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Of tortoise necks and dialects

A new edition of the *Grammaticus Leidensis*

Abstract: In this article we provide a new edition of the Byzantine treatise on Greek dialects known under the name *Grammaticus Leidensis*, in its earliest recoverable form, together with a discussion of the most unusual and intriguing features of this concise treatise.

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This article is dedicated to the memory of Donald Russell, who took an interest in an exceptionally corrupt passage of the *Grammaticus Leidensis*, shortly before his death, and made extensive suggestions (see section 5 below). Our article has its origins in a class given by Philomen Probert as a Spinoza Visiting Scholar at the University of Leiden in Spring 2019; we would like to thank the other participants in the class for fruitful discussion. We would further like to thank Eleanor Dickey for insightful comments on a draft version; Paolo Scattolin for discussion of codex Vossianus Graecus Q76 (partly in a class taken by Jikke Koning and Bob van Velthoven); and Maria Giovanna Sandri for alerting us to the witnesses to our text we call **S**, **Q**, and *via* her at the time unpublished work **J**, **O**, **K**, **B**, **V**, **C**, and **E** (now SANDRI, as footnote 38 below, 118f.). Raf Van Rooy too was kind enough to share work of his with us in advance of publication. We are grateful to Leiden University Library and the Bodleian Library for enabling us to see and photograph manuscripts; and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III, Biblioteca Casanatense, and Biblioteca Estense for supplying us with images of manuscripts. We would also like to thank several libraries which supplied us with images of manuscripts that, on inspection, turned out not to contain our text, and all the libraries which have made digital images available on line. Every part of this article has been discussed and revised collaboratively between the four authors, but for the edition of the text Bob van Velthoven (BvV) prepared the first draft of §§ 1–21, Jikke Koning (JK) of §§ 22–32, Niels Schoubben (NS) of §§ 33–59, and Philomen Probert (PP) of §§ 60–66. NS drafted the translation of the whole text, PP the introductory sections 1–4 and 7 of the article, NS and PP section 5; and JK, BvV, and PP section 6. The stemma we provide in section 6 is mainly the

1 Introduction

The linguistic characteristics of ancient Greek dialects attracted a good deal of scholarly attention from the Hellenistic period onwards.¹ No complete treatises on dialects survive until the Byzantine period,² but we then have a bewildering variety of mutually interrelated works. Until the twelfth century, when Gregory of Corinth (also known as Gregorius Pardus) produced a work on dialects on a (by his own account) hitherto unprecedented scale,³ all the treatises that survive are of uncertain authorship. At least one known author, the sixth-century philoso-

work of NS and PP. We divided between us the task of collating manuscripts and checking each other's work, but NS undertook an especially substantial portion of this work.

1 For authors of the Hellenistic and Roman periods known to have written works on dialects, see R. LUISELLI, 1609. Frammento sul dialetto ionico, in G. Bastianini/ F. Maltomini/G. Messeri (eds.), *Papiri della Società Italiana: volume sedicesimo (PSI XVI)*. Florence 2013, 106–119, at 108 f. On the Hellenistic authors Dionysius Iambus and Parmenon Byzantius, whose works *Περὶ διαλέκτων* and *Περὶ διαλέκτου* may not have been treatises on dialects in our sense, see now E. DETTORI, *Antidorus, Dionysius Iambus, Epigenes, Lysanias, Parmenon, Silenus, Simaristus, Simmias. Supplementum grammaticum graecum*, 1. Leiden 2019, 21 f., 30, 173–175. On Aristarchus' views on the relevance of Greek dialects to Homeric language, see F. SCHIRONI, *The best of the grammarians: Aristarchus of Samothrace on the Iliad*. Ann Arbor 2018, 601–622. On Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian's views on dialects, see C. CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος: contributo alla storia del concetto di "dialetto"*. Pisa 1991, 27–33. Already in the Classical period, we glimpse an interest in the linguistic differences between different dialects from Plato, *Cratylus* 434c–d (cf. 408e–409a), on which see CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος*, 25. For brief introductions to ancient, Byzantine, and early modern thought on Greek dialects, see O. TRIBULATO, *Dialectology (diálektos)*, *Ancient Theories of*, in G. K. Giannakis et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*. Leiden 2014, I, 457–461; M. FINKELBERG, *Dialects, Classification of*, *ibid.*, 461–468.

2 See O. HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II. Göttingen 1893, 204. Fragments of two treatises dealing with one or (originally) more dialects are preserved on papyri from the second century AD: on *P.Bour.* 8 (of which the preserved parts deal with Aeolic), see A. WOUTERS, *The Grammatical papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: contributions to the study of the 'ars grammatica' in Antiquity*. Brussels 1979, 274–297; on PSI XVI 1609 (of which the preserved part deals with Ionic), see LUISELLI, *Frammento* (as footnote 1 above). On the relationships between these texts and other known texts, including the Byzantine treatises, see WOUTERS, *Grammatical papyri*, 294–297; LUISELLI, *Frammento*, 107–110. Pseudo-Plutarch, *de Homero* 2, perhaps composed around 200 AD (see J. J. KEANEY/R. LAMBERTON, [Plutarch]: *Essay on the life and poetry of Homer*. Atlanta 1996, 1–10, 29), is not a treatise on dialects as such, but discusses dialects at some length in §§8–14. For an edition of §§8–12 with detailed commentary, see G. SCARPAT, *I dialetti greci in Omero secondo un grammatico antico. Studi grammaticali e linguistici*, 2. Arona 1952. For a text of the whole treatise, see J. F. KINDSTRAND, [Plutarchi] *de Homero*. Leipzig 1990, or KEANEY/LAMBERTON, *Essay*, the latter also with an English translation.

3 For Gregory's preface, see G. H. SCHAEFER, *Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum libri De dialectis linguae graecae*. Leipzig 1811, 1–8.

pher and grammarian John Philoponus, possibly produced a work on dialects that played a significant part in the tradition, but it is uncertain how any such work was related to the treatises that survive today.⁴

Otto HOFFMANN identified three main families of Byzantine treatise ascribable to the centuries before Gregory of Corinth; he named these ‘Compendium I’, ‘Compendium II’, and ‘Compendium III’, in increasing order of length and complexity.⁵ Versions of all three circulated as self-standing treatises,⁶ and more extensive works were also created by combining material from more than one of these treatises.

4 In the preface to his *Περὶ διαλέκτων*, Gregory of Corinth mentions John Philoponus as a predecessor who wrote on dialects. In addition, the first treatise on dialects in the Aldine *Thesaurus* (*THESAURVS Cornu copiae & Horti Adonidis / ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ. Κέρας ἀμαλθείας, καὶ κήποι Ἀδώνιδος*. Venice, Aldus Manutius 1496), on which see just below and section 6, is ascribed there and in closely related manuscripts (all those derived from our hyparchetype e: see section 6) to Ἰωάννης (ὁ) γραμματικός or Ἰωάννης Φιλόπωνος γραμματικός, i.e. John Philoponus. G. BOLOGNESI, *Sul Περὶ διαλέκτων* di Gregorio di Corinto. *Aevum* 27 (1953), 97–120, at 102–104, argues that Philoponus produced a treatise on dialects that is lost as such, and that this work was the source of the material in all three of HOFFMANN’s Compendia (on which see just below), with different kinds of material being excerpted for different purposes. Given that the ascription to Philoponus does not appear in early manuscripts of our text, however, we should reserve judgement on his involvement, and on what might have counted as ‘Philoponus on dialects’ in Gregory of Corinth’s time.

5 HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II (as footnote 2 above), 204–212. Cf. BOLOGNESI, *Sul Περὶ διαλέκτων* (as footnote 4 above), 97–101; G. BOLOGNESI, *Compendi inediti di dialettologia greca. Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*, nuova serie 2 (1953), 41–75, at 41 f. note 1, 74 f.; CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 56–68. The section on dialects in Pseudo-Plutarch, *de Homero* 2 (on which see footnote 2 above) is substantially independent of all three ‘Compendia’. In the period after Gregory of Corinth, we start to see further treatises that are independent or partly independent of all three ‘Compendia’, as well as treatises influenced by Gregory of Corinth himself: see F. GARIN, *Due compendii laurenziani Περὶ διαλέκτων. Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia – lingua – antichità* 3 (1919), 41–47; S.A. CENGARLE, *Attribuzione di un compendio sul dialetto ionico a Manuele Moscopulo. Acme* 23 (1970), 71–80, at 72, 79; S.A. CENGARLE, *Anonymi Vaticani compendium de dialectis graecis. Rendiconti dell’Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 104 (1970), 19–60.

6 No independent text of Compendium III (or of any of its main sections on specific dialects) was known in HOFFMANN’s day, but his insight that ‘Compendium III’ material originally belonged to an independent treatise (HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II, as footnote 2 above, 208–212) has since been confirmed by BOLOGNESI’s discovery of a purely ‘Compendium III’-type section *Περὶ Ἰάδος* in the fourteenth-century codex Laurentianus graecus S. Marco 318 (folios 66r–69r), where it appears as part of a treatise on dialects whose sections on Attic, Doric, and Aeolic are of a ‘Compendium II’ type: see G. BOLOGNESI, *Antichi documenti di dialettologia greca e di lessicografia erodotea. Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*, nuova serie 8 (1960), 53–80, at 53, 59, and cf. O. MAZAL, *Ein Traktat über den dorischen Dialekt. BZ* 58 (1965), 292–305, at 296; CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 57.

These treatises remained influential into the period of early printed books, when their popularity was boosted by their inclusion in the Aldine *Thesaurus: Cornu copiae et Horti Adonidis*.⁷ This collection of Greek grammatical texts included a version of Compendium I followed by a treatise combining material from Compendia II and III.⁸ In essentially this form the material was republished (sometimes together with a Latin translation) in other early printed books aimed at those studying Greek in western Europe.⁹ Via these printed versions, Byzantine treatises on dialects influenced early modern thought on the vernacular languages of Europe, and even played a role in debates about the variety of Italian to be adopted as a written standard.¹⁰

Today we know of considerably more manuscript evidence for Byzantine treatises on Greek dialects than was available in HOFFMANN's day, thanks in no small part to the work of Giancarlo BOLOGNESI in the mid-twentieth century,¹¹ but our understanding of all these treatises is hindered by the absence of modern critical editions.¹² In this article we offer a new edition of the work that has been known as HOFFMANN's Compendium I or the *Grammaticus Leidensis*.

2 Structure and aims of the treatise

Of the three Compendia, Compendium I is the most cursory in its account of the characteristics of the various dialects, and focusses almost entirely on phonological information. It nevertheless contains some unusual and intriguing features, some of which will be discussed in sections 3–5 below.

7 As footnote 4 above.

8 We now know that this arrangement of the material was not original to Aldus Manutius and his collaborators: see CONSANI, Διάλεκτος (as footnote 1 above), 57f. and section 6 below.

9 For details see P. TROVATO, 'Dialecto' e sinonimi ('idioma', 'proprietà', 'lingua') nella terminologia linguistica quattro- e cinquecentesca. *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 2 (1984), 205–236, at 227–236; CONSANI, Διάλεκτος (as footnote 1 above), 68–74. Besides the *Thesaurus* (as footnote 4 above), we include three early printed books in the stemma given in section 6 below (our X, Y, Z); for details of these see P. BOTLEY, *Learning Greek in western Europe, 1396–1529*. Philadelphia 2010, 130 (no. 46), 160f. (nos 28, 29).

10 See in general R. VAN ROOY, *Greece's labyrinth of language: a study in the early modern discovery of dialect diversity*. Berlin 2020, 122–143. On Italy in particular, cf. TROVATO, 'Dialecto' (as footnote 9 above), especially 222–226, 236; CONSANI, Διάλεκτος (as footnote 1 above), 75–81.

11 See BOLOGNESI, *Sul Περὶ διαλέκτων* (as footnote 4 above); BOLOGNESI, *Compendi inediti* (as footnote 5 above); BOLOGNESI, *Antichi documenti* (as footnote 6 above).

12 Cf. CONSANI, Διάλεκτος (as footnote 1 above), 55f.; LUISELLI, *Frammento* (as footnote 1 above), 107 note 1; VAN ROOY, *Greece's labyrinth* (as footnote 10 above), 6; R. VAN ROOY, *Language or dialect? The history of a conceptual pair*. Oxford 2020, 22 note 9.

In the earliest stages of the tradition, the treatise does not open at a definite point with a heading such as *Περὶ διαλέκτων*. Instead, a definition of the word *λέξις*, under the heading *Περὶ λέξεως*, moves imperceptibly into an introduction to the five dialects:

λέξις ἐστὶ φωνῆ ἐγγράμματος μέρος λόγου παριστᾶσα. τῶν δὲ λέξεων αἱ μὲν εἰσι ποιητικάι, αἱ δὲ κοιναί, αἱ δὲ κατὰ διάλεκτον. διάλεκτοι δὲ εἰσι πέντε ...

A ‘word’ is an utterance that can be written,¹³ conveying a part of speech. And some words are poetic, some are shared,¹⁴ and some belong to particular dialects. And there are five dialects ...

After introducing the names of the five dialects, and some authors said to have used them, we finally have a heading *Περὶ διαλέκτων*, followed by short sections on Ionic, Attic, Doric, Aeolic, and the Koiné; the last of these is an unusual feature of *Compendium I*.¹⁵ The sections on Ionic, Attic, Doric, and Aeolic each begin with what has been described as a sort of table of contents or summary,¹⁶ announcing the main features of the dialect in question. After this, these sections go on to pick up each feature again and to illustrate it by means of one or more examples. The sections are short enough that one might think a table of contents hardly useful, but the opening summaries perhaps served to encapsulate the main points in a form that could conveniently be learned by rote. In the main body of each section, the examples of each feature are rarely numerous, and are normally introduced through a *ὅταν* clause. For example, the features mentioned in the ‘table of contents’ for Ionic include the resolution of syllables with a circumflex into two (*καὶ περισπωμένας συλλαβὰς εἰς δύο διαρεῖν*, §14), and this is picked up in due course with *τὰς δὲ περισπωμένας συλλαβὰς διαροῦσιν, ὅταν ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ποιεῖν’*

¹³ On the term *φωνῆ ἐγγράμματος*, see W. AX, *Laut, Stimme und Sprache: Studien zu drei Grundbegriffen der antiken Sprachtheorie*. Göttingen 1986, 162 f., 165, 191–194, 202–204, 211, 217, 218–223, 232 f., 236–241.

¹⁴ For this use of the adjective *κοινός*, along with its historical and synchronic connections to the concept *ἡ κοινή* (*διάλεκτος*) ‘the Koiné’, see CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 27–53. On the sense of *κοινάι* in our passage, see already H. STEPHAN, *De Herodiani technici dialectologia*. Strasbourg 1889, 125.

¹⁵ For another Byzantine treatise on dialects featuring a section on the Koiné, see the *Compendium II* type treatise transmitted as part of the ‘London scholia’ to Dionysius Thrax (*Grammatici Graeci* i. iii. 464–469). On ancient perceptions of the relationship between the Koiné and other dialects, cf. e.g. S. COLVIN, *Perceptions synchroniques des dialectes et de la koiné*, in S. Minon (ed.), *Diffusion de l’attique et expansion des koinai dans le Péloponnèse et en Grèce centrale*. Geneva 2014, 19–28.

¹⁶ BOLOGNESI, *Sul Περὶ διαλέκτων* (as footnote 4 above), 100; CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 56.

‘ποιέειν’ λέγωσιν ‘They (i. e. the Ionians) resolve syllables with a circumflex accent when instead of ποιεῖν [‘to do’] they say ποιέειν’ (§16). Students are likely to have come across forms displaying the various dialect characteristics when reading dialect authors, whether or not they had previously studied dialects in any depth, and these ὅταν clauses call to mind examples that illustrate the characteristic in question.

The section on the Koiné begins with a brief statement – too brief to be easy to follow – of the arguments used by people on opposing sides of a debate over the status of the Koiné as a dialect. The idea that there is such a debate is never explicitly introduced, and the two sides are mentioned as if the reader already knows of their existence. Those on one side are called οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι τὴν κοινὴν καταριθμεῖν διάλεκτον ταῖς προειρημέναις τέταρσιν ‘those who do not want to count the Koiné as a dialect along with the aforementioned four’ (§61), while those on the other side are referred to with τῶν ... τὴν κοινὴν εἰσηγησαμένων ‘those who include the Koiné’ (§62). The whole debate is presented as if the reader is aware of it already and simply wants a compressed reminder of the main arguments on each side.

BOLOGNESI suggested that Compendium I was intended as a basic introduction to Greek dialects, after which students might proceed to study the subject further via the more extensive Compendia II and III.¹⁷ The text might serve at least as well as a succinct reminder of the most important points, for those who have already studied the subject in more depth. The very cursory presentation of the debate about the Koiné might suggest that the treatise was geared partly towards such students, but there is no reason why the treatise could not have been put together with more than one kind of audience in mind.

3 Relationships between the dialects

In general, Byzantine treatises on dialects do not have much to say about relationships between any of the four dialects Ionic, Attic, Doric, and Aeolic. As transmitted, the *Grammaticus Leidensis* is no exception, but already in the eighteenth century KOEN recognised the idea that Attic and Ionic share a common origin behind a corrupt phrase in the opening of the section on Ionic (§13): where the transmitted

17 BOLOGNESI, *Sul Perì Dialéktων* (as footnote 4 above), 103.

text reads, enigmatically, δοκεῖ δὲ ἀρχαία εἶναι αὐτοῖς, KOEN conjectured δοκεῖ δὲ ἀρχαία εἶναι Ἀτθίς ‘and it appears to be ancient Attic’.¹⁸

This idea of a common origin for Attic and Ionic is attested from Herodotus onwards,¹⁹ and in Strabo it is complemented by a shared origin for Doric and Aeolic:²⁰

Τούτων δ’ αὐτῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀτθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φαμεν (καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθ’ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἴωνες καὶ χρῆσάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένη γλώττῃ Ἰάδι), τὴν δὲ Δωρίδα τῇ Αἰολίδι· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἴσθμοῦ πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων καὶ νῦν ἔτι Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται· (Strabo 8.1.2)

While these [i.e. the Greek dialects] themselves are four in number, we say that Ionic is the same as ancient Attic (for the Attic people of that time were called Ionians, and thence come the Ionians who settled Asia and used the speech which is now called Ionic), and that Doric is the same [i.e. in origin] as Aeolic. For all those outside the Isthmus except for the Athenians, the Megarians, and the Dorians around the Parnassus are still today called Aeolians.

In the Byzantine period, the idea that the Greek dialects divide into the two pairs (Attic plus Ionic and Doric plus Aeolic) is taken up by Eustathius, echoing Strabo in his commentaries on Homer and on Dionysius Periegetes.²¹ The concept of a shared origin for Doric and Aeolic is known to have existed in antiquity and the Middle Ages only from Strabo and Eustathius, although it became influential later;²² in our view the *Grammaticus Leidensis* originally expressed this idea too, in addition to that of a shared origin for Attic and Ionic. At the end of the introduction to the section on Aeolic (§48), the transmitted text reads ἔσθη δὲ ἐναντία

18 Γρηγορίου, Μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου, Περί διαλέκτων. Gregorius, Corinthi Metropolita, De dialectis. E codicibus MSS. emendavit & notis illustravit Gisbertus KOEN, Jctus. Accedunt Grammatici Leidensis et Meermanniani De dialectis opuscula ab iis, quae sub Ioannis Grammatici nomine vulgo circumferuntur, longe diversa. Leiden 1766, 176, 302.

19 See Hdt. 1.147, with S. COLVIN, *A brief history of ancient Greek*. Chichester 2014, 96. For attestations of this idea in the Byzantine period, see Eustathius, *Il.* 8.37–40 = 1.14.7–11 VAN DER VALK; 130.43 = 1.201.8 VAN DER VALK; Eustathius, *In Dionysium Periegetam* 423.39–53 = 296.13–27 MÜLLER; 820.15–18 = 361.23–26 MÜLLER; and the treatise Ἐτέρως περὶ διαλέκτων in the Aldine *The-saurus* (as footnote 4 above), f. 237r, lines 6–7 (δοκοῦσαν τῇ Ἀτθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι διάλεκτον, said of Ionic at its earliest phase), and in a corrupt form f. 241r, line 18 (Ἡ ἰὰς διάλεκτος, ἔστι τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀτθίδι). Cf. SCHIRONI, *Best of the grammarians* (as footnote 1 above), 621 f.

20 On this passage see COLVIN, *Brief history* (as footnote 19 above), 105 f.; VAN ROOY, *Greece’s labyrinth* (as footnote 10 above), 13, 68, 70.

21 Eustathius, *Il.* 8.37–40 = 1.14.9–12 VAN DER VALK; Eustathius in *Dionysium Periegetam* 820.15–24 = 361.23–32 MÜLLER. Cf. VAN ROOY, *Greece’s labyrinth* (as footnote 10 above), 68.

22 See VAN ROOY, *Greece’s labyrinth* (as footnote 10 above), 70 f.

τῆ Δωρίδῃ, or with standardised orthography ἔστι δὲ ἐναντία τῆ Δωρίδι ‘and it is opposed to the Doric dialect’. We are unaware of any parallels for the idea that Aeolic is ‘opposed’ to Doric, and it is not clear what opposition between these dialects would be intended. Therefore, Niels SCHOUBBEN cautiously conjectures: ἔστι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ τῆ Δωρίδι ‘and it is the same (in origin) as the Doric dialect’. This wording would be fairly close to that of Strabo above, and even closer to one of Eustathius’ verbal echoes of Strabo: ἡ Δωρίς ἡ αὐτὴ τῆ Αἰολίδι ἔστιν ‘the Doric dialect is the same as the Aeolic’ (Eustathius, in *Dionysium Periegetam* 820.19 = 361.27 MÜLLER). With SCHOUBBEN’s conjecture, our text suggests that the concept of an ancient unity of Aeolic and Doric, comparable to that of Attic and Ionic, may have been a little more widespread in the Byzantine period than we had thought.²³

4 The sub-varieties of each dialect

Towards the end of the section on each dialect, the *Grammaticus Leidensis* states how many μεταπτώσεις ‘varieties’ this dialect has: Ionic is said to have four varieties (§20), Attic three (§31), Doric very many (§43), Aeolic three (§58), and the Koiné none (§63). The statement that Ionic has four μεταπτώσεις is likely to derive from Herodotus (1.142),²⁴ who claims that the twelve cities in the Ionian League could be divided into four groups, each of which had its own form of speech.²⁵ Strictly speaking Herodotus’ discussion concerns only the Ionians in the Ionian league, to which not all Ionians belonged, but this point could easily have been overlooked once the Ionian league was a thing of the distant past.

While various sources can be cited for the idea that there is more than one variety of Attic, we suggest that the following fragment of Aristophanes conceivably lies behind the idea that there are precisely three.²⁶ The fragment is quoted by Sex-

23 R. VAN ROOY, Struggling to order diversity: The variegated classifications of Greek dialects before the rise of modern linguistics. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 36 (2016), 465–473, at 466f. distinguishes two categorisations of Ancient Greek dialects in Antiquity and the Byzantine period: ‘(a) a 4-fold division into Ionic, Attic, Doric, and Aeolic (cf. Strabo 8.1.2), which – from a diachronic perspective – originally was a 2-fold division into Ionic-Attic and Doric-Aeolic, and (b) a 5-fold division into Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, and the koine’. If the conjecture made here is correct, the implication would be that both classifications were combined in the *Grammaticus Leidensis*.

24 So O. HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, III. Göttingen 1898, 199; cf. B. HAINSWORTH, Greek views of Greek dialectology. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 66 (1967), 62–76, at 71.

25 (i) Miletos, Myous, and Priene; (ii) Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia; (iii) Chios and Erythrai; (iv) Samos.

26 Our suggestion thus makes the intended varieties of Attic sociolinguistic ones (see e.g. S. COLVIN, Social dialect in Attica, in J. H. W. Penney (ed.), *Indo-European perspectives*. Studies in honour

tus Empiricus (*Adv Math.* 1.228), specifically to support the notion that there is more than one kind of Attic:

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην πόλεως,
οὐτ' ἀστείαν ὑποηλυτέραν
οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγοικότεραν. (Aristophanes, fr. 706 KASSEL/AUSTIN)

... with a medium dialect of the city, not the urbane and rather feminine one nor the servile and rather rustic one.

The idea that Doric has many varieties is consistent with other Byzantine discussions of dialects. A passage in the scholia Marciana to Dionysius Thrax, for example, lists the forms of speech of the Argives, Laconians, Syracusans, Messenians, and Corinthians as sub-varieties (γλώσσαι) of the single dialect Doric.²⁷

The idea that there are three subdivisions of Aeolic Greek will appear familiar to modern scholars, for whom the three main subdivisions of Aeolic are Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian.²⁸ The main subdivisions of Aeolic Greek mentioned in ancient and Byzantine scholarship are Lesbian and Boeotian,²⁹ both of which have literary models: Sappho and Alcaeus for Lesbian, and Corinna for Boeotian. Thessalian lacks a literary model, but in the ancient traditions on the ethnic subdivisions of the Greeks, the Thessalians too are Aeolians. On this basis HAINSWORTH (Greek views, as footnote 24 above, 71) suggests that the three μεταπτώσεις of Aeolic alluded to in our treatise are precisely Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian. This idea receives support from the mention of Thessaly, Boeotia, and Lesbos in

of Anna Morpurgo Davies. Oxford 2004, 95–108, at 96 f.). Differently, KOEN, Gregorius (as footnote 18 above), 305 and HAINSWORTH, Greek views (as footnote 24 above), 71 suggested that chronological varieties were meant, and KOEN drew attention to oppositions of this kind made by Atticist authors: ἡ πρώτη Ἀτθίς versus ἡ δευτέρα Ἀτθίς (Moeris, π 79 HANSEN); οἱ πρότεροι Ἀττικοί versus οἱ μέσοι (Ἀττικοί) (Moeris, χ 12 HANSEN); and Ἀττικοί versus οἱ μέσοι (attributed to Aelius Dionysius by Eustathius, *Od.* 1671.51 = 2.74.27 STALLBAUM). Also noteworthy in this context is a remark of Galen's (*De differentia pulsuum*, 8.584.17–585.2 KUHN), claiming that the Attic dialect has received many μεταπτώσεις and suggesting that the Koiné is either one of these or a separate dialect. 27 *Grammatici Graeci* i. iii. 302.35–303.1. On this passage see HAINSWORTH, Greek views (as footnote 24 above), 70; CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 46.

28 There is a modern debate about the status of the Aeolic group in historical terms. For brief introductions, with bibliography, see S. COLVIN, Greek dialects in the Archaic and Classical ages, in E. J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek language*. Malden 2010, 200–212, at 205, 209 f., and L. VAN BEEK, Greek, in T. Olander (ed.), *The Indo-European language family: a phylogenetic perspective*. Cambridge 2022, 173–201, at 185–187.

29 See again, for example, the passage of the scholia Marciana to Dionysius Thrax just mentioned: καὶ Αἰολίς μία, ὅφ' ἦν εἰσι γλώσσαι πολλάι, Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λεσβίων καὶ ἄλλων (*Grammatici Graeci* i. iii. 303.1–2) 'And Aeolic is a single (dialect), subordinate to which there are many γλώσσαι: those of the Boeotians and Lesbians and others'.

the London scholia to Dionysius Thrax, in a passage meant to elucidate the dialectal divisions of the Greek language:³⁰

Αἰολος δὲ καταδραμὼν εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν πάντας ἐποίησεν Αἰολεῖς κληθῆναι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τούτου θυγατρὸς παῖς γίνεταί Βοιωτός, ἀφ' οὗ Βοιωτοὶ ὀνομάσθησαν, τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγχρονίσαντες, καὶ Λέσβιοι δὲ Αἰολεῖς εἰσι διὰ τὸ συναπωκίσθαι εἰς ταύτην Ορέστην τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖδα. (*Grammatici Graeci* i. iii. 463.17–21)

And Aeolus, on taking possession of Thessaly, caused them all (i.e. all the Aeolians) to be called 'Aeolians'. And to his daughter there was born a son Boeotus, after whom they (i.e. his descendants) were named 'Boeotians', once they had spent a long time in the country. And the Lesbians are Aeolians too, because of the fact that Orestes the son of Agamemnon colonised this region with them.

Other areas turn up in ancient sources under the heading 'Aeolian' too,³¹ but this passage may be particularly relevant because it mentions 'Aeolians' in precisely three areas.

The idea that the Koiné has no μεταπτώσεις³² is in keeping with one idea that comes up in the debate about the status of the Koiné: that the Koiné consists of all the features shared by the other dialects. Under this conception, at least, it is difficult to see how the Koiné could have sub-dialects. But the statement μεταπτώσεις ... οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν (§63) may be intended as a weaker claim, to the effect that in his sources the author finds no mention of μεταπτώσεις of the Koiné. If so, this may explain a detail of the way he expresses himself. For the other dialects he uses the word γεγόνασι when giving the numbers of μεταπτώσεις (at §20, for example, he says on Ionic γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις δ'), but for the Koiné he says instead μεταπτώσεις δὲ αὐτῆς οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν, 'and we do not find μεταπτώσεις of it'.

Although we suspect that pre-existing statements about varieties of dialects (or the lack thereof, in the case of the Koiné) lie behind all our text's statements about dialect μεταπτώσεις, these sources are not cited explicitly, and conceivably these statements are intended to be *read* as claims about primary rather than secondary sources. In other words, however implausible it may be to us that Byzantine scholars were reading texts in (for example) Thessalian, the reader is perhaps meant to come away thinking that when we read literary or even non-literary texts in dialects, we find four varieties of Ionic, three of Attic, many of Doric, three of Aeolic, and none of the Koiné.

³⁰ For the close relationship between Lesbians, Thessalians, and Boeotians, cf. also Thuc. 1.12 and 7.57, with COLVIN, Brief history (as footnote 19 above), 104f.

³¹ See especially Strabo 8.1.2, with COLVIN, Brief history (as footnote 19 above), 105f.

³² This idea requires a convincing conjecture first found in the witnesses to the text deriving from our hyparchetype e, and in manuscript V (see section 6): the insertion of οὐχ at §63.

5 An illustration of the Koiné

After the brief statement of arguments on each side of the debate over the status of the Koiné (on which see section 2 above), our treatise includes a short illustration (ὑπόδειγμα) of the Koiné (§65). This passage comes down to us in a highly corrupt form (later manuscripts tidy up the treatise by removing this passage altogether), but it is of interest because it appears to be an otherwise lost fragment of a philosophical text. The topic appears to be the disadvantages of wealth: the consolations of wealth are counteracted by the disadvantages of impiety and bad judgement that arise from associating with the worst sorts of people.

Further details of the content are very difficult to establish (a point that has been noted since KOEN³³), but the question is worth at least re-opening now that we can consider the text in the Munich manuscript Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis graecus 310 (our **M**), which is likely to be the only non-derivative manuscript (see section 6). KOEN's text was based on a copy of this manuscript (Vossianus graecus Q76, our **L**; see further section 7), in which the text of this passage differs in small but potentially significant respects.

We do not have a clearly correct solution to put forward, but in hopes that others may have more success, in our edition of the text (section 8 below) we print – between obeli – a diplomatic transcript of this passage as it appears in manuscript **M**. The first of the three versions just below shows how the text would look if the most obvious orthographical errors are corrected; the second is a preliminary attempt at an emended version, due to the late Donald RUSSELL (the translation given here is ours); and the third is a different preliminary attempt, due to Niels SCHOUBBEN.

1

Πρὸς τί γὰρ ὁ λεγόμενος εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον παραμυθεῖται τὸ ζῆν; ἀλλ' οὕτως δυσὶ κατέχεται τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις, ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ κακοκρίσιᾳ, καθάπερ ἐμπλήκτοις ἀνθρώποις αἰεὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις διατρίβων. ὅταν δηψυχρησοφῆσικα καθάπερ τραχήλω χελώνη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους γίνεται, ἧ (?) δεδύκασιν ἔνδον συγκρύψαντες τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς χρεῖαν.

For why does one who is said to be fortunate console himself for life by looking at his wealth? But in this way he is oppressed by the two most difficult things, impiety and bad judgement, inasmuch as ... always spending time with the worst sort of people. When ... he comes to his friends ... tortoise ... where (?) they duck inside concealing their need/poverty/use.

33 'Incerti auctoris verba, quae velut communis dialecti γεῦμα subjungit *Grammaticus*, emendabunt quibus majus, quam mihi, otium suppetit': KOEN, Gregorius (as footnote 18 above), 312 note 38, repeated by SCHAEFER, Gregorii Corinthii (as footnote 3 above), 641 note 42.

2

Πρὸς τί γὰρ ὁ λεγόμενος εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον παραμυθεῖται τὸ ζῆν; ἀλλ' οὗτος δυσὶ κατέχεται τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις, ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ κακοκρίσιᾳ, καθάπερ ἐμπληκτος, ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις διατρίβων, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους γίνεται καθάπερ τράχηλοι χελώνης, οἱ δεδύκασιν ἔνδον συγκρούσαντες τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς χρεῖαν ὅταν ἡσυχὴ ψοφῇ τι.

For why does one who is said to be fortunate console himself for life by looking at his wealth? But this man is oppressed by the two most difficult things, impiety and bad judgement, inasmuch as being stunned, (through) always spending time with the worst sort of people, he becomes to his friends like the neck of a tortoise, which ducks inside whenever anything makes a soft noise, concealing its use.

3

Πρὸς τί γὰρ ὁ λεγόμενος εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον παραμυθεῖται τὸ ζῆν; ἀλλ' οὕτως δυσὶ κατέχεται τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις, ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ κακοκρίσιᾳ, καθάπερ ἐμπληκτος, ἄνους, ἀεὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις διατρίβων. ὅταν † δηψυχηψοφησικα † καθάπερ ὄστρακος χελώνη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους γίνεται, ἢ <ἐν>δεδύκασιν ἔνδον συγκρούσαντες τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς χρεῖαν.

To what purpose does one who is said to be fortunate console himself for life by looking at his wealth? But in this way he is oppressed by the two most difficult things, impiety and bad judgement, like an impulsive, irrational person, always spending time with the worst (people). Whenever ... , he becomes towards his friends like a shell (is) for a tortoise, where they enter concealing their need within.

Under RUSSELL's interpretation, the rich man is damaged as a result of spending time with the worst sort of people. He becomes nervous, and retreats inside at the slightest sound (RUSSELL envisaged a hint of friends asking for a loan), like a tortoise's neck retreating into its shell. In addition to corruption of other kinds, some phrases would have got out of order, as a result of lines being copied in the wrong order at an earlier stage of transmission. The suggestion that plural τράχηλοι has a singular meaning 'neck' is a bold one, as RUSSELL was well aware, although it would be paralleled by Latin *ceruices* 'neck(s)'.

On SCHOUBBEN's suggestion, the wealthy man is afflicted by terrible friends (in this version the φίλοι are the same people as the χεῖριστοι) because he can offer them shelter, as a tortoiseshell offers shelter to the tortoise. This time it is the friends who duck under the shelter, concealing their need. That is to say, they worm their way into the rich man's affections without revealing their motives until it is too late. καθάπερ ὄστρακος χελώνη is of course a bold emendation for καθάπερ τραχήλω χελώνη, and is offered *exempli gratia*.

Even in the corrupt form in which it comes down to us, the illustration of the Koiné includes at least two features that counted for atticists as non-Attic or Koiné features: the use of a plural rather than a dual in relation to two things (δυσὶ ...

τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις), and the use of γίνεται rather than γίγνεται.³⁴ But the decision to provide an illustration of the Koiné in the first place was motivated by the difficulty of listing its distinctive features in the way that was done for the other dialects. In the sections devoted to those dialects, the Koiné is implicitly treated as the default dialect: what counts as a distinctive feature of, say, Attic is a deviation from Koiné usage. On this basis it would be difficult to list distinctive features of the Koiné itself, and our text solves this problem by illustrating the Koiné instead.

6 Transmission of the text

The text is transmitted in the following manuscripts (under this heading we include four early printed books, our **T**, **X**, **Y**, **Z**), listed here in an order reflecting their positions on the stemma that follows:

- M** Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 310, folios 3r–5v
A late tenth-century parchment codex originating in southern Italy.³⁵
- L** Leiden, Leiden University Library, Vossianus gr. Q76, folios 45v–49v
A late tenth- or early eleventh-century parchment codex originating in southern Italy.³⁶
- S** Jerusalem, Monastery of St Saba, Sabaiticus 132, folios 130r–133v
A fifteenth-century paper codex.³⁷

34 Note the following entries from Atticistic lexica: δυσι μὴ λέγε, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν (Phrynichus, *Eclogae* 180 FISCHER); γίγνεται Ἀττικοί· γίνεται Ἑλληνες (Moeris γ 3 HANSEN).

35 On this manuscript, see M. MOLIN PRADEL/K. HAJDÚ, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, V: Codices graeci Monacenses 266–347*. Wiesbaden 2019, 245–251. For images, see <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00049688/images/index.html?id=00049688>>. The manuscript is identified as containing our text by G. UHLIG, *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica*. Leipzig 1883, xvi. Given the importance of this manuscript for our text, we would have liked to examine it in person. Owing to its precarious condition, we were unfortunately not able to do so. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has, however, kindly provided us with high-quality spectrally optimised images.

36 On this manuscript, see K. A. DE MEYER, *Codices manuscripti VI: codices Vossiani graeci et miscellanei*. Leiden 1955, 192–196; F. RONCONI, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei: ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII*. Spoleto 2007, 153–172. It has been known to contain our text since KOEN, *Gregorius* (as footnote 18 above), 301.

37 On this manuscript, see A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκεκμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδικῶν*, II. St Petersburg 1894, 211–213; J. DARROUZÈS, *Autres manuscrits originaux de Chypre*. *RÉB* 15 (1957), 131–168, at 147. For images, see <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279393077-jo>>.

- J** Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig.R.IV.11 (gr. 11), folio 55r
An early thirteenth-century palimpsest on parchment,³⁸ containing only §§1 – 10 of our text.
- F** Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. LV 17, folios 17r – 19r
A thirteenth-century paper codex.³⁹
- A** Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, gr. A 155 sup. (MARTINI/BASSI 52), folios 60r – 60v
A late fifteenth-century paper codex, copied by Georgius Tribizias (Γεώργιος Τριβιζιάς).⁴⁰
- O** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.2.15, folios 244r – 246v
A paper codex dating to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and originating in northern Italy.⁴¹
- N** Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus gr. 1357, folios 30r – 32v
A fifteenth-century manuscript.⁴²
- K** Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 150, folios 40r – 43v
A fifteenth- or sixteenth-century paper codex.⁴³

38 On this manuscript, see P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani*. Rome 1927, 12–15; M.G. SANDRI, *Trattati greci su barbarismo e solecismo: introduzione ed edizione critica. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte*, 135. Berlin 2020, 101. For images, see <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.R.IV.11>.

39 On this manuscript, see A.M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, II. Florence 1768, 280 f.; SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 103. This manuscript is identified as containing our text by A. PEYRON, In Theodosii Alexandrini tractatum de prosodia commentatio. *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 23, II (*Classe delle scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche*) (1818), 183–213, at 195; cf. CONSANI, Διάλεκτος (as footnote 1 above), 56. For images, see <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIs8YZ11A4r7GxMLzR#/oro/43>>.

40 On this manuscript, see E. MARTIN/D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, I. Milan 1906, 62–64; SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 116 f.; S. MARTINELLI TEMPESTA, *Per un repertorio dei copisti greci in Ambrosiana*, in F. Gallo (ed.), *Miscellanea Graecolatina*, I. Rome 2013, 101–153, at 134 f. It was identified as containing our text by BOLOGNESI, *Compendi inediti* (as footnote 5 above), 41 note 1.

41 On this manuscript, see A. CATALDI PALAU, *A catalogue of Greek manuscripts from the Meerman collection in the Bodleian Library*. Oxford 2011, 277–282. On the basis of the evidence provided by CATALDI PALAU, for whom the manuscript dates to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 117 more cautiously suggests a date in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century.

42 On this manuscript, see <<https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1357>>; P. DE NOLHAC, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini: contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance*, Paris 1887, 163, 341. The presence of our text is noted at V. CAPOCCI, *Codices Barberiniani Graeci*, I. Vatican 1958, 258. For images, see <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1357>.

43 On this manuscript, see CAPOCCI, *Codices* (as footnote 42 above), 257–260, who gives the date as fifteenth century, and with a more cautious dating SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 101. For images, see <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.150>.

- B** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Baroccianus gr. 125, folios 74v–76v
An early or mid-sixteenth-century paper codex copied by Nicolaus Malaxus (Νικόλαος Μαλαξός).⁴⁴
- V** Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 287, folios 15v–16v
A sixteenth-century manuscript, containing a considerably abbreviated version of our treatise.
- C** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Baroccianus gr. 116, folios 211r–212r
A composite manuscript, on paper. Our text belongs to the last section of the manuscript (folios 211–226), which dates to the early fourteenth century.⁴⁵
- D** Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. XI, 4 (coll. 1008), folios 177r–178v
A late fifteenth-century parchment codex.⁴⁶
- E** London, British Library, Royal 16 D xiv, folios 69r–70v
A paper codex originating in Italy, from the second quarter of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷
- Q** Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II C 37, folios 426r–427r
A late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century paper codex.⁴⁸
- G** Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2638 (olim 4), folios 19v–21v
A fifteenth-century paper codex.⁴⁹

44 On this manuscript, see H. O. COXE, *Bodleian Library quarto catalogues, I: Greek manuscripts*. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853. Oxford 1969, 200–204; SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 110; E. GAMILLSCHEG/D. HARLFINGER/H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600. 1. Teil*, A. Vienna 1981, 162f. For images, see <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/ee42c785-5fbc-4ab8-9f8e-08c662d40e71>>.

45 On this manuscript, see the description by N. WILSON at <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_940>. For images, see <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/0a3851ce-6bb2-4ce2-9a27-c46764fd8291>>. For the date, which is supported by a watermark, see WILSON, *ibid.* SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 109f. gives an early fifteenth-century date, but she kindly informs us (*per litteras*) that this should be disregarded in favour of WILSON's dating; at her request we convey her apologies.

46 On this manuscript, see E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti, III*. Rome 1972, 81–83; SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 114. It is identified as containing our text by CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 57.

47 On this manuscript, see T.S. PATTIE/S. MCKENDRICK, *The British Library summary catalogue of Greek manuscripts, I*. London 1999, 248f.; the on-line catalogue at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_16_d_xiv>, where images are available; and SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 106f., who notes that this manuscript is a copy of part of Marc. gr. XI 4 (our **D**).

48 On this manuscript, see E. MIONI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae, I/1*. Rome 1992, 254–262, and for the point that it contains our text, <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/46083>>.

49 On this manuscript, see V. PUNTONI, *Indicis codicum graecorum Bononiensium ab Al. Oliverio compositi supplementum. Studi italiani di filologia classica 4* (1896), 365–378, at 373–375, and for

- T** THESAURVS Cornu copiae & Horti Adonidis / ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ. Κέρας ἀμαλθείας, καὶ κήποι Ἀδώνιδος. Published by Aldus Manutius, Venice 1496. Folios 235r–236v.⁵⁰
- H** Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. W. 2. 8 (PUNTONI 75), folios 24v–26r
A fifteenth-century paper codex copied by George Valla of Placentia.⁵¹
- X** Constantinus Lascaris et al., In hoc libro haec habentur. Constantini Lascaris Byzantini De octo partibus orationis liber I. Eiusdem de constructione liber secundus. Eiusdem de nomine & verbo liber tertius ... Published by Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1512. Folios 217r–219r (Greek text and Latin translation).⁵²
- Y** HABES TANDEM GRAECARVM LITERARVM ADMIRATOR, LEXICON Græcum, cæteris omnibus aut in Italia, aut Gallia, Germaniave antehac excusis multo locupletius... Published by Gilles de Gourmont, Paris 1523. Pages 432–434 (Greek text and Latin translation).⁵³
- Z** DICTIONARIVS GRÆCVS, PRAETER omnes superiores accessiones, quarum nihil est omissum, ingenti uocabulorum numero locupletatus per utriusque literaturae non uulgariter peritum, IACOBVM CERATINVM... Published by Johann Froben, Basel 1524. Pages 445–448 (Greek text and Latin translation).⁵⁴
- I** Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Casanatensis 1710, folios 90r–93r
A sixteenth-century codex copied by Petrus Hypselas.⁵⁵

the point that it contains our text, <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/1581>>. For images, see <<https://amshistorica.unibo.it/301>>.

50 For images, see <<https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00049625>>.

51 On this manuscript, see V. PUNTONI, Indice dei codici greci della Biblioteca Estense di Modena. *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 4 (1896), 379–536, at 434–436. PUNTONI dates the codex to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but George Valla died in 1500 (see M. VOGEL/V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. Leipzig 1909, 70). If we are right in thinking that the copy of our text in **H** descends from that in **T**, **H** must date from the last years of the fifteenth century. However, **H** both abbreviates and rewrites the text heavily; we place this manuscript in the stemma with all due caution.

52 For images, see <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Qvjkv9WsuFwC>>.

53 For images, see <<https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/AK7EMWW57LAUCMIGHM WEGPG67BRMEVGy>>. The page numbers 432–434 are those given by the page scroller of the Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek.

54 For images, see <<https://books.google.nl/books?id=SjLAAAACAAJ>>.

55 See F. BANCALARI, Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Casanatensis. *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 2 (1894), 161–207, at 200; GAMILLSCHEG/HARLFINGER/HUNGER, Repertorium (as footnote 44 above) 1. Teil, A, 178f.

P Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Palatinus gr. 292

A composite manuscript, on paper, of which the relevant part dates to the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁶ Material from a version of our treatise appears at folios 38v (line 16)–39r (line 2) (Aeolic); 39r (line 27)–39v (line 6) (Doric); and 40r (lines 1–13) (Ionic), amidst other material from a version of HOFFMANN's 'Compendium II'.

Like the earlier manuscript **J** (listed above), the fifteenth-century Vatican manuscript Vaticanus graecus 887 contains a further copy of just the opening paragraphs of our text (§§1–10, folio 24r–v); in Vaticanus graecus 887 these are preceded by the heading $\pi\epsilon(\rho\iota)$ λέξεων, a minor variant of $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ λέξεως. We do not attempt to locate this copy precisely in the stemma below, but its text is close to that of **M** and **L**. Like copy **J** (shown in the stemma), we suspect that this copy is derived from an exemplar that contained the whole treatise, and that the portion following the heading $\Pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ λέξεως was interpreted as a self-standing text down as far as the next heading ($\Pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ διαλέκτων at §11). At §8 the copy in Vaticanus graecus 887 anticipates a correction later made independently by SCHAEFER, the omission of $\tau\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

The Turin manuscript C. V. 9 (ZURETTI 24) of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, lost in the fire of 1904, contained a further copy of our text.⁵⁷ A list of readings published by PEYRON in the early nineteenth century makes clear that this copy descended from our hyparchetype **c**.⁵⁸

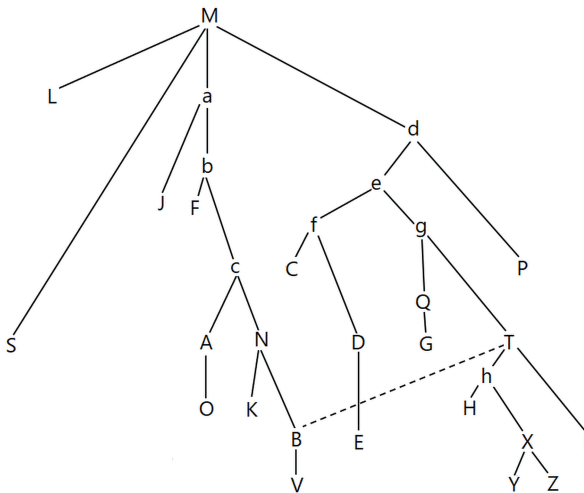
⁵⁶ On this manuscript, see <<https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.21978>>; cf. H. STEVENSON, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*. Rome 1885, 163f. Along with most other manuscripts which had belonged to the Biblioteca Palatina in Heidelberg, this manuscript was seized in 1622 and taken to the Vatican. It was subsequently taken to Paris in 1797, and returned to Heidelberg in 1816: see STEVENSON, *Codices*, xvii–xxii, 163; J. SIEBER/A. MONTALTO at <https://digiub.uni-heidelberg.de/de/bpd/virtuelle_bibliothek/codpalgraec/beschreibungen/cpgraec292.html>. SCHAEFER, *Gregorii Corinthii* (as footnote 3 above), 683 refers to the manuscript as a codex Vaticanus which has been taken to Paris; confusingly, HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II (as footnote 2 above), 205 simply calls it a codex Vaticanus. Today the manuscript is sometimes designated 'Vat. Palat. gr. 292': so e.g. CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 59. For images see <<https://digiub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec292/0088/image>>, and compare the material printed by SCHAEFER, *Gregorii Corinthii*, 685–700. SCHAEFER already recognised (in essence) that this manuscript contains material deriving from our text, interspersed with other material; so more clearly HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II (as footnote 2 above), 205.

⁵⁷ On this manuscript, see C. O. ZURETTI, *Indice dei MSS. greci torinesi non contenuti nel catalogo del Pasini*. *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 4 (1896), 201–220, at 217.

⁵⁸ PEYRON, In *Theodosii Alexandrini tractatum* (as footnote 39 above), 199–203. (The lost manuscript is PEYRON's 'Calusianus'; the 'Laurentianus' for which he also provides readings is our **F**.)

On the basis of DE ANDRÉS' catalogue of Escorial manuscripts lost in the fire of 1671,⁵⁹ we suspect that manuscript Z. I. 5 (ANDRÉS 321) contained a further copy of the text. This copy is likely to have been of the type found in the witnesses descending from our hyparchetype **e**, since like the extant witnesses of this group, the lost manuscript apparently ascribed the treatise to John Philoponus.

The sixteenth-century Modena manuscript Biblioteca Estense Alfa.09.17 (folios 402v–403r) contains a discussion of dialects in Latin, headed *Ioannis Grammaticus de Dialectis*. In essence this is a translation of the beginning and end of our treatise, based on a version of the text descending from our hyparchetype **d** (see just below) and moving seamlessly into a partial translation of the beginning of the treatise that follows ours in most of the witnesses belonging to this group; the source may be **T** or another early printed book. Codex Leidensis B.P.L. 364, a notebook of L. C. VALCKENAER's, contains a transcription of the text by VALCKENAER from manuscript **L**, on folios 21v–25v. In another of his notebooks, codex Leidensis B.P.L. 359 (folios 31r–32r), VALCKENAER left a few notes also relating to the copy of our text in manuscript **L**.



Stemma

⁵⁹ G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*. El Escorial 1968, 141 f.

The stemma above shows how we take the surviving witnesses to the text to be related. To allow readers to verify this stemma, we have made available a copy of the text with a very full apparatus, recording the readings of all the manuscripts known to us, at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8139304>. That version of the apparatus may also be useful to those interested in the reception of the text from the tenth century up to the Renaissance. For the principles on which the apparatus to the edition below is based, see section 7.

As the stemma makes clear, we consider that all extant witnesses to the text ultimately go back to manuscript **M**. It is worth commenting briefly on this hypothesis in connection with sub-family **d**, since this sub-family often has a significantly divergent text. However, the divergences follow a particular pattern: where **M** has an easily-corrected error, this tends to be corrected in **d**; where **M** has a more serious corruption or a structural awkwardness, the passage is either omitted or rewritten wholesale in **d**.

The very beginning of the treatise can serve to illustrate the rewriting of a structurally awkward portion. In sub-family **d** the text opens quite differently from the way it opens in **M**, and CONSANI (Διάλεκτος, as footnote 1 above, 123f.) takes witnesses we place under **d** to preserve the original opening of the text most faithfully. However, this is a typical instance of the pattern that **d** diverges from **M** where **M**'s text is demonstrably awkward: **d** here tidies up the messy opening we have discussed in section 2, with no clear point at which a treatise on dialects begins. To do so, **d** removes the definition of λέξις, together with the seamless transition to a discussion of dialects (§§1–3). In place of the opening that begins in this way (i. e. in place of §§1–11 as transmitted in **M**), **d** (or at least **e**⁶⁰) begins with two short prefaces, likely to have been taken over from other sources.⁶¹ The first of these is headed ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΙΚΩΝ (with variants) and the second ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ.⁶² As

60 No such prefaces appear in **P**, but this could be either an archaism or an innovation in **P**, as compared with the witnesses under **e**; **P** does not in any case have our treatise in full (see the list of manuscripts just above, under **P**).

61 Cf. the introductory material transmitted independently at Codex Vaticanus graecus 1065, folio 21r; lines 5–12, and printed by BOLOGNESI, *Compendi inediti* (as footnote 5 above), 71. This material (also compared by CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 123f., but with different conclusions) has points of contact with both the opening in our branch **d** and the version that we print as §§4–10.

62 Differently from the original text, the new opening (and hence the version of the treatise that became widely known in the Renaissance) begins with a definition of διάλεκτος: διάλεκτός ἐστι γλώττης ἰδίωμα ‘a dialect is a particular form of speech’. On this definition, see C. CONSANI, *La nozione di “lingua comune”/“varietà dialettale” nei grammatici tardo-antichi*, in C. Vallini (ed.), *Le pa-*

if to illustrate the temptation to tidy up the beginning of the treatise, sub-family **d** is not the only part of the tradition to do so. Manuscript **S** omits §§1–10, so as to begin with the heading at §11 (in the form *περὶ τῶν πέντε διαλέκτων*), while **O** adds the heading *ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩΝ* after §3.

Further examples of divergences in **d** motivated by problems in **M** include the following:

– §38, where **M** has the nonsensical *ἀρχὴν* (for *ὀρθὴν*), which is taken over by the whole tradition outside **d** (represented by **L S F A O N K B**). Witnesses under **d** instead omit the whole phrase *ἐπὶ τινῶν – ὁμοίος* (so **C D E Q G T X Y Z I P**), an apparent attempt to improve the text by omitting the most nonsensical portion of this paragraph.

– §53, where the tradition outside **d** takes over **M**'s nonsensical *δέον δὲ συνεῖν* (so with minor variants **L S F A O N K B**), while **d** rewrites the whole phrase *λέγοντες – προφοράν* as *ὅταν τὸ ἡμέρα ψιλῶσι καὶ τὸ ἅγιος καὶ ὑμεῖς* (so with minor variants **C D E Q G T X Y Z I P**, while **H** rewrites the whole sentence).

– At §65, **M** has the highly corrupt text of the passage illustrating the Koiné, discussed in section 5. While **L**, **S**, and **F** attempt to reproduce this passage, **c** (represented by **A O N K B V**) responds to the state of the inherited text by simply ending the treatise after §63. A different solution to the same problem is taken by **d** (or at least **e**, since **P** lacks this part of the text), which replaces the illustration of the Koiné by a different way of concluding the treatise: in this part of the tradition, §§64–66 are replaced by *Τάδι ἔγραψεν ὁ Ὅμηρος, Ἀτθίδι Ἀριστοφάνης, Δωρίδι Θεόκριτος, Αἰολίδι Ἀλκαῖος, Κοινῇ Πίνδαρος* (so, or a minor variant, **C D E Q G T X Y Z I**).

Examples of this type could be multiplied, but ultimately our claim that **d** descends from **M**, along with all other extant witnesses to the text, must rest on the judgement that neither in sub-family **d** nor elsewhere in the tradition do we find any instance of a good reading requiring access to an archetype independent of **M**. This judgement is best evaluated with reference to our collation of all the manuscripts, and for this we must refer readers to the full collation mentioned above.

The tenth-century manuscript **M** was copied in a Greek monastery in Southern Italy – as was the eleventh-century manuscript **L**, whose earliest layer was a copy of manuscript **M** in its entirety.⁶³ **M** is in poor condition today, with some parts il-

role per le parole: i logonimi nelle lingue e nel metalinguaggio. Rome 2000, 605–618, at 612 f., and with a different interpretation VAN ROOY, *Language or dialect?* (as footnote 12 above), 18.

⁶³ This point goes back to UHLIG, *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica* (as footnote 35 above) xxix–xxx. See further DE MEYER, *Codices manuscripti* (as footnote 36 above), 196; SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 120 f.; RONCONI, *I manoscritti greci* (as footnote 36 above), 153–172; MOLIN PRADÉL/HAJDÚ, *Katalog* (as footnote 35 above), 245.

legible and others lost, but **L** helps us to see what works were originally included. Grammatical texts loomed large in **M** (and **L**),⁶⁴ alongside theological and other works,⁶⁵ and it has been suggested that Greek speakers of South Italy attached increasing importance to a ‘proper’ mastery of the Greek language as a component of Greek identity in this multilingual context on the periphery of the Byzantine world.⁶⁶ Our treatise on dialects would hardly have helped its medieval readers to raise the register of their written or spoken Greek, but it could have improved their control of the linguistic features of ancient literary classics in a variety of literary dialects, and this sense of control might well have been attractive to Greek speakers keen to assert a Greek identity.

7 Previous editions and the criteria for our edition

The most recent edition of our treatise in its entirety is that of SCHAEFER (published in 1811), who based his text heavily on that of KOEN (published in 1766).⁶⁷ KOEN’s text is based on the Leiden manuscript, Vossianus graecus Q76 (our **L**), after which he called the author the *Grammaticus Leidensis*. KOEN was also aware of the version of our treatise in the Aldine *Thesaurus* (our **T**). With the help of this version and of parallel passages in other texts, he suggested some corrections to the text of the Leiden manuscript. Many of these are clearly right, and many can now be shown to have been anticipated somewhere in the manuscript tradition.

64 For details, and modern editions, see MOLIN PRADEL/HAJDÚ, *Katalog* (as footnote 35 above), 245–247 and DE MEYER, *Codices manuscripti* (as footnote 36 above), 192–196, and add SANDRI, *Trattati* (as footnote 38 above), 98–128, 244–247 for a new edition of the short excerpts on barbarism and solecism that precede our text in **M** and **L** (and in some other manuscripts). For further bibliography on manuscript **M** see especially MOLIN PRADEL/HAJDÚ, *Katalog*, 249–251.

65 Cf. P. CANART, *Le Livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux*. *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978), 103–162, at 141 f.

66 On the importance of grammatical treatises in the preservation of a Greek identity in Southern Italy, both before and during the Norman period, see F. RONCONI, *Quelle grammaire à Byzance? La circulation des textes grammaticaux et son reflet dans les manuscrits*, in G. De Gregorio/M. Galante (eds.), *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel Medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni*. Spoleto 2012, 63–110, at 99–107; S. LUCÀ/A. VENA, *Resti di un codice grammaticale greco ad Acerenza, in Basilicata*. *Nea Rhome* 11 (2014), 121–144, at 131 f.

67 SCHAEFER, *Gregorii Corinthii* (as footnote 3 above), 627–641; KOEN, *Gregorius* (as footnote 18 above), 301–313.

HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II (as footnote 2 above), 206–208, offered a new edition of the section on Aeolic only, based on three witnesses to the text: the Leiden manuscript (**L**), the version of our treatise included in the *Thesaurus* (our **T**), and the material deriving from our treatise in the Heidelberg manuscript Codex Palatinus graecus 292 (our **P**).

CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 95–121, prints a diplomatic transcript of our treatise in the form in which it appears (attributed to John Philoponus) in the *Thesaurus* (**T**), together with the composite treatise that follows it in the *Thesaurus* (see section 1 above). At the foot of the page CONSANI records textual variants from the Venice manuscript Marcianus graecus XI, 4 (coll. 1008) (our **D**), where a very similar text of the same two treatises appears. CONSANI, *Διάλεκτος* (as footnote 1 above), 57–58, observes that since neither **D** nor **T** (both dating to the late fifteenth century) derives from the other, the discovery of these treatises in **D** demonstrates that this arrangement of the material was already in circulation by the late fifteenth century. CONSANI's point is further confirmed now that we know of two further manuscripts (**C** and **Q**) which are independent of **D** and **T** (and of each other) and have the same arrangement of material, and which date respectively to the early fourteenth century (see footnote 45 above) and the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

CONSANI's transcription of the text in **T**, with variants from **D**, makes these treatises available in the form that came to be hugely influential in early modern Europe. Our edition aims instead to reconstruct 'Compendium I' in its earliest recoverable form, and thus to improve our understanding of the Byzantine tradition on Greek dialects at an earlier stage of its history.

Our edition is based on manuscript **M**, and on other manuscripts that help us to reconstruct the text of **M** where the latter is illegible. Whenever our apparatus reports the reading of **M** and of at least one other manuscript, this is to record either a correction that appears in the manuscript tradition and that we adopt into the text, or (more rarely) a conjecture that appears in the manuscript tradition and that we consider worth noting. Where a correction or conjecture made by a modern scholar is now known to have been anticipated somewhere in the manuscript tradition, we generally do not refer to the modern scholar but only to the manuscript(s) where the conjecture appears. Numerous such corrections are to be found in KOEN's text of 1766.⁶⁸

In addition to the manuscript sigla listed above, in our apparatus we use the sigla for hyparchetypes shown in our stemma as follows: **a** for the unanimous agreement of **J F A N** (on the one occasion where this is relevant, given the very

68 KOEN, Gregorius (as footnote 18 above), 301–313.

short extract of our text contained in **J**), **b** for the unanimous agreement of **F A N**, **c** for the agreement of **A N**, **d** for the unanimous agreement of **C D Q T P**, **e** for the unanimous agreement of **C D Q T**, **f** for the agreement of **C D**, and **g** for the agreement of **Q T**. Modern editions and discussions are designated as follows: HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, II (as footnote 2 above); KOEN (as footnote 18 above); PEYRON (as footnote 39 above); SCHAEFER (as footnote 3 above). Curly brackets { } enclose editorial deletions, and triangular brackets <> editorial additions.

8 Edition

Text

§1 Περὶ λέξεως

§2 λέξις ἐστὶ φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος μέρος λόγου παριστάσα.

§3 τῶν δὲ λέξεων αἱ μὲν εἰσι ποιητικάι, αἱ δὲ κοιναί, αἱ δὲ κατὰ διάλεκτον.

§4 διάλεκτοι δὲ εἰσι πέντε· Ἰάς, Ἀτθίς, Δωρίς, Αἰολίς, Κοινή.

5 §5 Ἰάς ἐκλήθη ἢ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως θυγατρὸς.

§6 Ἀτθίς δὲ ἢ τῶν Ἀττικῶν, ἀπὸ Ἀτθίδος τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρὸς.

§7 Δωρίς δὲ ἢ τῶν Δωριέων, ἀπὸ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος παιδός.

§8 Αἰολίς δὲ ἢ τῶν Αἰολέων, ἀπὸ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλληνος {τινος} παιδός.

10 §9 Κοινή δὲ ἦ πάντες χρώμεθα.

§10 Ἀτθίδι ἔγραψεν Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἰάδι Ὀμηρος, Δωρίδι Θεόκριτος, Αἰολίδι Ἀλκαῖος, κοινῇ Πίνδαρος.

§11 Περὶ διαλέκτων

§12 Περὶ Ἰάδος

15 §13 Ἰάς ἐστὶ διάλεκτος ἣ κέχρηται Ἴωνες. δοκεῖ δὲ ἀρχαία εἶναι Ἀτθίς.

§14 ἴδιον δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ $\bar{\alpha}$ τῷ $\bar{\eta}$ χρῆσασθαι, καὶ περισπωμένας συλλαβὰς εἰς δύο διαιρεῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ $\bar{\pi}$ τὸ $\bar{\kappa}$ λαμβάνειν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν δασυνουσῶν συναλειφῶν ψιλότητος ἐκφέρειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τινῶν λέξεων τὸ $\bar{\iota}$ ὑπεξαιρεῖν.

20 §15 χρῶνται μὲν οὖν τῷ $\bar{\eta}$ ἀντὶ τοῦ $\bar{\alpha}$, ὅταν λέγωσι 'θύρην' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'θύραν', καὶ 'ἡμετέρην' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἡμετέραν', καὶ 'ὠφελείην' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ὠφέλειαν'.

§16 τὰς δὲ περισπωμένας συλλαβὰς διαιροῦσιν, ὅταν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ποιεῖν' 'ποιέειν' λέγωσιν.

§17 καὶ <ἀντὶ τοῦ $\bar{\pi}$ τὸ $\bar{\kappa}$ λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν λέγωσιν> ἀντὶ τοῦ 'πῶς' τὸ 'κῶς'.

25 §18 ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δασυνουσῶν συναλειφῶν ψιλότητος ἐκφέρουσιν, ὅταν λέγωσιν 'ἐπ' ἵππων' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐφ' ἵππων', καὶ 'ἐπορᾶν' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐφορᾶν'.

9 τινος om. Vaticanus graecus 887 et delevit SCHAEFER, 627, in apparatu | 14 Περὶ Ἰάδος **KT**: om. **M** | 15 Ἀτθίς **KOEN**, 176, 302 (in apparatu): αὐτοῖς **M** | 16 τῷ **e**: τὸ **M** | 17 διαιρεῖν **Scd**: διαιρει **M** λαμβάνειν **ce**: λαμβάνει **M** | 18 ψιλότητος (ψηλότητας **g**) **ce**: ψιλότητος **M** τὸ $\bar{\iota}$ **e**: τοιν **M** | 19 τῷ $\bar{\eta}$ ἀντὶ τοῦ $\bar{\alpha}$ **e**: τοῦ $\bar{\eta}$ ἀντὶ τοῦ $\bar{\alpha}$ **M** λέγωσι **S**: λέγουσιν **M** | 20 ἡμετέραν **Sb**: ἡμετραν **M** | 21 τὰς δὲ **Be**: τὰς **M** | 22 λέγωσι **S**: λέγουσιν **M** | 23 ἀντὶ – λέγωσιν hic inseruimus, coll. §14. | 24 ψιλότητος (ψηλότητας **g**) **bd**: ψιλότητος **M** λέγωσιν **Sbe**: λέγουσιν **M** | 25 ἐπ' ἵππων (ἵππων **B**) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἵππων **AB** (cf. Hdt. 4.64.4–65.1, 4.116.2): ἐπ' ἵππων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἵππων **M**

Translation

§1 On the word

- §2 A ‘word’ is an utterance that can be written, conveying a part of speech.
- §3 And some words are poetic, some are shared, and some belong to particular dialects.
- §4 And there are five dialects: Ionic, Attic, Doric, Aeolic, Koiné.
- §5 Ionic is the name given to the dialect of the Ionians, after Ion, son of Apollo and Creüsa, the daughter of Erechtheus.
- §6 Attic is the name given to the dialect of the Athenians, after Atthis, the daughter of Cranaüs.
- §7 Doric is the name given to the dialect of the Dorians, after Dorus, the son of Hellen.
- §8 Aeolic is the name given to the dialect of the Aeolians, after Aeolus, the son of Hellen.
- §9 The Koiné is the one that we all use.
- §10 Aristophanes wrote in Attic, Homer in Ionic, Theocritus in Doric, Alcaeus in Aeolic, and Pindar in the Koiné.

§11 On dialects

§12 On Ionic

- §13 Ionic is the dialect that the Ionians use. And it appears to be ancient Attic.
- §14 It is characteristic of this dialect to use η instead of α, and to resolve syllables with a circumflex accent into two, and to use κ instead of π, and instead of elisions giving a rough breathing, to produce smooth breathings, and in the case of some words to remove an ι.
- §15 They use η instead of α when they say θύρη [‘door’] instead of θύρα, ἡμετέρη [‘our’] instead of ἡμετέρα, and ὠφελεῖη [‘help, aid’] instead of ὠφέλεια.
- §16 They resolve syllables with a circumflex accent when instead of ποιεῖν [‘to do’] they say ποιέειν.
- §17 And they use κ instead of π when they say κῶς [‘how’] instead of πῶς.
- §18 And instead of elisions giving a rough breathing, they produce smooth breathings when they say ἐπ’ ἵππων [‘on horseback’] instead of ἐφ’ ἵππων, and ἐπορᾶν [‘to oversee’] instead of ἐφορᾶν.

§19 ἐπὶ δέ τινων λέξεων τὸ ἰ ὑπεξαιροῦσιν, ὅταν λέγωσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘πονεῖσθαι’
‘πονέεσθαι’ καὶ <ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ὠνεῖσθαι’> ‘ὠνέεσθαι’.

§20 γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις δ’.

§21 κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῇ Ὀμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐποποιοί, καὶ Ἀνα-
κρέων, καὶ Ἰππῶναξ, καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁ φυσικός,
καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ὁ ἰατρός.

§22 Περὶ Ἀτθίδος

§23 Ἀτθίς δὲ ἐστὶ διάλεκτος ἧ κέχρηται Ἀθηναῖοι.

§24 ἴδιον δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ κατακόρως χρῆσθαι ταῖς συναλειφαῖς καὶ τὸ ἀδιαιρέτως
35 τινὰς λέξεις ἐκφέρειν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ τ̄ καὶ τὸ ρ̄ ἀντὶ τοῦ σ̄, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ε̄ τὸ ῡ,
καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ σ̄ τὸ ξ̄.

§25 ταῖς μὲν οὖν συναλειφαῖς κατακόρως χρῶνται οἱ Ἀττικοί, ὅταν λέγωσιν
‘θοιμάτιον’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘τὸ ἰμάτιον’, καὶ ‘φροῖμιον’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘προοῖμιον’.

§26 ἀδιαιρέτως δὲ τινὰς τῶν λέξεων ἐκφέρουσιν, ὅταν λέγωσι τὸ ‘πατρῶον’ ἀντὶ
40 τοῦ ‘πατρῶϊον’, καὶ ‘νηρηῖδα’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘νηρηῖδα’.

§27 τὸ τ̄ καὶ τὸ ρ̄ ἀντὶ τοῦ σ̄ λαμβάνουσιν· τὸ μὲν τ̄, ὅταν λέγωσι τὴν ‘θάλατταν’
ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘θάλασσαν’ καὶ τὸ ‘πράττειν’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘πράσσειν’· τὸ δὲ ρ̄, ὅταν
‘θαρραλέον’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘θαρσαλέον’, καὶ ‘ἄρρενα’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ἄρσεννα’.

§28 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ε̄ τὸ ῡ λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν λέγωσι ‘τοῦνδυμα’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘τὸ ἔνδυμα’,
45 καὶ ‘τοῦγκλημα’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘τὸ ἐγκλημα’, καὶ ‘τοῦπος’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘τὸ ἔπος’.

§29 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ σ̄ τὸ ξ̄, ὅταν λέγωσι τὸ ‘ξύμπαν’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘σύμπαν’, καὶ ‘ξυμφοράν’
ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘συμφοράν’.

§30 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δυϊκῶν, ἰδίως χρῶνται· ‘τῶ πόδε’, ‘τῶ χεῖρε’ λέγουσιν.

26 τὸ ἰ d: τοι M ὑπεξαιροῦσιν d: ὑπεξερεῖσθαι M λέγωσιν Sb: λέγουσιν M | 27 ἀντὶ τοῦ
‘ὠνεῖσθαι’ hic inseruimus ὠνέεσθαι SCHAEFER, 629, in apparatu: ὠνέεσθαι M | 29 κέχρηται
c: κεχρηται M | 30 ἱστοριογράφος Sb: στοριογραφος M | 33 κέχρηται Sbe: κέχρηι/ηται M |
37 συναλειφαῖς (συναλοιφαῖς ADT: συναλιφαῖς CQ) ce: ἀπαλειφαῖς M λέγωσι(ν) Sce:
λέγουσιν M | 38 θοιμάτιον e: οὐμάτιον M ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ ἰμάτιον KOEN, 304: ἀντὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον
M φροῖμιον e: φρούμιον M τοῦ προοῖμιον Sbe: τὸ προοῖμιον M | 39 λέγωσι(ν) Sbe:
λέγουσιν M | 41 λέγωσι(ν) Sb: λέγουσιν M | 44 ὅταν λέγωσι ‘τοῦνδυμα’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘τὸ ἔνδυμα’
KOEN, 304 et codex deperditus Turinensis C. V. 9 (ZURETTI 24) apud PEYRON, 201: ὅταν λέγωσιν τοῦν-
δυμα ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔνδυμα M | 45 ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ ἐγκλημα KB: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγκλημα M τοῦ τὸ ἔπος AK: τοῦ
ἔπος M | 46 λέγωσι(ν) Sbe: λέγουσιν M | 48 ἐπὶ – χρῶνται: ἔτι δὲ τοῖς δυϊκοῖς ἰδίως χρῶνται
Niels SCHOUBEN, coll. § 25 τῶ πόδε, τῶ χεῖρε A^{Pc}K: τῶ πόδες, τὸ χεῖρες M^{ac}: τὸ πόδες, τὸ χεῖρες
M^{Pc}.

- §19 And they remove an ι in the case of some words when they say πονέεσθαι [‘to labour’] instead of πονεῖσθαι, and ὠνέεσθαι [‘to buy’] instead of ὠνεῖσθαι.
- §20 And it has four subdialects.
- §21 Homer and Hesiod use this dialect, and many epic poets, and Anacreon, Hipponax, Herodotus the historiographer, Democritus the natural philosopher, and Hippocrates the doctor.
- §22 **On Attic**
- §23 Attic is the dialect that the Athenians use.
- §24 It is characteristic of this dialect to use vowel coalescences abundantly and to produce certain words without resolution, and τ and ρ instead of σ, and υ instead of ε, and ξ instead of σ.
- §25 The Athenians use coalescences abundantly when they say θοιμάτιον [‘the cloak’] instead of τὸ ἰμάτιον, and φροίμιον [‘proem’] instead of προοίμιον.
- §26 They produce some words without resolution when they say πατρῶος [‘paternal’] instead of πατρῷος, and Νηρήϊς [‘Nereid’] instead of Νηρηΐς.
- §27 They use τ and ρ instead of σ: τ when they say θάλαττα [‘sea’] instead of θάλασσα, and πράττειν [‘to do’] instead of πράσσειν; ρ when they say θαρραλέος [‘audacious’] instead of θαρσαλέος, and ἄρρην [‘male’] instead of ἄρσην.
- §28 And they use υ instead of ε when they say τοῦνδυμα [‘the garment’] instead of τὸ ἔνδυμα, and τοῦγκλημα [‘the accusation’] instead of τὸ ἐγκλημα, and τοῦπος [‘the word’] instead of τὸ ἔπος.
- §29 And (they use) ξ instead of σ when they say ζύμπαν [‘all’] instead of σύμπαν, and ξυμφορά [‘disaster’] instead of συμφορά.
- §30 And with regard to the dual, they make especial use of it: they say τῶ πόδε [‘the (two) feet’] and τῶ χεῖρε [‘the (two) hands’].

- §31 γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις τρεῖς, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς τῶν
50 λέξεων διαφόρους ὑπάρχειν καθ' ἑκάστην μεταβολὴν καὶ προσωδίαν.
- §32 κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῇ οἱ περὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Φιλίμονα, ἔτι δ' αὖ καὶ ὁ Θουκυδί-
δης ὁ ἱστοριογράφος, καὶ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ φιλόσοφοι, ἕκαστος τῆ
ἀρμοζούσῃ αὐτοῖς Ἀτθίδι.
- §33 **Περὶ Δωρίδος**
- 55 §34 Δωρὶς καλεῖται διάλεκτος ἧ κέχρηται Δωριεῖς.
- §35 ἴδιον δὲ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠ τῶ ᾠ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ῶ τῶ ᾠ, καὶ
αἰτιατικὰς πληθυντικὰς πτώσεις {συστέλλειν} καὶ ἐπὶ τινῶν τὰ πληθυντικὰ
κατ' ὀρθὴν πτώσιν ἐκτεινομένων ἐκφέρειν συνεσταλμένως, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς οὐ
διφθόγγου τῶ ῶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἰ τὸ ἠ παραλαμβάνειν, καὶ ποτε ἀντὶ
60 τοῦ θ τὸ σ, καὶ ἐπὶ τινῶν λέξεων τὸ ἰ ὑπεξαίρεισθαι.
- §36 ἀντὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἠ τῶ ᾠ χρῶνται, ὅταν λέγωσιν 'ἄλιον' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἦλιον', καὶ τὴν
'ἡμέραν' 'ἀμέραν', καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.
- §37 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ῶ τῶ ᾠ χρῶνται, ὅταν λέγωσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'θυρῶν' 'θυρᾶν', καὶ
'νυμφῶν' 'νυμφᾶν'.
- 65 §38 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θηλυκῶν {ὀνομάτων} <καὶ ἀρσ>ενικῶν πληθυντικῶν αἰτιατικὰς
πτώσεις {ὅταν λέγωσι 'καλάς', 'σοφάς'}, ἐπὶ τινῶν τὰ πληθυντικὰ ἐκτεινο-
μένων κατὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν πτώσιν, ἐκφέρουσι συστέλλοντες, <'καλάς', 'σοφάς',>
'ἀνθρώπος', 'ὄμοιος'.
- §39 ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς οὐ διφθόγγου τῶ ῶ χρῶνται, ὅταν λέγωσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'μούσας'
70 'μῶσας'.
- §40 ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εἰ τὸ ἠ παραλαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν λέγωσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'λαβεῖν' 'λαβῆν',
καὶ ὁμοίως 'ιδῆν' καὶ 'δραμῆν'.

51 αὐτῆ c: αὐτῆς M | 56 ἴδιον Sc: ἴδιω M τοῦ ἠ τῶ ᾠ Dh: τοῦ ἠ τὸ ᾠ M τῶ Ae: τὸ M |
57 αἰτιατικὰς c: αττικὰς M συστέλλειν delevimus, coll. §38. Cf. notam ad loc. | 58 ἐκτεινο-
μένων KOEN, 306: ἐκκλινομένων M | 59 τῶ e: τὸ M | 60 λέξεων M: λήξεων coniecit Richard
SCHNEIDER ad Scholia Iondiniensia in Dionysium Thracem (*Grammatici Graeci* i. iii) 467.4
HILGARD | 61 τοῦ ἠ τῶ ᾠ e: τοῦ ἠ τὸ ᾠ M λέγωσι(v) Sb: λέγουσιν M | 63 τοῦ Sbd: τῶ
M τῶ e: τὸ M | 65 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θηλυκῶν καὶ ἀρσενικῶν πληθυντικῶν αἰτιατικὰς πτώσεις Philo-
men PROBERT, coll. Choer. Th. (*Grammatici Graeci* IV) i. 151.6–16, 246.28–37 et Greg. Cor. dial. Dor.
§CXXXI: ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν θηλυκῶν ὀνομάτων ἐνικῶν πληθυντικῶν αἰτιατικὰς πτώσεις M: ἀντὶ δὲ ἐνι-
κῶν θηλυκῶν ὀνομάτων πληθυντικὰς πτώσεις e: καὶ αἰτιατικὰς πληθυντικὰς θηλυκὰς πτώσεις
ἀντὶ ἐνικῶν P: ἔτι δὲ τῶν θηλυκῶν ὀνομάτων ἐνίων πληθυντικὰς αἰτιατικὰς πτώσεις συστέλλουσιν
KOEN, 306, in apparatu: ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν θηλυκῶν ἐνικῶν γενικῶν πληθυντικὰς αἰτιατικὰς πτώσεις
PEYRON, 201 | 66 ὅταν λέγωσι delevit et 'καλάς', 'σοφάς' post συστέλλοντες transposuit Philomen
PROBERT: ὅταν λέγωσι 'καλάς', 'σοφάς' PEYRON, 201 | 67 ὀρθὴν KOEN, 307: ἀρχὴν M
συστέλλοντες, <'καλάς', 'σοφάς',> 'ἀνθρώπος', 'ὄμοιος' Philomen PROBERT: συστέλλοντες ἀνθρώποι
ὄμοιοι M | 69 τῶ e: τὸ M | 71 παραλαμβάνουσιν Sb: παραλαμβάνωσιν M | 72 ιδῆν (ιδεῖν in

§31 And it has three subdialects, with the result that words have different forms in accordance with each modification and each change in prosody.

§32 The circle of Menander and Philemon use this dialect, and also Thucydides the historiographer, and Xenophon, and the Socratic philosophers, each using the Attic that is fitting for them.

§33 On Doric

§34 Doric is the name given to the dialect that the Dorians use.

§35 It is characteristic of them to use α instead of η, and α instead of ω; and to produce accusative plurals in a short fashion, even in the case of some words that make their plural forms long in the nominative; and to use ω instead of the diphthong ου; and to use η instead of ε; and sometimes σ instead of θ; and in the case of some words to remove an ι.

§36 They use α instead of η when they say ἄλιος [‘sun’] instead of ἥλιος, and (they call) the ἡμέρα [‘day’] ἀμέρα, and so on.

§37 They use α instead of ω when they say θυρᾶν [‘doors’, gen. pl.] instead of θυρῶν, and νυμφᾶν [‘brides, Nymphs’, gen. pl.] (instead of) νυμφῶν.

§38 And with regard to feminine and masculine plurals they produce the accusative case forms in a short fashion, in the case of some words that make their plural forms long in the nominative: ‘καλάς’ [‘beautiful’, acc. pl. fem.], ‘σοφᾶς’ [‘wise’, acc. pl. fem.], ‘ἀνθρώπος’ [‘people’, acc. pl.], ‘ὅμοιος’ [‘alike’, acc. pl. masc.].

§39 And they use ω instead of the diphthong ου when they say μῶσας [‘Muses’, acc. pl.] instead of μούσας.

§40 And they use η instead of the diphthong ει when they say λαβῆν [‘to take’] instead of λαβεῖν, and similarly ἰδῆν [‘to see’] and δραμῆν [‘to run’].

- §41 καί ποτε ἀντί τοῦ $\bar{\theta}$ τὸ $\bar{\sigma}$ παραλαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τοὺς θεοὺς ‘σεοὺς’ λέγωσιν.
 §42 ἐπὶ δέ τινων λέξεων τὸ $\bar{\iota}$ ὑπεξαίρουσιν· ‘λαβέν’ γὰρ ἀντί τοῦ ‘λαβεῖν’ λέγουσι,
 75 καί ‘ἐλθέν’ ἀντί τοῦ ‘ἐλθεῖν’.
 §43 γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις πλεῖσται, οὐ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη.
 §44 κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῇ Ἀλκμάν, Στησίχορος, Ἴβυκος, Βακχυλίδης, Ἐπίχαρμος. ἡ δὲ χρῆσις αὐτῆς κατὰ διαφορὰν θεωρεῖται.
- 80 §45 **Περὶ Αἰολίδος**
 §46 Αἰολίς δὲ ἐστὶ διάλεκτος ἣ κέχρηται Αἰολεῖς.
 §47 ἴδιον δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ βαρὺν τόνον τὰς λέξεις καταστρέφειν, καὶ τισιν ὀνόμασι θηλυκοῖς πληθυντικοῖς αἰτιατικῆς πτώσεως τὸ $\bar{\iota}$ προστιθέναι, καὶ ποτε ἀντί τοῦ $\bar{\omega}$ τῷ $\bar{\omega}$ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἀντί τοῦ $\bar{\omega}$ τῷ $\bar{\upsilon}$, καὶ τὰ ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ψιλῶς ἐκφέρειν, καὶ ἀντί τῆς $\bar{\epsilon}$ διφθόγγου τὸ $\bar{\eta}$ τάσσεσθαι, καὶ προστιθέναι ἐπὶ τινων λέξεων τῷ $\bar{\rho}$ τὸ $\bar{\beta}$, ἀντί δὲ δύο $\bar{\mu}$ δύο $\bar{\pi}$ παραλαμβάνειν.
 85 §48 ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Δωρίδι.
 §49 ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν <βαρὺν τόνον> τὰς λέξεις καταστρέφουσιν, ὅταν λέγωσιν ἀντί τοῦ ‘ποταμός’ ‘πόταμος’, ἀντί τοῦ ‘καλός’ ‘κάλος’, καὶ ἀντί τοῦ ‘σοφός’ ‘σόφος’.
 90 §50 τισὶ δὲ ὀνόμασι θηλυκοῖς <πληθυντικοῖς> αἰτιατικῆς πτώσεως τὸ $\bar{\iota}$ προστιθέασιν, ὅταν λέγωσιν ἀντί τοῦ ‘καλάς’ ‘κάλαις’, καὶ ἀντί τοῦ ‘σοφάς’ ‘σόφαις’.

73 λέγωσιν **S**: λέγουσι(v) **Lb** | 74 λέξεων **M**: λήξεων coniecit Richard SCHNEIDER ad Scholia Iondiniensia in Dionysium Thracem (*Grammatici Graeci* i. iii) 467.4 HILGARD | 78 στησίχορος **S**: στισιχόρος **M(?)F** Βακχυλίδης KOEN, 308: βακχυλλίδης **M** | 79 θεωρεῖται **Sb**: θεωρηται **M** | 82 αὐτῆς **Sce**: αὐτοῖς **M** ἐπὶ βαρὺν τόνον τὰς λέξεις καταστρέφειν scripsimus: ἐπὶ βαρυτόνων τὰς λέξεις καταστρέφειν **M**: ἐπὶ τῶν βαρυτόνων τὰς λέξεις καταστρέφειν **B**: τὰς ὀξύτονους λέξεις ἀναστρέφειν **e**: τὸ τὰς ὀξύτονους λέξεις καταστρέφειν **P**: τὰς ὀξύτονους λέξεις ἀντιστρέφειν **h**: ἐπὶ βαρυτόνων τὰς ὀξύτονους λέξεις καταστρέφειν HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206 τισιν ὀνόμασι(v) **M** (partim legi potest) **LbgP**: τοῖς συνονόμασιν **S**: τισιν ὀνόματα **f** | 83 πτώσεως **LSFfTP**: πτώσει **c**: πτώσεων **Q** προστιθέναι **cd**: προστίθεται **M** | 84 $\bar{\omega}$ **f** et HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206: $\bar{\upsilon}$ **M** τῷ **e**: τὸ **M(?)LSbP** $\bar{\omega}$ Niels SCHOUBBEN (cf. ad § 51): $\bar{\omega}$ **M(?)LSbe**: $\bar{\iota}$ **P** τῷ **e**: τὸ **LSbP** $\bar{\upsilon}$ **LSbf**: $\bar{\omega}$ **gP** | 86 τινων HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206: τῶν **M** τῷ $\bar{\rho}$ τὸ $\bar{\beta}$ KOEN, 309: το $\bar{\rho}$ τὸ $\bar{\rho}$ **M** ἀντί δὲ δύο $\bar{\mu}$ **LSb**: ἀντί δὲ τῶν δύο $\bar{\mu}$ **g**: ἀντί δὲ τῶν $\bar{\beta}$ $\bar{\mu}$ **f**: ἀντί τοῦ $\bar{\beta}$ $\bar{\mu}$ **P** | 87 ἐστὶ **Sb**: ἐστι **M** ἡ αὐτὴ Niels SCHOUBBEN, coll. Eustathio in Dionysium Periegetam 820.19 = 361.27 MÜLLER: ἐναντία **M** | 88 ἐπὶ – καταστρέφουσιν: καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀξύτονους λέξεις ἀντιστρέφουσι **fQ**: Καὶ τὰς λέξεις μὲν ἀντιστρέφουσι τὰς ὀξύτονους **T**: καὶ τὰς μὲν οὖν ὀξύτονους λέξεις καταστρέφουσι **P**: Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν βαρυτόνων τὰς ὀξύτονους λέξεις καταστρέφουσι HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206 ἐπὶ **M^{p.c.}**: ἐπεὶ **M^{a.c.}** βαρὺν τόνον inseruimus λέγωσιν **Sb**: λέγουσιν **M** | 90 πληθυντικοῖς hic inserit HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206, coll. §47 αἰτιατικῆς: ἐντι ἀτικῆς **M** | 91 κάλαις scripsimus: καλαῖς HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206: καλαῖς **M** σόφαις scripsimus: σοφαῖς HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 206: σοφαῖς **M**

- §41 And sometimes they use σ instead of θ , when they call the θεοί ['gods'] σεοί.
 §42 And with regard to some words they remove an ι : for they say λαβέν ['to take'] instead of λαβεῖν, and ἐλθέν ['to go'] instead of ἐλθεῖν.
 §43 And it has a great many subdialects, varying not only by cities but also by other groups.
 §44 And it is used by Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus. And its use is observed to varying degrees.

§45 **On Aeolic**

- §46 Aeolic is the dialect that the Aeolians use.
 §47 It is characteristic of this dialect to turn words around to a recessive accent, and to add an ι to some feminine plural nouns in the accusative case, and sometimes to use $\sigma\iota$ instead of $\sigma\upsilon$, and υ instead of \omicron , and to produce words that start in a vowel with a smooth breathing, and to put an η instead of the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$, and in the case of some words to add a β in front of a ρ , and to use two π 's instead of two μ 's.
 §48 And it is the same (in origin) as the Doric dialect.
 §49 They turn words around to a recessive accent when they say πόταμος ['river'] instead of ποταμός, κάλος ['beautiful'] instead of καλός, and σόφος ['wise'] instead of σοφός.
 §50 And they add an ι to some feminine plural nouns in the accusative case when they say κάλαις ['beautiful', acc. pl. fem.] instead of καλάς, and σόφαις ['wise', acc. pl. fem.] instead of σοφάς.

- §51 ποτὲ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ $\overline{\omega}$ τῷ $\overline{\omicron}$ χρῶνται· λέγουσι γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘Μοῦσαι’ ‘Μοῖσαι’, καὶ
 ‘λίποισαι’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘λίποῦσαι’·
- §52 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ $\overline{\omicron}$ τῷ $\overline{\upsilon}$ χρῶνται, ὅταν λέγωσιν ‘ὕμοιον’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ὄμοιον’, καὶ
 95 ‘στύμα’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘στόμα’, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὁμοίως.
- §53 τὰ δὲ ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ψιλῶς ἐκφέρουσιν, λέγοντες ‘ἐσπέραν’, δέον
 δασύνειν τὴν προφορὰν.
- §54 καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς $\overline{\epsilon}$ διφθόγγου τὸ $\overline{\eta}$ τάσσουσιν. ‘Κυθήρην’ γὰρ λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ
 ‘Κυθέρειαν’, καὶ ‘ἔλθην’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ‘ἐλθεῖν’.
- 100 §55 προστιθέασι δὲ ἐπὶ τινων λέξεων τῷ $\overline{\rho}$ τὸ $\overline{\beta}$, τὰ ῥόδα ‘βρόδα’ λέγοντες, καὶ ἀντὶ
 τοῦ ‘ῥάκη’ ‘βράκη’.
- §56 ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο $\overline{\mu\mu}$ δύο $\overline{\pi\pi}$ λαμβάνουσιν, τὰ ὄμματα ‘ὄππατα’ λέγοντες.
- §57 ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἰδίως παρ’ αὐτοῖς σχηματιζόμενα, οἷον ἀντὶ τῆς ‘μετά’ προ-
 θέσεως τὴν ‘πεδά’ παραλαμβάνουσιν. ἔσθ’ ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ‘βόλλαν’ λέ-
 105 γουσι, τὸν ἀγῶνα ‘ἄγωνον’, τὴν δὲ γῆν ‘δᾶν’, τὸν δὲ Πρίαμον ‘Πέρραμον’, καὶ
 ἄλλα πολλὰ ἰδίως σχηματίζουσιν.
- §58 γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις τρεῖς.
- §59 κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῇ Σαπφῶ, Ἀλκαῖος, Μυῖα, καὶ ἄλλοι.

92 τῷ **Z**: τὸ **M** $\overline{\omicron}$ Niels SCHOUBBEN: $\overline{\omega}$ **M** Μοῖσαι Niels SCHOUBBEN, coll. Sapphus fr. 127 VOIGT: μῶισαι **M** | 93 λίποισαι Niels SCHOUBBEN, coll. Sapphus fr. 127 VOIGT: λειπῶσαι **M** | 94 δὲ **d**: om. **M** τῷ **e**: τὸ **M** λέγωσιν **e**: λέγουσιν **M** | 95 ὁμοίως scripsimus: ὁμοίων **M** | 96 ἀρχόμενα **Sd**: ἀρχομέμενα **M** (an ἀρχομέμενα in ἀρχομέμενα calamo currente correxit?) δέον δασύνειν KOEN, 310: δέον δὲ συνεῖν **M** | 98 Κυθήρην **SK** (et **e**, in lectione ἀντὶ τοῦ κυθέρειαν κυθήρην λέγουσι): Κυθέρειαν **M** | 100 τινων **d**: τῶν **M** τῷ $\overline{\rho}$ τὸ $\overline{\beta}$ HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 207 (cf. § 47): τὸ $\overline{\rho}$ καὶ τὸ $\overline{\beta}$ **M**: τῷ $\overline{\rho}$ καὶ τὸ $\overline{\beta}$ KOEN, 310f. | 102 τὰ ὄμματα ὄππατα λέγοντες **hp**: τὰ ὄμματα ὄππατα **M** | 104 πεδά Niels SCHOUBBEN: πετᾶ **M** βόλλαν Niels SCHOUBBEN, coll. Plutarcho, *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 288B 5–6 (τῆς βουλῆς ὑπ’ Αἰολέων βόλλας προσαγορευομένης): βουлан **M**: βωλάν HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 207 | 105 τὸν ἀγῶνα ‘ἄγωνον’, τὴν δὲ γῆν ‘δᾶν’ Niels SCHOUBBEN, coll. Hesychio a 963 LATTE/CUNNINGHAM (ἄγωνον: τὸν ἀγῶνα. Αἰολεῖς) et *Etymologico Genuino* a 421.2 LASSERRE/LIVADARAS (οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσιν): τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄγωνον τὴν δὲ γῆν γᾶν **M**: καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄγωνον καὶ τὴν γῆν γᾶν HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 207 | 108 κέχρηται **c**: κέχρηται **M** αὐτῇ **S** (αὐτῇ KOEN, 312): αὐτῆς **M** Σαπφῶ **V^{p-c}K** et KOEN, 312: ἀπφω **M** Μυῖα KOEN, 312 (Μυῖα est nomen poeetriae in Clementis Alexandrini *Stromatibus* 4.19.122.4; nomen alterum Corinnae secundum *Sudam* κ 2087, κ 2089): μυinna **M**: Ἐρίννα (legendum Ἐρίννα) HOFFMANN, Die griechischen Dialekte, II, 208, in apparatu: Κόριννα dubitanter Niels SCHOUBBEN

- §51 And sometimes they use *οι* instead of *ου*: for they say *Μοῖσαι* [‘Muses’] instead of *Μοῦσαι*, and *λίποισαι* [‘leaving’, nom. pl. fem.] instead of *λιποῦσαι*.
- §52 They use *υ* instead of *ο* when they say *ὔμοιος* [‘same’] instead of *ὄμοιος*, and *στόμα* [‘mouth’] instead of *στόμα*, and similarly in some other cases.
- §53 And they produce words that start in a vowel with a smooth breathing, saying *ἔσπερα* [‘evening’], although one ought to give the utterance a rough breathing.
- §54 And they put an *η* instead of the diphthong *ει*: for they say *Κυθήρηα* [‘Cyther-ea’] instead of *Κυθήρεια*, and *ἔλθην* [‘to go’] instead of *ἐλθεῖν*.
- §55 And in the case of some words they add a *β* in front of a *ρ*, calling *ρόδα* [‘roses’] *βρόδα*, and saying *βράκη* [‘rags’] instead of *ράκη*.
- §56 And instead of two *μ*’s they use two *π*’s, calling *ὄμματα* [‘eyes’] *ὄππατα*.
- §57 And there are also forms that take a specially distinctive shape amongst them, for example they use *πεδά* instead of the preposition *μετά*. And sometimes they call a *βουλή* [‘will, council’] *βόλλα*, an *ἄγων* [‘assembly, competition’] *ἄγωνος*, *γῆ* [‘earth’] *δα*, *Πρίαμος* [‘Priam’] *Πέρραμος*, and they form many others in a special way.
- §58 And it has three subdialects.
- §59 It is used by Sappho, Alcaeus, Myia, and others.

§ 60 Περὶ Κοινῆς

- 110 § 61 οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι τὴν κοινὴν καταριθμεῖν διάλεκτον ταῖς προειρημέναις τέταρσιν, αἰτιῶνται τρῶπῳ τοιῶδε· οὐδὲν γάρ φασιν ἔχειν ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τετραφάρμακος δύναμις, ἐκ τεσσάρων συνεστῶσα, τετραφάρμακος καλεῖται, οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχουσα, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, ἐκ τεσσάρων συναρμοσθεῖσα, οὐκ ὀφείλει συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς αὐταῖς.
- 115 § 62 τῶν δὲ τὴν κοινὴν εἰσηγησαμένων οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πάσαις συμβέβληται ταῖς διαλέκτοις ταῖς ὁμοφώνοις· οἷον 'φίλος', 'νύξ', καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· οἱ δ', ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχουσα τύπον, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαφορῶν λέξεων συνηρμοσμένη τε καὶ συνηθροισμένη.
- § 63 μεταπτώσεις δὲ αὐτῆς οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν.
- 120 § 64 ὑπόδειγμα δέ ἐστι τοιόνδε·
- § 65 † 'προστι γὰρ ὁ λεγομενος εὐδαμονεῖν ἀπὸ βλέψας εἰς τὸν πλουτον^ο παραμυθηται το ζην ἀλλ' οὕτως δυσι κατέχεται τοῖς χαλαιποτάτοις ἀσεβεια καὶ κακοκρία καθάπερ ἐμπλήκτοις ἀν(θρώπ)οις ἀεὶ τοις χειριστοῖς διατριβῶν· ὅτ' ἂν δηψυχηψοφησικα καθάπερ τραχηλω χελωνη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους γινεται ἡ δεδουκασιεν ενδον συγκρῦψαντες τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς χρεῖαν' †
- 125 § 66 σύμμετρον δὲ ἡγούμενοι τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον ὡς πρὸς ἀνάληψιν, ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.

115 πάσαις συμβέβληται ταῖς διαλέκτοις ταῖς ὁμοφώνοις; ὅτι πάσαις συμβέβληται ταῖς διαλέκτοις, <λέξεσι> ταῖς ὁμοφώνοις pronomit Niels SCHOUWBEN; ταῖς <έν> διαλέκτοις <λέξεσι> pronomit anonymus corrector huius articuli | 117 οὐκ HZ (cf. *Alii non habere formam XY* in interpretatione latina; KOEN, 312, in apparatu): οὖν M τύπον Se: τυπῶν M | 119 οὐχ V^{P.c.}e: om. M | 124 καθάπερ M^{B.c.}: καπερ M^{A.c.}

§60 On the Koiné

- §61 Those who do not want to count the Koiné as a dialect along with the aforementioned four, argue for this in the following way. For they say that it has nothing of its own, but just as a medicine consisting of four drugs is called ‘four-drugs’, being combined out of four components, having nothing of its own, in the same way the common dialect, being fitted together out of four components, ought not to be counted along with the aforementioned (four).
- §62 Of those who include the Koiné, some say that it has been put together on the basis of all the dialects which [i.e. in those instances when they] sound the same, as in φίλος [‘friend’], νύξ [‘night’] and the like. Others say that it does not have its own character, but that it is combined and gathered together out of dissimilar words.
- §63 And we do not find subdialects of this dialect.
- §64 And an example is the following sort of thing:
- §65 [See the discussion in the introduction to this article, section 5.]
- §66 But considering that the discussion of this is sufficient to call it to mind, we shall stop here.

