A M S	Cataph. Anaph. Cataph? Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 81</b> =Nomima II, 47	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(12) ἐ] μὰν τούτῳ μὲν	G M? S	Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 87</b> =Nomima I, 97	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(3) —] τονδε τοκα ν[	A M S	?
<b>IC IV, 90</b>	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(3) — ε τουτ[—	? M/N ?	?
<b>IC IV, 91</b> =Nomima II, 71	Gortyn	ca. 480- ca. 450 BC	Decree	(3) ἐ]πὶ τούτῳ ἔμην	D M? S	Anaph.
<b>IC IV, 144</b>	Gortyn	Mid. 5 <sup>th</sup> - beg. 4 <sup>th</sup> BC	Decree	(7-8) ]φίσφαν ταύτα ς	G F S?/ A F P?	Anaph?
<b>IC IV, 165</b>	Gortyn	250-236 BC	Decree	(3) τὰδ' ἔαδε	A N P	Cataph.
<b>IC IV, 171</b> =Tekmeria 1, (1995) 7	Gortyn	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(11) τὰδ' ὄμοσαν	A N P	Cataph?
<b>IC IV, 383</b>	Gortyn	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	??	(5) —ο]να τόνδε (6) —]ονα τόν[δε]	A M S A M S	? ?
<b>SEG 41.731</b> =Chaniotis 2	Aptara (Palaiokastro)  (IC II)	Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Decree?	(2)ἐπὶ τοῖ]σδε συνέθεντο	D M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 49.1221</b>	Gortyn  (IC IV)	ca. 450 BC	Fragment of law	(4) --]E τὰδ' I[- -	A? N P	?? too fragm.
<b>SEG 50.936</b>	Phalasarna  (IC II)	Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC (before 275 BC)	Decree	(2) τὰδε συνέθεντο Πολυρήνιοι καὶ Φαλασάρνιοι	A N P	Cataph.

<b>SEG 52.833</b>	Aphrati (IC I)	Late 7 <sup>th</sup> / early 6 <sup>th</sup> BC	Inscribed pieces of weaponry	(1) ξισοκάρτης   τόνδε	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 52.834</b>	Aphrati (IC I)	Late 7 <sup>th</sup> / early 6 <sup>th</sup> BC	Inscribed pieces of weaponry	(1) [---]ων   τόνδ' ἦλε	A M S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 52.859</b>	Gortyn (IC IV)	6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication (inscribed clay miniature shield)	(B) Ἐφβολίδας [---]Ἴ τόδε [---]ΣΕ	A N S	Ref. to artefact



## 10. Demonstratives in Laconian. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
IG VI, 2 =LSAG 42 (194 n.5)	Mystras	5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC (LSAG 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 6 <sup>th</sup> BC)	Victory dedic.?	(3) -]ον τοῦτον γ[-	A M S	Anaph.?
IG VI, 3 =SEG 11.457	Sparta	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC (late) 4 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> BC (SEG)	Decree	(8) --τ]όνδε·  (SEG: ο]<ί>δε)	A M S  N M P	Cataph.?
IG VI, 7	Sparta	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC?	Decree	(3) πε<ρι> τούτων (10) [περι] τούτ<ω>ν	G N P G N P	Anaph? Anaph.
IG VI, 26 =DGE 23 =LDL 27	Sparta	2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC (SEG 46. 397: 100BC)	Decree	(15) τὰν δὲ εἰς ταύταν δαπάναν (16) ἐπὶ ταῦτα	A F S  A N P	Anaph.  Anaph.
IG VI, 213 =DGE 12 =LDL 6 =LSAG 52 =LGVI 395 =Buck 71 =Colvin 33 =Hansen CEG I.378	Sparta	Before 431 BC (Striano: 327, 450- 431BC)	Dedication  (2 hexam. + 90 lines of prose)	(4) ταυτᾶ ἡᾶτ' (6) τάδε ἐνίκαι.ηε (35) τάδε ἐνίκαι.ηε (67) τάδε ἐνίκῃ (74) τάδε ἐνίκῃ (82) τάδε ἐνίκῃ (91) τάδε ἐνίκῃ	Adverb A N P A N P A N P A N P A N P A N P	Anaph.? Cataph. Cataph. Cataph. Cataph. Cataph. Cataph.
IG VI, 222 =DGE 9 =LGVI 389 =LSAG 22	Sparta	530-500 BC? (LSAG)	Dedication (Metric.)	(2) [τ]όδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκε	A N S	Ref. to artefact
IG VI, 255	Sparta	4 <sup>th</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> BC	Dedication (Metric.)	(1) τὰδ' ... ἀνέσηκε	A N P	Ref. to artefact
IG VI, 257	Sparta	Striano: 330 archaic	Dedication	(5) τάδε	A N P	Ref. to artefact
IG V 1, 724	Sparta	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> BC	Epitaph (Metric.)	(1) τόνδε ... Βότριχον	A M S	Presen- tational; Ref. to deceased
IG VI, 824	Sparta	??	Epitaph (Metric.)	(1) τ]άνδ' Ὑρμι<ν>αί[αν κρύπτει κόνις	A N P	Presen- tational; Ref. to deceased
IG VI, 931	Epidaurus Limera	After 146 BC	Decree	(7) ταῦται (11) ταῦτ]αν (15) ταύταν (35) τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε	D F S A F S A F S A N S	Anaph. Anaph.? Anaph. Ref. to doc.
IG VI, 943	Kythera	?	Epitaph (fragmen- tary)	(3) τόδε σῶμα	A N S	Presen- tational use

<b>IG VI, 962</b> =DGE 44 =LDL 24	Kotyrtā	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(32) τὰν προξενίαν ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 965</b>	Kotyrtā	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(17) τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 977</b> =Peek, 1	Phoiniki (Apollon Hyperteleatas' temple)	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC?	Epigram	(10) ὄς τούς<δ>ε διδάξας  (Peek: ὄς τόνδε διδάξας)	A M P	Cataph.?
<b>IG VI, 1110</b>	Geronthrai	After 146 BC	Decree	(10) τὰ[ν δὲ προξενί]αν ταύτα[ν]	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 1111</b> =DGE 48	Geronthrai	After 146 BC	Decree	(24) εἰς τὰν πόλιν ταύταν (35) τὰν [δὲ] προξενίαν ταύτα[ν]	A F S A F S	Anaph. Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 1113</b>	Geronthrai	146 BC?	Decree	(9) τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 1114</b> =DGE 49	Geronthrai	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Decree	(25-26) τοῦ τε ἰ[εροῦ τού]του	G N S	Anaph.
<b>IG VI, 1119</b> =LGVI 2, 2354	Geronthrai	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication (Metric.)	(2) Ἐπανδρίδα ἥδ' ἀνάκειται	N F S	Presentational use
<b>IG VI, 1146</b> =LDL 29	Gytheion	After 71/70 BC	Decree	(24) πάντα ταῦτα (53) τούτων τ[ῶν] φ[ι]λαν[θρώ]πων	A N P G M P	Anaph. Anaph.
<b>IG VI, 1225</b>	Psamathous	Archaic (Striano: 330)	Dedication very fragment.	(3) τούτοιιν	G/D M D	Anaph.?
<b>IG VI, 1226</b>	Tainaron	2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Decree	(18) τὰν  δ]ε [π]ρ[οξ]ε<[ν]ί[αν] ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 1227</b>	Tainaron	2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC?	Decree	(3) τὰν δὲ  προξενίαν ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 1498</b> =LDL 25	Unknown (Striano 332- 333: somewhere in Laconia or Messenia)	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(12) τὰν δὲ ῥήτραν ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>IG VI, 1564a</b> =IvO 160 =LDL 16 =LGVI 2. 2351	Olympia	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication (Metric.)	(3) εἰκόνα τάνδ' (4-5) τό[ν]δε λαβέν στέφανον	A F S A M S	Ref. to artifact Anaph.?

<b>IvO 171</b> <b>=DGE 19</b> <b>=LDL 19</b> <b>=SIG 1069</b>	Olympia	316 BC	Dedication	(7) ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς στά λας (11) ἀπὸ τᾶς δὲ (=ἀπὸ τα(ύτα)ς δὲ)	G F S G F S	Ref. to artefact Anaph.
<b>SEG 11.470</b>	Laconia (not specified)	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(7) τὰν δὲ προξενίαν ταύταν	A F S	Ref. to doc.
<b>SEG 11.652</b> <b>=SEG 26. 464</b> <b>=LGVI 390</b>	Sparta	530-500 BC	Dedication	(c5-6) τοῦτ ο	A N S	?? Too fragm.
<b>SEG 11.956</b> <b>=LSAG 19</b> <b>=LGVI 386</b>	Olympia	550- 525BC	Dedication (Metric.)	(1) τᾶδε τὰ ὄπλα	A N P	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 19.394</b> <b>+ SEG 23.324</b>  <b>=LGVI2 2350</b> <b>=Meiggs +</b> <b>Lewis 95</b> <b>=FD III.1, 51</b>	Delphi	ca. 400 BC  (LGVI2: 36, 350- 300BC? -from Laconia)	Dedication (Metric.)	(1) τοῖς]δ' ἐλεγείοι[ς]  (3) τοῦδε ναυάρ[χου	D M P G M S	Ref. to doc. Ref. to artefact?
<b>SEG 26.457</b> <b>=LSAG 446,</b> <b>3a</b> <b>=Colvin 32</b>	Sparta	ca. 675- 650 BC	Dedication (Metric?)	(1) Δεῖνι[ς] τὰ<ν>δ' ἀνέθεκε	A F S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 40.348</b> <b>=Artemis 296</b>	Sparta	3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(B1) τοῖδε συνέδωκαν ἐς τὰν κασκευάν	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 42. 329</b>	Sparta	ca. 200 BC	Epitaph	(6) δεῖμα πόνησε τόδε	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 46.400</b> <b>=Colvin 34</b>	Sparta	ca. 400- 375 BC	Dedication	(2) τοῦτ' ἀνέσηκε  (3) ἀπὸ τούτω	A N S G N S	Ref. to artefact Anaph.
<b>SIG 31</b> <b>=Buck 69</b> <b>=DGE 11</b> <b>=LDL 3</b> <b>=Meiggs +</b> <b>Lewis 27</b>	Delphi	479 BC	Thank offering	(1) [τ]ο[ῖδε τὸν] πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον	N M P	Cataph.



## 11. Demonstratives in Cyrenaean. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
SECir 80	Kyrene	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC?	Dedication (public doc.)	(7) τᾶιδε	D F S	Ref. to place
SECir 103 =SEG 20 716 =LGVI2 2382 =GVCyr 3	Kyrene	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Public ded. + Decree	(5) πρ<ὸ>ς τὰδ' [ὁ]ρᾶι ... (6) με]ίζονα τήνδε πόλιν	A N P A F S	Cataph. Ref. to place
SECir 161 =LGVI2 2428	Kyrene	300 BC?	Record of ded.	(1) μνᾶ]μα τόδ'  (3) τῶν τάδε κεῖται	A N S  A N P	Ref. to artefact  Ref. to artefact
SECir 162 =LGVI2 2428	Kyrene	4 <sup>th</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC	Record of ded. (copy)	(1) μνᾶμα τόδ'  (6) τῶν τάδε κεῖται	A N S  A N P	Ref. to artefact  Ref. to artefact
SECir 193 =SEG 45 2168	Kyrene	250-200 BC	Defixio (incant.)	(1) τῆδε παρήμεν (5) ταῦτα δ{ε} ἐγὼ ἐρησῶ	Adverb A N P	Ref. to place Ref. to doc.
SEG 9 3 =Ferri II	Kyrene	Begin. 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Decree	(16) τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα  (41) ἐπὶ τούτοις (42) ταῦτα (46) τούτοις  τοῖς ὀρκίοις (50) τούτοις τοῖς ὀρκίοις	A N S  D N?P A N P D M P  D M P	Ref. to doc.  Anaph. Anaph. Ref. to doc.  Ref. to doc.
SEG 9, 4	Kyrene	16/15 BC	Decree	(41) παρὰ ταῦτα (43) κατὰ] τάδε (45) καὶ τοῦ]τον (49) παρὰ] ταῦτα	A N P A N P A M S A N P	Anaph. Cataph. Anaph. Anaph.
SEG 9 72 =SEG 50 1638 =Robertson 17 =GHI 97 =Buck 115	Kyrene	325-300 BC	Decree (sacred law)	(A19-20) ο]ὔτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος (B84) αὐτα (B86) ταῦτα (B103) ταύτας τὰς ἀμέρας (B108) αὐτα (?) ἅ οικία (B124) ὀπόσσω ...οὔτως (B129) τοῦτο	N M S  N F S A N P A F P  N F S Adverb A N S	Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.
SEG 9 345	Cyrenaica (Ain el Hofra, near Kyrene)	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(1) ἅδε προβῶμιος	N F S	Ref. to artefact

<b>SEG 9 362</b>	Cyrenaica (Ptolemais)	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Epitaph	(6) τάνδ' ὑπὸ λυγαίων ἄγαγεσ ἀϊόνα	A F S	Presentational; Ref. to deceased
<b>SEG 9 769</b>	Cyrenaica (Berenike)	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(1) [ο]ῖδε	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 17 817</b>	Cyrenaica (Apollonia)	283-250 BC	Dedication	(3) ὑπὸ τᾶιδε	D F S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 20 746</b> =LGVI2 2216 =GVCyr. 2	Kyrene	4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Epitaph	(4) καὶ τόδ[- -	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 26 1817</b>	Arsinoe (Tokra)	End 2 <sup>nd</sup> - first half 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Decree	(37) ἐν τούτοις (70) ἐπιγραφᾶν τάνδε (76) τῶδε [τῶ ψαφίσμα]τος	D M? P A F S G N S	Anaph. Ref. to doc. Ref. to doc.

## 12. Demonstratives in Thera. Data from inscriptions

Inscription	Location	Date	Type of text	Line/Form	Form analysis	Function
IG XII 3, 320	Thera	260 BC?	Decree	(13) τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τόδε	A N S	Ref. to doc.
IG XII 3, 322	Thera	ca. 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree	(3) τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα (18) τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα (20) τὰ δ' ἐς ταῦτ[α] ἀναλώματα	A N S A N S A N P	Ref. to doc. Ref. to doc. Anaphora
IG XII 3, 330	Thera	ca. 210-195 BC	Decree	(B2) τάδε διέθετο (B26) ἐκείνων (B53) τούτων (B59-60) οὗτος (B94) τούτοις (B97) ἐκ τούτων (B99) ἐκ τα[υ]τᾶν (B105) ταύταις (B106) ἐκ ταυτᾶν (C146) ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔτη (C183) ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων (C195) τὰς θυσίας ταύτας (C200) τὰς θυσίας [τ]αύτας (C235) τούτων (C249) τούτων (C255) ταῦτα (C256) ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου (C272) οὗτος	A N P G M P G N P N M P D M P G M P G F P D F P G F P A N P  G N P A F P  A F P  G N P G M P A N P G M S N M S	Cataph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph.  Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph. Anaph.
IG XII 3, 536 =TA 29	Thera	6 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC?	Erotic graffito	(b.1) τάδε (c.1)τάδε	Adverb A NP?/ Adverb ?	Locative Ref. to doc?/ Locative ?
IG XII 3, 537a =TA 30	Thera	6 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC?	Erotic graffito	(1) τῆδε	Adverb	Locative
IG XII 3, 538b =TA 31	Thera	6 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC?	Erotic graffito	(b.1) [τ]ῆδ[ε]	Adverb	Locative
IG XII 3, 551 =TA 44	Thera	7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Dedication	(2) τῆδε	Adverb	Locative
IG XII 3, 768 =GVI 1529 =LGVI 172	Thera	6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC?	Epitaph	(2) τὸ[δ']	A N S	?

<b>IG XII 3. Suppl. 1294</b>	Thera	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Decree?	(8) τούτοις	D M P	Anaph.
<b>IG XII 3. Suppl. 1298</b>	Thera	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Catalogue	(6) οἶδε	N M P	Cataph.
<b>IG XII 3. Suppl. 1299</b>	Thera	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC	Catalogue	(20) οἶδε	N M P	Cataph.
<b>SEG 26 947</b>	Thera	6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC (Domínguez Casado)	Dedication	(1) τάνδε	A F S	Ref. to artefact
<b>SEG 48 1067</b>	Thera	ca. 550 BC	Epitaph	(1) τόδε μνᾶμα	A N S	Ref. to artefact
<b>Sigalas-Matthaiou 476.4 (non vidi)</b> cited in Domínguez Casado (forthcoming) §2.5.5.1	Thera	550-500 BC	Signature (Domínguez Casado: “Firma”)	τάδε	A N P?	Ref. to artefact?

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