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Editorial

In May 2018, the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts hosted the first conference in the series *A Glimpse into Greek Linguistics*. Its purpose was to shed light on aspects of synchronic and diachronic research on Greek and to promote the study of this language in Slovenia. The initiative was born out of cooperation with Christina Manouilidou, who has worked at the Department of Comparative and General Linguistics in recent years after coming to Ljubljana from the University of Patras. A year and a half later, on January 15th, 2020, with the generous support of the Cankar Center, the largest Slovenian cultural and congress venue, Christina and I organized the second conference in *A Glimpse into Greek Linguistics*. This time, the conference was included in the program of festival "On Mt. Olympus"—a nine-month series of cultural and research events dedicated to Ancient Greek ideas and technological achievements—and was one of the main events of the festival. Both conferences brought together a mix of young and established researchers working on Greek.

A result of our efforts for the in-depth study of Greek in Slovenia is also the present international issue of the journal *Keria: Studia Latina et Graeca*, which contains contributions by six participants from the second conference in *A Glimpse into Greek Linguistics*. The editors of the journal are honored and pleased to publish articles written by three truly established scholars: Geoffrey Horrocks, Mark Janse, and Brian Joseph. In the article "What's in the Middle? Two Voices or Three in Ancient Greek?" Geoffrey Horrocks reexamines the function of the Ancient Greek middle, drawing attention to shortcomings of the traditional view on this grammatical voice and proposing a new explanatory concept. Mark Janse discusses the topic of sex and gender in Greek—a particularly compelling (and controversial) issue. Furthermore, Brian Joseph explores the position of Greek within the Balkan languages in the article "What Is Not So (E)strange about Greek as a Balkan Language." He is also the coauthor of the article "Teaching Modern Greek to Classicists: Taking Advantage of Continuity," in which a group of linguists that started learning and

exploring Modern Greek through its ancient predecessor explain their views on how Modern Greek could be taught to classicists.

Some aspects of the volume may raise additional attention among Slovenian readers. First and foremost, Matej Hriberšek from the Department of Classics at the University of Ljubljana discusses a nineteenth-century attempt to write Slovenian in a version of the Greek alphabet (*grščica*), which remained virtually forgotten for more than a century. Because the work of Dominik Penn is barely known even among Slovenian scholars, his English article is followed by a longer summary in Slovenian. It is also satisfying to read about the contribution of the Slovenian linguists Jernej Kopitar and Franz Miklosich to Balkan linguistics; they are mentioned in Brian Joseph's article on Balkan features in Greek. Furthermore, Slovenian classicists may find it interesting to hear about the amount of common Ancient and Modern Greek vocabulary that they may have learned while using the Ancient Greek textbook by the late Slovenian classicist Erika Mihevc Gabrovec. This is one of the issues discussed in the aforementioned article about teaching Modern Greek to classicists. Last but not least, the picture on the cover draws attention to a rare witness of the presence of Greek in Slovenian territory. It shows the Blue Vessel, a well-preserved ancient bowl with the inscription ΠΙΕ ΖΗΣΑΙΣ ΑΕΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΙΣ, 'Drink, live forever, for a long time', which dates back to the fourth century AD and was found during recent excavations near *Gosposvetska cesta* (Maria Saal Street) in Ljubljana.

I believe that the variety of issues discussed in this volume also bears witness to the appeal of Greek linguistics. On behalf of the editors of the journal *Keria: Studia Latina et Graeca*, I express sincere thanks to the Cankar Center and to Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts, which made its publication possible. Thanks also go to all the contributors and participants in the conference series *A Glimpse into Greek Linguistics* for their support of our efforts.

Jerneja Kavčič
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Geoffrey Horrocks

What's in the Middle? Two Voices or Three in Ancient Greek?

1. INTRODUCTION

When students start to learn Ancient Greek, they quickly learn that the language has three grammatical voices, active, middle and passive, which in different ways articulate the relationship between grammatical functions like subject, direct object and indirect object, and semantic roles like agent, patient and experiencer. The three voices are functionally characterised by Allan (2014) in the short abstract that begins his article on Voice in the online *Encyclopedia of Greek Language and Linguistics*:

> While the active voice is semantically unmarked, the middle voice expresses that the subject is affected. The passive voice indicates that the subject is a fully affected patient/theme or experiencer.

The immediate problem in Allan's characterisation is the absence of a sharply defined contrast between the middle and the passive. Since the middle and passive are formally distinct only in the aorist and future, and then only in part (see §2 below), they are in fact treated as a single but polysemous "mediopassive voice" indicating varying degrees of the "affectedness" of the subject. But this approach obscures a fundamental difference between the passive and the middle which will now be explored.

On the one hand, the active-passive relationship is highly regular and productive in that sentences containing active transitive verbs almost always have intransitive passive counterparts regardless of the lexical meaning of the verbs involved. This is, in other words, an essentially syntactic relationship with predictable structural and semantic effects, as summarised in (1), where the agent

of the active sentence has been downgraded to the status of optional adjunct in the passive counterpart, and the patient of the active sentence has become the subject of the passive one:

(1)	subject	– active verb	– object	< >	subject	– passive verb	(– *by*-phrase)
	agent	predicate	patient		patient	predicate	agent
	The fanatics burned the books.				The books were burned (by the fanatics).		

The same situation can therefore be described in two different ways—or equivalently, in two different grammatical voices.

By contrast, it is much more difficult to characterise the middle voice (even the name is vague, implying a function of unspecified nature between those of the active and passive). This is because its function is neither regular nor predictable. The term is typically employed in general linguistics to cover a range of detransitivisation processes that have effects similar to those of the passive, but with some crucial differences. Consider first the English examples in (2):

(2)	(a)	This essay reads beautifully.	core "middle" use of a verb
	(b)	Max washed/shaved/dressed (i.e., himself).	implicit reflexive use of a verb
	(c)	The door is closing.	anticausative use of a verb

In each case a normally active transitive verb is used intransitively, but now, as in the passive, the subject denotes the theme or patient of the action, whether exclusively, as in (2a) and (2c), or in combination with the agent, as in (2b). An external agent may be implied in both (2a) and (2c), but this cannot be identified with a *by*-phrase: e.g. **this essay reads beautifully by the professor* is unacceptable. Notice that (2a), the type specifically identified as "middle", normally requires some form of adverbial modification to be grammatical: e.g. **this essay reads* is unacceptable. This is not true of (2b) and (2c), where the verb can stand alone. It is also important to note that (2c) involves an alternation between a specifically causative transitive verb and an intransitive counterpart with a theme/patient subject (an "anticausative" or "unaccusative"): e.g. verbs like *break, melt, boil, freeze, open, close, burn*. These verbs normally involve a change of state (or sometimes location), so that the transitive verb means 'X causes Y to become Z', and the intransitive verb means 'Y becomes Z'. The three types in (2) have much in common, and are often treated together as phenomena characteristic of the "middle voice". Indeed, it can be difficult in specific cases to distinguish clearly among them, as (3) makes clear:

(3)	This program	- downloads quickly.	(?middle)
		- has downloaded (i.e. itself).	(?implicit reflexive)
		- is downloading (i.e. automatically).	(?anticausative)

But there is one critical difference between the active-passive relation and the active-middle relation: where the former is fully productive (sentences with active transitive verbs almost always have passive counterparts regardless of their meaning), the latter is lexically highly restricted: only certain transitive verbs, or transitive verbs with certain types of meaning, allow for intransitive middle uses alongside their active transitive use, as the ungrammatical examples in (4) show:

(4)	(a)	*These fixtures destroy/design easily.	impossible as "middles"
	(b)	*Max hit/amused.	impossible as implicit reflexives
	(c)	*My essay is writing/researching.	impossible as anticausatives

In other words, it makes little sense to view the active-middle relationship as a structural one comparable to the active-passive one when the existence and meaning of a middle counterpart is determined not by general syntactic properties but by specific lexical ones. If the middle voice can be characterised in a coherent way at all, it would clearly be better to try to capture its essence by means of lexical rules that affect only the relevant sub-classes of verbs.

2. VOICE(S) IN ANCIENT GREEK

Mutatis mutandis, the conglomeration of properties discussed for English middles typically recurs cross-linguistically, even though the resulting middle voice may be realised in different ways. Accordingly, reflexivity and a range of other non-active/non-passive functions have traditionally been grouped together as "middle" in modern grammars of Ancient Greek (most recently, van Emde Boas, Rijksbaron, Huitink, and de Bakker 2019, Chap. 35) (but see also the discussions in Allan 2003, 2014 and Kemmer 1993, and the articles in Fox and Hopper 1994, especially those by Bakker, Givón and Yang, and Kemmer). This approach contrasts strongly with the ancient grammatical tradition (Dionysius Thrax, Heliodorus, Apollonius Dyscolus, Choeroboscus), which struggled to find any obvious rationale for the middle voice and treated it largely as a dustbin for formal and functional oddities that were neither clearly active nor clearly passive (see Rijksbaron 2018 for a thorough treatment). One major purpose of this article, then, is to try to answer the question of which tradition is closer to the truth: did Ancient Greek really

have three voices, or just two, with some residual data that cannot readily be classified as either?

As we have seen, English uses active verb forms to express typical middle meanings, but other languages may use passive or reflexive forms in the same range of functions. It is very rare, however, for a middle voice to have a distinctive morphology of its own. Thus, as noted above, Ancient Greek middle and passive verb forms largely coincide, as the umbrella term "medio-passive" implies. But even where there is in theory a formal distinction, specifically in the aorist and the future, there is in practice a great deal of overlap, with no consistent correlation of form and function. For example, there are verbs with morphologically middle futures used in a passive sense (e.g., τιμήσομαι 'I shall be honoured', φανοῦμαι 'I shall be shown'), and many verbs with morphologically passive aorists used in a middle sense alongside morphologically middle futures. Some common examples of the latter are given in (5):

(5) Middle verbs with the supposedly "passive" aorist -(θ)ην but a middle future: ἐβουλήθην/βουλήσομαι 'wish/want', ἐδυνήθην/δυνήσομαι 'be able', ἀπηλλάγην/ἀπαλλάξομαι 'depart', ἐκινήθην/κινήσομαι 'move', ἐλυπήθην/λυπήσομαι 'grieve'

In the "modern" approach, the Greek medio-passive paradigm is typically seen as a polysemous marker of the "affectedness" of a subject, i.e. the agentive subject of an active verb is reinterpreted as receiving, either additionally (middle) or instead (passive), the "effect" of the verbal action as a theme or patient. A possible path for the semantic development of detransitivised medio-passive functions is given through the English examples in (6):

(6)	(a)	Socrates beat his wife	agent only	active verb
	(b)	Socrates dressed his son	agent only	active verb
	(c)	Socrates got (himself) beaten	(indirect agent+) patient	passive verb
	(d)	Socrates got (himself) dressed	direct agent+patient	middle verb
	(e)	Socrates got beaten by his wife	patient only	passive verb
	(f)	*Socrates got dressed by his wife	*patient + direct agent	*middle verb
	(g)	Socrates was beaten by his wife	patient only	passive verb
	(h)	Socrates was dressed by his wife	patient only	passive verb

(6a) and (6b) contain the active transitive verbs, *beat* and *dress*. Let us suppose for the sake of argument that the English *get* + passive participle construction in (6c) and (6d) corresponds functionally to Greek medio-passive morphology, and that it contributes a nuance of "reflexivity" to actions prototypically involving agentive subjects. This may be overtly expressed by means

of a reflexive pronoun, or be implicitly understood (as indicated by the brackets around *himself*). There is, however, a crucial difference between (6c) and (6d) determined by lexical semantics. *Beat* is an activity that normally involves distinct agents and patients (i.e., people don't usually beat themselves), while *dress* readily allows for agents to act on themselves (i.e., people do normally dress themselves). So (6c) with the reflexive pronoun means that Socrates did something that caused someone else to beat him, while (6d) with the reflexive pronoun simply means that Socrates dressed himself: i.e. the first involves indirect agency, the second direct agency, with respect to the relevant activity. Accordingly, (6c) allows for "a beater" to be specified, cf. (6e), while (6d) does not permit the specification of "a dresser" other than Socrates, cf. (6f). But when the reflexive pronoun is dropped in these examples, the meaning of (6c) changes while that of (6d) stays the same: specifically, the idea that Socrates was somehow indirectly responsible for his own beating disappears along with the reflexive pronoun, but the idea that he dressed himself remains. We may conclude, then, that (6c), with or without the reflexive pronoun, is passive, but that (6d), with or without the reflexive pronoun, is middle. In the case of verbs with meanings like "dress" a true passive reading is only possible when the sense of direct agency is unambigously removed through the substitution of *be* for *get*: cf. (6h), where a distinct agent has been added successfully. For verbs with meanings like 'beat', however, the two auxiliaries are more or less interchangeable in passive function, as shown by (6e) and (6g), though the former but not the latter suggests that Socrates was also something of an experiencer as well as a mere (inert) patient.

There are, however, other transitive verbs, including those with corresponding "core middle" or anticausative uses, that allow for *both* passive *and* middle readings of the *get*-construction. In this case, we either understand that the action was performed by an external agent on the patient subject, as in (7a) and (7c), or that it occurred more or less spontaneously, as a result of some inherent property of the patient subject and/or the ambient circumstances, as in (7b) and (7d):

(7)	(a)	This clay gets moulded quite easily (e.g., by a skilled potter)	passive
	(b)	This clay gets moulded quite easily (i.e., all by itself)	middle
	(c)	The wax got melted (e.g., by the flames)	passive
	(d)	The wax got melted (i.e., all by itself)	middle

Unlike in (6c) and (6d), therefore, the patient subject here is not, strictly speaking, also an agent, though it still plays a residually "active" kind of role because of its inherent properties, and reflexive pronouns may be marginally allowed (cf. *this clay gets ?itself moulded quite easily* etc.).

This kind of explanatory framework can be adapted and summarised for Ancient Greek as in (8):

(8) (a) any active transitive verb may take medio-passive morphology in passive function and co-occur optionally with an agentive phrase (ὑπό + genitive etc.)

(b) any active transitive verb *with the appropriate lexical semantics* may also take medio-passive morphology in a middle function, but cannot then co-occur with an agentive phrase

Thus implicit reflexives, for example, are largely restricted to a small number of verbs denoting activities involving personal grooming and training: e.g. λούω/λούομαι 'wash', γυμνάζω/γυμνάζομαι 'train', etc. However, the kind of function associated with the core middles in English is typically performed by Greek verb forms that are just as likely to be passive as middle in force, as in (9):

(9) (a) This clay moulds easily.

(b) οὗτος ὁ πηλὸς ῥᾳδίως πλάττεται (? = 'is moulded easily' (sc. by anyone at all))

And the relatively large class of verb forms corresponding to English anticausatives may also be passive in sense, as in (10):

(10) (a) The wax melted.

(b) ὁ κηρὸς ἐτάκη (? = 'was melted' (sc. by unknown factors))

In other words, since both these classes can in principle co-occur with agentive or instrumental phrases, we have no way of knowing in the absence of native speakers whether there was also a distinct middle reading (= 'moulds easily/melted—all by itself') that rejected such an addition. The conclusion that these forms may well be universally passive is reinforced by the fact that there are good examples of *active* anticausatives, as the verbs of movement in (11):

(11) ἐλαύνω 'drive/proceed, ὁρμῶ '(cause to) start out', σπεύδω '(cause to) hasten', ὑπάγω 'withdraw/go'

Accordingly, this overall state of affairs potentially leaves the set of medio-passive verb forms with clear middle meanings perilously small. Traditional grammars boost the numbers, however, by including *transitive* middles. Unlike the data typically discussed as middles in the general linguistic context, large numbers of formally middle verbs in Greek are in fact transitive rather than intransitive, and have a specifically "middle" aorist in -(σ)άμην or -όμην that is rarely, if ever, passive/intransitive in meaning. This is clearly a novel

type of middle in that all the examples discussed so far, in both English and Greek, have been intransitive, and as such closer to passives than to active transitives. We might speculate, *faute de mieux*, that the more common transitive type of middle may have been formed prehistorically by analogy with the type of middle exemplified by verbs of personal grooming and training such as λούω/λούομαι, γυμνάζω/γυμνάζομαι, etc. Consider (12):

(12)	(a)	λούω ἐμαυτόν	: λούομαι	'I wash myself'
				subject = agent+patient
	(b)	ποιῶ τι ἐμαυτῷ	: > ποιοῦμαί τι	'I make something for myself'
				subject = agent+beneficiary

This analogy would have been based on the assumption that an active verb co-occurring with an overt reflexive pronoun could be replaced by a middle verb form with reflexive meaning, whether the reflexive in question was a direct object or an indirect object. We would therefore end up with implicit *direct* reflexives expressed by intransitive middles, as in (12a), and a new class of of implicit *indirect* reflexives expressed by transitive middles, as in (12b).

Since the set of active transitive verbs that can in principle co-occur with a dative object or adjunct (denoting a recipient, an experiencer, a beneficiary, etc.) is quite large, the set of associated transitive middles should therefore be correspondingly large, at least in theory. Much is made of this in modern grammars and lexica, where the transitive middle is typically said to denote an action that an agent performs "for himself/herself/itself", though sometimes vaguer versions of indirect reflexivity are also invoked. The only problem with this statement is that it simply is not true. Note first of all that the only example of the construction that is ever discussed in these terms in the ancient grammatical tradition (scholion on Heliodorus 1.3.246.5 [= part 1, volume 3, page 246, line 5 in *Grammatici Graeci*, edited by Uhlig-Schneider-Hilgard]) is precisely the one in (12b), albeit presented there in the aorist. If things were really so clear and simple, this would surely have been developed as the basis for a reasoned theory of the transitive middle. The fact that it was not speaks volumes. In reality, the supposedly straightforward indirect-reflexive sense of a transitive middle is rare, being restricted to a relatively small set of semantically linked verbs, including those in (13):

(13) ποιῶ/ποιοῦμαι 'make', παρασκευάζω/παραρασκευάζομαι 'prepare', παρέχω/παρέχομαι 'provide'

This limitation is not difficult to explain. Since people frequently and naturally "make", "prepare" or "provide" things for themselves, the lexical

meaning of these verbs strongly invites a direct agent reading of the subject of their middle forms, e.g. παραρασκευάζομαι = 'get something prepared (for one's own benefit/use)' etc. As we saw above in (6d), this particular interpretation of the subject is a prerequisite for the possibility of a true reflexive reading of the *get*-paraphrase. If instead the agent is understood to be acting indirectly, as was the case in (6c), the possibility of reflexivity is eliminated and the reading is a simple causative one, cf. "Socrates got his wife beaten" (= 'caused his wife to be beaten'). But even when a subject *can* be understood as a direct agent, a transitive middle with an implicitly reflexive reading is not routinely permitted unless the activity in question is also inherently or prototypically associated with self-interest. The sentence in (14) does not therefore reflect a regular "middle" use of τήκομαι:

(14) *ὁ Σωκράτης τήκεται τὸν κηρόν 'Socrates gets the wax melted (for himself).'

Since such middles would naturally have had simple causative readings (= 'caused the wax to melt' etc.) that were virtually synonymous with those of their active equivalents, there would have been a strong motive either to discard them as redundant or to reinvent and revalidate them by assigning them distinctive meanings of their own. In this connection, consider the typical examples in (15):

(15) αἱρῶ 'take'/αἱροῦμαι 'choose', ἀποδίδωμι 'give back'/ἀποδίδομαι 'sell', γράφω 'write'/γράφομαι 'indict', πείθω 'persuade'/πείθομαι 'obey', etc.

By contrast, transitive middles that were not assigned such "developed" meanings tended simply to drop out of use over time.

The relative infrequency of transitive middles with indirect reflexive readings (*pace* the standard grammars and lexica) explains why learners struggle to make sense of the vast majority of the middles they encounter in texts that obviously do not conform to the supposedly regular rule of interpretation. Equally, when learners look up a given transitive verb in a lexicon, they typically find that its middle in fact has a special sense, one that can only be connected with the supposedly "regular" indirect-reflexive sense via some tortuous special pleading of the type that tries to persuade us that "choose" is a semi-paraphrase of "take for oneself" etc. Pretending that these are somehow the straightforward middles of the corresponding actives in anything other than form is a disservice to students. They are clearly lexicalised verbs in their own right, with unpredicable meanings, and as such they deserve entries of their own in the lexicon.

The problems of the supposed "middle voice" do not end here, however. There are, for example, very large numbers of "middle only" (or deponent)

verbs that by definition do not enter into any voice alternation at all, cf. a few common examples in (16):

(16) βούλομαι 'wish', γίγνομαι 'become', οἴομαι 'think', etc.

Nor should we forget the considerable numbers of paradigmatically "odd" middle forms, such as the inexplicable middle futures to otherwise normal active verbs, as in (17):

(17) ἀκούω/ἀκούσομαι 'hear', μανθάνω/μαθήσομαι 'learn', πάσχω/πείσομαι 'suffer', etc.

At this point, we might very reasonably ask whether there really is a middle voice in Greek at all, given that it appears to be represented by a handful of lexically restricted implicit reflexives and a very large collection of oddities (viz. deponent verbs, middles with special meanings, and odd middle tenses for otherwise active verbs). In other words, it may be that the ancient grammarians basically got the middle right, at least from the general perspective that it cannot be reduced to any clear and simple definition and seems not to have any systematic relationship with the active or passive voices. On the face of it, then, it looks as if modern efforts to establish the credentials of the middle as a *bona fide* third voice are somewhat misconceived. My suspicion is that morphology, not for the first time, has taken precedence over syntax and semantics in the sense that the existence of marginally distinct middle morphology has been taken, incorrectly, to imply the existence of a functionally distinct middle voice (or diathesis).

3. VOICES IN PLATO *REPUBLIC*

The discussion above has involved a critical assessment of the standard proposition that a key property of the active-middle alternation is the regular addition of a secondary semantic role (patient or beneficiary) to an active agent, and that this "reflexivity" is marked by middle morphology. But this supposedly regular alternation appears to be far from regular in our corpus of Greek texts, where most middle forms are either "deponent" verbs with no active counterparts or show "irregular", i.e. semantically developed meanings *vis-à-vis* their corresponding actives (as suggested, the latter might very reasonably be added to the list of deponents as middle-only verbs in their own right).

So far, however, the argument has been based largely on theoretical considerations and assertions made without detailed numbers to support them.

To remedy this deficiency, book I of Plato's *Republic* was chosen as a reasonably "natural" example of dialogue among male members of the Athenian elite in the early 4th century BCE. First, every medio-passive verb form was collected (479 attested tokens) and assigned to the relevant lexical entry (167 different verbs, with an average frequency of 2.87, and with most falling in the range 1–5). Then the verbs were classified by type/function, with results as tabulated in (18):

(18) Verbs with middle-passive forms in the corpus

(a)	V with middle-passive morphology	167 of which:
(b)	V with middle-passive forms only (deponents-1)	75
	V with "developed" middle sense (deponents-2)	40
(c)	V with passive sense (alternation ~ active)	40
(d)	V with a "regular" middle sense (alternation ~ active)	12

In (18a) we have the total number of verbs with medio-passive forms; in (b) the number of middle-only/deponent verbs and the number of verbs with middle forms that have semantically developed senses (which are in effect deponents too, as noted); in (c) the number of verbs that were clearly used as passives in alternation with actives; and in (d), the number of verbs that were used as middles in alternation with actives. (When a verb had the potential to be involved in a voice alternation that happened not to be attested in *Republic* 1, this was checked first in the Platonic corpus and then more widely, if necessary).

Of just 52 verbs that could in principle be involved in a regular voice alternation, 40 were deemed to be passive, and just 12 middle. Those middles with active equivalents of extremely rare or very late attestation (e.g., causative ἀπογεύω beside ἀπογεύομαι, βιάζω beside βιάζομαι, ἐναντιῶ beside ἐναντιοῦμαι) were discounted.

Deponents proved to be by far the largest group (115 of 167 verbs). Importantly, some examples that might have in principle been taken as "regular" middles with active counterparts turned out to have middle forms that were consistently used with more abstract complements than their active counterparts and so showed a corresponding shift of meaning, however slight: e.g. ἁρμόττομαι 'tune (an instrument etc.)' vs. active 'fit/join', ἐνδεικνύ(ο)μαι 'reveal (an opinion)' vs. active 'point out', προτίθεμαι 'propose (a theory)' vs. active 'place before/expose', μετατίθεμαι 'redefine (a word/concept)' vs. active 'place among/differently', διοριζεσθαι 'define (a word/concept)' vs. active 'divide/separate'. These were therefore counted as deponents. We might usefully compare here the famous example (19) from the beginning of the *Republic*:

(19) …καί μου ὄπισθεν ὁ παῖς λαβόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου...
…and the slave boy, catching hold of my coat from behind…

Republic 327b

In the absence of any obvious reflexivity or self-interest, it seems that Plato here is using the middle of λαμβάνω in the developed sense of 'grasp/take hold of', a usage that is in fact consistent throughout the corpus. It was perhaps initially modelled on ἅπτομαι etc., involving contact with a part rather than seizure of the whole and therefore a genitive complement. Taken all together, this kind of evidence amply confirms the earlier suggestion that, by Plato's time, many middle paradigms, following a variety of models of development, had broken free from their active counterparts and become autonomous deponents with specialised meanings of their own.

There was also good evidence in the corpus that verbs with middle-only forms were still being created in Classical Greek, and that this tended to happen precisely when no clear semantic distinction between the active and middle had evolved. Consider the examples in (20):

(20) (a) …ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιχειρεῖν δουλοῦσθαι ἀδίκως …
…to try to enslave other cities unjustly…

Republic 351b

(b) …ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία…τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσε
…the Persian kingdom…enslaved the cities on the continent.

Thucydides 1.17.1

Any substantive difference between (20a) and (20b) is hard to detect, and any would-be explanatory references to reflexivity are not, in my view, convincing here. In Thucydides' time δουλῶ and δουλοῦμαι co-existed in free variation, but δουλοῦμαι turns out to be the sole survivor in Plato, and is consistently used as a middle-only verb by other authors of his period too, e.g. Demosthenes. A similar development is attested for the semantically related ἀνδραποδίζομαι. These data suggest that if the middle of a given verb failed to develop a distinctive meaning, one set of competing forms would eventually be dropped. *A priori*, we would expect this process to have favoured the active in most cases, and that is indeed generally the case. The opposite choice in the case of verbs of "enslavement" (and in other cases where the middle survives and it is the active that is dropped) presumably lies in the notion of advantage to the agent that is inherent in certain activities.

Turning now to the core cases of verbs with supposedly "regular" middles (just 12 out of 167 in the table in (18)), most seemed to be virtually

synonymous with their corresponding actives, with little suggestion of any "reflexivity" as a basis for distinguishing them. One might, of course, try to insist on a "regular" middle meaning simply because the grammars tell us it should be there, but this approach was not strongly supported by the contexts involved. Consider the representative examples given in (21)–(23), which are discussed individually below:

(21) (a) …ὃς τῷ Σεριφίῳ λοιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι…
(Themistocles) who, when a man from Seriphus was reviling him and telling him that …

Republic 329e

(b) οὐκοῦν…αἰσθανόμεθα…τινα…λοιδοροῦντά τε αὑτὸν…;
do we not… observe a man…reviling himself…?

Republic 440b

Can we honestly see the voice difference here as anything other than a matter of free choice? (Note too that reflexive meaning is carried by the active verb and an overt reflexive pronoun). There were several similar cases, including the commonly attested free variation between σκοπῶ/σκοποῦμαι.

Again, since something is provided for others rather than for the subject in both the examples in (22), any difference between them once more seems minimal:

(22) (a) οὐκοῦν καὶ ὠφελίαν ἑκάστη τούτων ἰδίαν τινὰ ἡμῖν παρέχεται…;
and does not each of these (sc. arts) also provide us with a benefit that is peculiar to itself…?

Republic 346a

(b) …τοῦτο εἶναι, ὃ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις τὴν δύναμιν παρέσχεν ὥστε ἐγγενέσθαι...
…this (sc. justice) is …what provided all those with the capacity to come into being…

Republic 433b

It may perhaps be that the middle emphasises provision as an inherent property of the provider or something similar (itself, in any case, an extended version of the reflexive theory), but there is, I think, a strong feeling of clutching at straws in trying to insist on any truly significant difference between this pair of sentences.

The same is evidently true of the pair in (23):

(23) (a) τίθεται δέ γε τοὺς νόμους ἑκάστη ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸ αὑτῇ συμφέρον
and each (form of) goverment enacts the laws with a view to its own advantage

Republic 338e

(b) οὐκοῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες νόμους τιθέναι τοὺς μὲν ὀρθῶς τιθέασιν, τοὺς δε τινας οὐκ ὀρθῶς;
in their attempts to enact laws do they (sc. rulers) not then enact some rightly and others not rightly?

Republic 339c

Specifically we might well ask why the first includes an overt expression of self-interest if the middle verb conveys this idea already? While it is perhaps still conceivable that the middle redundantly reinforces πρὸς τὸ αὑτῇ συμφέρον, it is hard once again to escape a feeling of special pleading if this particular path is followed.

It seems, then, that cases of virtually free variation are more common than is routinely acknowledged. At the same time, unequivocal cases of the supposedly prototypical middle use were actually very hard to find. The two best of the possible examples are those given in (24) and (25), where there does indeed seem to be a contrast involving the presence versus the absence of reflexivity (though we should also compare (25) with (22) before jumping to this conclusion!):

(24) (a) …φανερῶς πραττόμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα μισθὸν...
…exacting pay openly for themselves in return for their service of rule

Republic 347b

(b) …πραττόντων δὲ οἱ ταμίαι τούτοιν τοῖν θεοῖν...
…and the treasurers of these deities (sc. Hera and Zeus) shall exact (sc. the sum for the temple)…

Laws 774d

(25) (a) καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄργανά γε μὴ ἔχων παρέχεσθαι ὑπὸ πενίας...
and again, if from poverty he cannot provide himself with tools…

Republic 421d

(b) ἀλλά μοι πάλαι πράγματα παρέχει.
but he has been creating issues for me for a long time

Phaedo 56e

Nonetheless, such examples are exceedingly rare, not only in Plato but generally in Ancient Greek, and one might come closer to the truth, synchronically speaking, if one suggested that any implicit reflexivity in fact represents a very particular version of the familiar semantic specialisation process that was restricted to the middles of a small number of verbs with the right sort of meaning, as was suggested earlier (διδάσκομαι might be another), where self-interest or benefit to the subject is somehow a natural or inherent property of the activities in question.

4. CONCLUSION

The close analysis of a hopefully representative sample of Athenian prose tends strongly to confirm the preliminary conclusion that the alleged basis for an active-middle contrast, one that is routinely presented as the norm, is in fact anything but normal. It is in fact emphatically *not* the case that supposedly "regular" middles of potentially suitable verbs can be used productively to express either direct or indirect reflexivity. On the contrary, the few implicitly reflexive middles in the corpus studied here look more like one more case of semantic specialisation conditioned by lexical meaning. In any case, the overwhelming majority of the verbs with both active and medio-passive paradigms have clearly developed a sufficient degree of lexical and semantic distinctiveness between their active and middle forms for the latter to be treated uncontroversially as autonomous deponent verbs.

Admittedly, this conclusion is based on the analysis of a small corpus taken from the work of only one author, and more research is obviously needed if the case for abandoning the middle as a true third voice is to be further substantiated. But it would be surprising if the preliminary indications from *Republic* I turned out to be freakishly misleading, and for now a strong *prima facie* case has been made that the putative middle voice in Ancient Greek really is a collection of *disiecta membra*, perhaps comprising some indirect reflections of a different kind of voice system originating in the prehistoric past. By the time Greek is first attested this earlier system had already been reinterpreted as a regular active-passive system, and the intractable residue of "middle" forms was either in the process of being lexicalised or of being progressively abandoned.

Geoffrey Horrocks
Cambridge University
gch1000@cam.ac.uk

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ABSTRACT

It has long been taken for granted in reference works, grammars and elementary introductions that Ancient Greek had three grammatical voices, active, passive and middle. Yet scholars have always had great difficulty in characterising the middle voice in a straightforward and convincing way, and language learners are often perplexed to find that most of the middles they find in texts fail to exemplify the function, usually involving some notion of self interest, that is typically ascribed to this voice. This article therefore re-examines the Ancient Greek middle, both through the lens of a general survey of "middle voice" functions across languages, and through the analysis of all the medio-passive verb forms attested in Book 1 of Plato's *Republic*.

The principal observations are that Ancient Greek middles do not represent a regular pattern of usage either from a typological point of view or as employed specifically in *Republic* 1 (the database is in fact partly extended to other works). Accordingly, the main conclusion is that the Ancient Greek middle is not a grammatical voice *sensu stricto*, i.e. a regular syntactic alternation applying to all verbs with a given set of properties and expressed by a regular morphological form with a predictable semantic function. Rather, it appears to be a convenient collective name for a large set of "autonomous" verb forms that are either clearly deponent (i.e., have no active counterparts) or that have been lexicalised in a specialised meaning *vis-à-vis* their supposed active counterparts (i.e., are also deponents in practice, despite appearances). In all probability, therefore, medio-passive morphology, whatever it once represented in terms of function, was recharacterised prehistorically as "passive" morphology, leaving a residue of verbs exhibiting forms with non-passive functions. Presumably, these survived as "middles" only because they had no active counterparts or had been assigned innovative meanings that distinguished them from any formally related actives.

Keywords: active voice, middle voice, passive voice, deponent verb, semantic specialisation

POVZETEK

Kaj je na sredini? Dva ali trije načini v stari grščini?

Referenčna dela, slovnice in najelementarnejši jezikovni uvodi po tradiciji kot samo po sebi umevno jemljejo dejstvo, da je imela stara grščina tri načine, aktiv, pasiv in medij (ali »srednjik«). A filologi se vsakič znova znajdejo v hudi zadregi, ko je treba medij jasno in prepričljivo opredeliti, medtem ko študentje stare grščine pogosto presenečeni opazijo, da večina oblik medija v izvirnih besedilih ne ustreza vlogi, ki se mu običajno pripisuje in za katero naj bi bila značilna določena mera subjektovega osebnega interesa. Pričujoči prispevek torej na novo odpira vprašanje starogrškega medija, in sicer z vidika tipološkega pregleda »medijalnih« funkcij, vključuje pa tudi analizo mediopasnih glagolskih oblik, izpričanih v 1. knjigi Platonove *Države*.

Poglavitne ugotovitve kažejo, da niti v tipološkem smislu niti z vidika 1. knjige Platonove *Države* (korpus je v resnici nekoliko širši in vsebuje tudi odlomke drugih del) raba medija ne sledi jasnemu vzorcu. Iz tega izhaja najpomembnejši zaključek prispevka, da namreč starogrški medij ni glagolski način v pravem pomenu besede in da torej ne moremo govoriti o pravilni skladenjski tvorbi, ki bi se uporabljala v primeru vseh glagolskih oblik z določenimi lastnostmi in se izražala s pravilnimi oblikoslovnimi sredstvi s predvidljivo semantično funkcijo. Nasprotno, izkaže se, da gre za prikladno kolektivno ime za veliko skupino »avtonomnih« glagolskih oblik, ki so bodisi očitno deponentne (t.j. nimajo aktivnih ustreznic) ali pa so bile, v nasprotju s hipotetičnimi aktivnimi ustreznicami, leksikalizirane za izražanje specializiranih pomenov. Po vsej verjetnosti se je torej mediopasivno oblikoslovje, četudi je morda nekoč predstavljalo posebno funkcijo, v predzgodovinski dobi reinterpretiralo kot »pasivno«, pri čemer so se kot okameneli ostanki ohranile glagolske oblike z nepasivnimi funkcijami. Domnevati smemo, da se so slednje ohranile kot »medijalne« zgolj zato, ker niso imele aktivnih vzporednic ali ker so pridobile drugotne pomene, po katerih so se razlikovale od aktivnih, v formalnem pogledu z njimi povezanih oblik.

Ključne besede: aktiv, medij, pasiv, deponentnik, pomenska specializacija

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Mark Janse

Sex and Agreement: (Mis)matching Natural and Grammatical Gender in Greek[1]

"Sex is the most important referential feature reflected in gender assignment"
(Luraghi 2013)

1. INTRODUCTION

The Greek word γένος may refer to 'sex' as well as 'gender'. The concept of grammatical gender is obviously connected with the idea of biological sex, as emerges from the use of the adjectives ἄρρην 'male' and θηλύς 'female' to distinguish masculine and feminine nouns. According to Aristotle, it was Protagoras who introduced the concept of grammatical gender:

(1) Πρωταγόρας τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων διῄρει**, ἄρρενα** καὶ **θηλέα** καὶ **σκεύη.**
Protagoras distinguished the classes of nouns, males and females and things.
(Arist., *Rhet*. 1407b)

I prefer to translate ἄρρενα καὶ θηλέα here as 'male and female', i.e. male and female beings, rather than 'masculine and feminine' (sc. noun classes), because of their juxtaposition with σκεύη 'things'.[2] The choice of terminology

1 Research for this paper was done while the author was an Associate of Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies in 2019. A preliminary version was presented at the Round Table on "Greek Language and Grammatical Gender" at Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana (January 14, 2020). The author wishes to thank the organizers, Jerneja Kavčič and Christina Manouilidou, for their invitation and hospitality.

2 Cf. Corbeil (2008: 80); Wartelle (1982: 66) translates ἄρρην as 'mâle' in reference to humans, i.e. children (*Rhet*. 1361a6), but as 'masculin' in reference to noun classes (*Rhet*. 1407b6-8), θηλύς as

suggests a division between animate beings, subdivided into male and female, on the one hand, and inanimate objects on the other.[3] Aristotle himself seems to prefer the term τὰ μεταξύ 'the in-between' (*Poet.* 1458a).[4]

Dionysius Thrax is the first grammarian we know of to have used the terminology which has become accepted in the Greek and Roman grammatical tradition:

(2) γένη μὲν οὖν εἰσι τρία· **ἀρσενικόν**, **θηλυκόν**, **οὐδέτερον**
There are in fact three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. (*GG* 1.1.24)

Dionysius adds that others distinguish two additional genders: **κοινόν τε καὶ ἐπίκοινον** 'common and epicene' (*GG* 1.125).[5] Both can be used to refer to male as well as female beings, but whereas common nouns distinguish grammatical gender by agreement, epicene nouns do not. Examples of common nouns given by Dionysius include ὁ ~ ἡ ἵππος 'horse ~ mare' and ὁ ~ ἡ κύων 'dog ~ bitch'; examples of epicene nouns are restricted to animals and include ἡ χελιδών 'swallow' [M/F] and ὁ ἀετός 'eagle' [M/F] (*GG* 1.125).

2. EPICENE NOUNS

Aesop's fables unsurprisingly abound with such epicene nouns. The fable of the eagle and the fox, for instance, seems to be about two *female* animals and their young, but ὁ ἀετός being an epicine masculine noun (and one of the examples cited by Dionysius Thrax) as opposed to ἡ ἀλώπηξ, which is an epicine feminine noun, both trigger obligatory grammatical agreement patterns on pronouns and participles which have no relation with their biological sex:

(3) **ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ** φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους **ποιησάμενοι** πλησίον ἑαυτῶν οἰκεῖν διέγνωσαν … καὶ δὴ **ὁ μὲν ἀναβὰς** ἐπί τι περίμηκες δένδρον ἐνεοττοποιήσατο· **ἡ δὲ εἰσελθοῦσα** εἰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον θάμνον ἔτεκεν.
An eagle [M] and a fox [F] who had befriended [M] each other decided to live close to each other … and so the former [M] went up [M] a very high tree to hatch, whereas the latter [F] went inside [F] the underlying bush to give birth.
(Aesop. 1 Hausrath-Hunger)

'féminin, de sexe ou de genre féminin' (1982: 193), in reference to the same passages, and σκεῦος as 'mot (nom, adjectif, pronom) neutre' (1982: 388).

3 Cf. Schmidhauser (2010: 501), Novokhatko (2020: 107).

4 Singular τὸ μεταξύ (Arist., *Poet.* 166b; *Soph. el.* 173b).

5 Dionysius' wording ἔνιοι δὲ προστιθέασι τούτοις ἄλλα δύο 'but some add to these two others' (*GG* 1.1.24) indicates that he was not the inventor of the traditional terminology.

The fable of the tortoise and the eagle has survived in different versions, two of which are worthwhile comparing (Aesop. 259 Hausrath-Hunger):

(4a) **χελώνη θεασαμένη** ἀετὸν πετόμενον ἐπεθύμησε καὶ **αὐτὴ** πέτεσθαι
A tortoise [F] who saw [F] an eagle fly wished to fly herself [F].

(4b) **χέλυς ἄρρην θεασάμενος** ἀετὸν ἐπεθύμησε καὶ **αὐτὸς** πετασθῆναι
A male [M] tortoise [F] who saw [M] an eagle wished to fly himself [M].

The sex of the eagle is undetermined in both versions, ἀετός being an epicine masculine noun (and one of the examples cited by Dionysius Thrax) and seemingly irrelevant for the purpose of the fable. The two words for 'tortoise', ἡ χελώνη and ἡ χελύς, are both epicine feminine nouns and both are used alternately in the Homeric hymn to Mercurius to refer to the same mountain tortoise: χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώουσα 'a tortoise [F] who is living [F] in the mountains' (*h.Merc.* 33), ὀρεσκῴοιο χελώνης 'of the mountain-dwelling [M/F] tortoise [F]' (*h.Merc.* 44). The sex of the tortoise in the first version of the fable (4a) is therefore undetermined and, again, seemingly irrelevant. The agreement of the participle θεασαμένη and the pronoun αὐτή with χελώνη is, in other words, obligatory and purely grammatical. In the second version, however, the turtle is overtly marked as male by the agreement of the participle θεασάμενος and the pronoun αὐτός with χέλυς, which would have been ungrammatical, had it not been for the added adjective ἄρρην. One can only guess at the reason(s) why the author of this version thought it necessary to explicitly present the tortoise as a male—because he wants to "fly like an eagle" out of male vanity, male arrogance, male hybris or perhaps all of the above?

3. NATURAL GENDER AND DECLENSION

In a well-known scene from Aristophanes' *Clouds*, Socrates is presented as having even more original, albeit quite radical solutions to the problem of common nouns in his education of Strepsiades on the topic of gender assignment and gender marking (*Nub.* 658-93).[6] Socrates is playing on the ambiguity on the ambiguity of the adjective ἄρρην, when he asks Strepsiades which four-legged animals are properly male / masculine (τῶν τετραπόδων ἄττ'

6 As for the source for the scene, Wackernagel (1928: 4), Corbeil (2008: 80) and Willi (2003: 99) acknowledge Protagoras, Sommerstein (1982: 196) and Henderson (1998: 97[59]) Prodicus. Dover mentions Protagoras in connection with "the genders of nouns", but refers to Prodicus in connection with the use of ὀρθῶς at *Nub.* 659 (1968: 182). Willi rightly stresses the "composite picture" of the Aristophanic Socrates in *Clouds* "as a result of much comic freedom" (2003: 116; cf. Langslow's note on Wackernagel's current identification of Socrates with Protagoras [2009: 402[7]]).

ἐστιν ὀρθῶς ἄρρενα, *Nub.* 659). Strepsiades, of course, immediately starts enumerating what he thinks are "properly male" animals: κριός 'ram', τράγος 'billygoat', ταῦρος 'bull', κύων 'dog', ἀλεκτρυών 'fowl' (*Nub.* 661). Whereas the first three are prototypical second-declension nouns which unquestionably refer to male animals, the last two are in fact common nouns which may refer to males and females alike: κύων is one of the examples cited by Dionysius Thrax (cf. supra), but Socrates instead focuses on ἀλεκτρυών:[7]

(5) ὁρᾶς ἃ πάσχεις; **τήν τε θήλειαν** καλεῖς | ἀλεκτρυόνα **κατὰ ταὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα**

You see what is wrong with you? You use ἀλεκτρυών [M/F] to refer to the female [F] and the male [M] alike. (Ar., *Nub*. 662-3)

To resolve the referential or, if you like, sexual ambiguity of the word, Socrates offers a radical solution to the problem (of which only he is apparently aware) and on the spot creates the feminine ἀλεκτρύαινα 'hen', which he contrasts with the poetic masculine ἀλέκτωρ 'cock' (*Nub.* 666) to avoid the epicene ἀλεκτρυών. The otherwise unattested neologism ἀλεκτρύαινα is obviously formed on the analogy of other pairs referring to opposite sexes in the animal kingdom such as λέων 'lion' ~ λέαινα 'lioness', δράκων 'snake' ~ δράκαινα 'she-snake', λύκος 'wolf' ~ λύκαινα 'she-wolf', σκύλαξ 'dog' ~ σκυλάκαινα 'bitch'.[8] By doing so, the Aristophanic Socrates presents himself as a proponent of the principle that nouns referring to animate beings belonging to different sexes ought to be differentiated by different endings. Aristophanes, to be sure, used ἀλεκτρυών as a "properly epicene" noun according to Athenaeus (9.374c), who quotes him to illustrate the fact that in fifth-century Attic this was common usage:[9]

(6a) **ᾠὸν** μέγιστον τέτοκεν, ὡς ἀλεκτρυών

She's laid a huge egg, like a cock. (Ar., fr. 193)

(6b) **πολλαὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων** βίᾳ ὑπηνέμια τίκτουσιν ᾠὰ πολλάκις

It happens that many [F] cocks [M/F] by necessity lay wind-eggs. (Ar., fr. 194)

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7 Ignoring the fact that fowls are not quadrupeds, as Wackernagel wittingly remarks (1928: 1).

8 On the productivity and extension of the suffix see Chantraine: "le suffixe -αινα a pris en grec un développement nouveau, il a servi à désigner des animaux, surtout des animaux méprisés" (1933: 107). The oldest examples of the formation include δέσποινα 'mistress' ~ δεσπότης 'master' (etymologically of a 'house') and θέαινα in the formulaic verse κέκλυτέ μοι πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι 'hear me, all gods and all goddesses' (*Il.* 19.101, *Od.* 8.5) and variations thereupon (*Il.* 8.20, *Od.* 8.341).

9 τὸν δ' ἀλεκτρυόνα … οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ θηλυκῶς εἰρήκασι 'the ancients used the word ἀλεκτρυών also to refer to the hen' (Athen. 9.373e).

The translation of (6a) and (6b) is Henderson's, who undoubtedly intended to emphasize Socrates' ἀπορία with the common noun ἀλεκτρύων, but the agreement of πολλαί in (6b) leaves no doubt about the sex of the fowl (as if laying eggs was not enough to convince anyone).[10]

The principle of correspondence between sex and gender is even more hilariously illustrated with Socrates' second rebuke of Strepsiades' lack of gender awareness. When the latter (correctly) uses the feminine article with a second-declension noun, i.c. τὴν κάρδοπον 'the trough' (*Nub.* 669), the former retorts that by doing so he is 'turning a feminine into a masculine noun' (ἄρρενα καλεῖς θήλειαν οὖσαν, *Nub.* 671). When Strepsiades asks him how on earth he managed to do that, Socrates replies: ὥσπερ γε καὶ Κλεώνυμον 'well, obviously, just like Cleonymus' (*Nub.* 673a), adding: ταὐτὸν δύναταί σοι κάρδοπος Κλεωνύμῳ 'clearly, κάρδοπος can be the same to you as Κλεώνυμος' (*Nub.* 674). This provokes an obscene wordplay on the part of Strepsiades (Janse forthcoming a), who asks how he should say the word correctly. Socrates' answer is again mind-boggling:

(7) τὴν καρδόπην, ὥσπερ καλεῖς τὴν Σωστράτη
καρδόπη [F], just as you say Σωστράτη [F]. (Ar., *Nub*. 678)

This is a remarkable innovation: instead of replacing the feminine article with its masculine equivalent (τὸν κάρδοπον), Socrates moves the noun to the first declension (τὴν καρδόπην) to align the grammatical gender of the noun, indicated by the agreement of the article, with its dedicated inflectional class. Strepsiades is again unable to distinguish biological sex from grammatical gender and thus fails to understand why a trough should be 'female' (τὴν καρδόπην θήλειαν; *Nub.* 679a). When Socrates reassures him that he has it right now (ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις; 679b), Strepsiades confidently repeats what he thinks he has just learned:[11]

(8) ἐκεῖνο δύναμαι· **καρδόπη**, **Κλεωνύμη**
That I can handle: καρδόπη [F], Κλεωνύμη [F]. (Ar., *Nub*. 680)

The point of Socrates' digression is that nouns belonging to the second declension should be masculine and those belonging to the first declension

10 Strepsiades, to be sure, learned his lesson well when he enlightens Phidippides not to use the epicene noun ἀλεκτρυών to refer to both sexes, but to call the masculine fowl ἀλέκτωρ and the feminine ἀλεκτρύαινα (850-1).

11 Strepsiades later uses his newly acquired knowledge to put off his first creditor: οὐκ ἄν ἀποδοίην οὐδ' ἂν ὀβολὸν οὐδενί | ὅστις καλέσειε κάρδοπον τὴν καρδόπην 'I wouldn't repay not even an obol to anyone | who calls the trough κάρδοπος' (*Nub.* 1250-1).

feminine—whether naturally (φύσει), conventionally (θέσει), or both.[12] Socrates clearly treats Σωστράτη as a feminine noun referring to a female person,[13] but Strepsiades apparently understands Σωστράτη as a feminine noun referring to an effeminate male, hence his reassignment of Κλεώνυμος to the first declension.[14] Apart from male-female doublets in personal names belonging to the second and first declension respectively, there are of course many doublets in nouns, e.g. κόρος 'boy' ~ κόρη 'girl', δοῦλος 'slave' [M] ~ δούλη 'slave' [F], θεός 'god' ~ θεά 'goddess', etc.—not to mention the very common first and second-declension adjectives like καλός ~ καλή.

It seems therefore quite reasonable for Socrates to fix, so to speak, the oddity of second-declension nouns triggering grammatical agremeent patterns on articles and adjectives usually reserved for first-declension nouns. As a matter of fact, many grammatically feminine second-declension nouns have been "repaired" in the course of time, either by imposing masculine agreement patterns on them or by moving them to the first declension (Jannaris 1897: 111-2). A well-known example, discussed by Wackernagel (1928: 3) in terms of analogy and more recently by Coker (2009: 40-2) in terms of category formation, is ἡ ἄσβολος 'soot' [F], which appears as ἡ ἀσβόλη in Semonides (fr. 7.61 West) but as ὁ ἄσβολος in Hipponax (fr. 138 West) according to Phrynichus (*Praep. soph.* 28.1 Borries),[15] both variants condemned by Photius.[16]

4. LIKE A VIRGIN

A remarkably persistant feminine second-declension noun is ἡ παρθένος, the etymology of which is "énigmatique" in the words of Chantraine (1968-80: 858).[17] Its original meaning seems to be 'maiden', the semantic narrowing to 'virgin' being secondary, as unmarried girls were not supposed to have babies (Janse forthcoming c).[18] This appears to be the gist of the words of the chorus leader in Aristophanes' *Clouds*:

12 On theuse of θέσει instead of νόμῳ with regard to words see now Ebbesen (2019).

13 The name is very common (LGPN online lists 52 occurrences from Attica alone) and used three times by Aristophanes in other comedies (*Eccl.* 41, *Thesm.* 375, *Vesp.* 1397); cf. Dover (1968: 183), Sommerstein (1991: 197), Kanavou (2011: 150).

14 The 'transgenders' Σωστράτη and Κλεωνύμη are discussed in more detail in Janse (forthcoming b).

15 Note that both wrote in Ionic – Semonides in the seventh, Hipponax in the late sixth century BC.

16 Ἄσβολος· θηλυκῶς ἡ ἄσβολος, οὐχὶ ἡ ἀσβόλη, οὐδὲ ἀρσενικῶς ὁ ἄσβολος (Phot., *Lex.* 2946 Theodoridis).

17 Beekes (2010: 1153) accepts the etymology proposed by Klingenschmitt (1974): **pn̥-steno-* 'with protruding breasts'.

18 It is noteworthy that the primary meaning of παρθένος in the documentary evidence of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods is the age class of girls (Chaniotis 2016).

(9) κἀγώ, **παρθένος** γὰρ ἔτ' ἦ **κοὐκ ἐξῆν πώ μοι τεκεῖν** | ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο

and I, being still an unmarried maiden and not allowed to give birth, exposed [the child], and some other girl took it up and adopted it. (Ar., *Nub*. 530-1)

It is clear that the *male* (*sic*) chorus leader "speaks of himself metaphorically as an unmarried girl who had a baby and (in accordance with a common Greek custom) left it to die in the open country", in the words of Dover, who astutely adds that παρθένος is here "not a biological term, 'virgin', but a social term, 'unmarried'" (1968: 167).[19] The original meaning is borne out by the juxtaposition of παρθένος and παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις 'some *other* girl' (*Nub.* 531). The fact that the word can be combined with other nouns seems to indicate that it was originally an adjective, e.g. γυναῖκα | παρθένον (Hes., *Theog.* 513-4), θυγάτηρ παρθένος (Xen., *Cyr.* 4.6.9).[20] The meaning 'maiden' also underlies the use of παρθένος in connection with ἠίθεος in Homer:[21]

(10a) παρθένος ἠΐθεός τ' ὀαρίζετον ἀλλήλοιιν
Maiden and youth both chat with each other. (Hom., *Il.* 22.128)

(10b) παρθενικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠίθεοι ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες
Maidens and youth thinking innocent thoughts. (Hom., *Il.* 18.567)

The clearly archaic and poetic word ἠίθεος can be reconstructed as *ἠϝίθεϝος, which is presumably related to Proto-Indo-European *$h_1u̯id^heu̯$- 'unmarried'. It is thus cognate with Sanskrit विधवा *vidhávā*, Old Church Slavonic вдова *vŭdova*, Latin *uidua*, Old Irish *fedh*, Welsh *gweddw*, Gothic 𐍅𐌹𐌽𐌿𐍅𐍉 *widuwō* and Old English *widuwe*, all meaning 'widow'. Chantraine questions the traditional etymologie: "il est difficile de tirer le nom du jeune homme non marié de celui de la veuve" (1968-80: 408), but Beekes connects the meanings 'widowed' and 'unmarried' (2010: 512) and concludes that it was originally an adjective (1992: 178).[22]

It may be noted that Latin *uidua* is not only used to refer to a widow,[23] but also to an unmarried woman, notably in Tullia's urge to her husband Tarquinius Superbus, Rome's last king: *se rectius uiduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere* 'that it would have been juster for her to be unmarried and for

19 Cf. Sommerstein (1982: 187), Henderson (1998: 83), *pace* Sissa (1990: 86).

20 If Klingenschmitt's (1974) etymology is correct, παρθένος is originally a compound adjective, which would explain the fact that it is a second-declension adjective of two endings.

21 Cf. Hdt. 3.49.15-6.

22 A more detailed explanation is given in Beekes (1992).

23 As in Palinurus' warning to Phaedromus: *dum abstineas nupta, uidua, uirgine … ama quidlubet* 'as long as you stay away from a married woman, a widow, a virgin … love whatever you like' (Plaut., *Curcullio* 1.1.37).

him to be single' (Liv. 1.46.7). The juxtaposition of *uidua* with *caelebs* is very instructive, as the latter is also used to refer to a person who is single "through being unmarried, widowed, or divorced" (OLD, s.v.). Perhaps even more instructive is the following line from Propertius' tirade against Isis, where *uidua* is combined with *puella*: *quidue tibi prodest uiduas dormire puellas?* 'or what's in it for you that girls should sleep without men?' (Prop. 2.33.17). Finally, it should be noted that the adjective *uiduus* is also used to refer to men without women, e.g. *iuuit uiduos rapta Sabina uiros* 'the rape of the Sabine women aided the wifeless men' (Ov., *Ars* 1.102).

Its Greek equivalent is also occasionally used in combination with feminine nouns referring to female persons, e.g. κόρη ἤθεος 'unmarried girl' (Eup., fr. 362 Kassel-Austin = 332 Kock).[24] The *Etymologicum Magnum* has an interesting comment on Eupolis' use of ἤθεος:

(11) ἤθεος· ὁ ἄπειρος γάμου νέος. σπανίως δὲ ἐπὶ παρθένου, ὡς παρ' Εὔπολι
ἤθεος: a youth inexperienced in sex; rarely in reference to a παρθένος, as in Eupolis. (*EM* 422.40-3 Gaisford)

This brings us back to παρθένος 'maiden' as a social term in the sense of 'unmarried girl' (cf. supra). The use of the phrase οὐκ ἐξῆν πώ μοι τεκεῖν by the chorus leader in (9) indicates that a respectable παρθένος should not have children, but if she did, she could still be called a παρθένος. The interpretation of παρθένος as 'virgin' constitutes therefore a secondary semantic narrowing, based on the premise that "the categories of virgins and unmarried women were ideally identical" (Ogden 1996: 107[140]). For this reason it was assumed to be part of the αἰδώς of a παρθένος not to engage in sexual relations before marriage. This emerges clearly from the epic formula παρθένος αἰδοίη 'respectable maiden' in reference to Astyoche, who was still an unmarried girl when she was impregnated by Ares in her father's house (*Il.* 2.514). The same formula is used in reference to newly created Pandora by Hesiod (*Theog.* 571, *Op.* 70). In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Deianeira "contrasts her own anxieties as a married woman with the peace and freedom of a young girl before marriage" (Easterling 1982: 93), until she is called 'a wife instead of a maiden' (ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνὴ, *Tr.* 148). The latter is nevertheless described as living 'a carefree life in the midst of pleasures' (ἡδοναῖς ἄμοχθον βίον, *Tr.* 147). Such "pleasures" could include sex with a married man, because Heracles refers to Iole as 'the unmarried daughter of Eurytus' (τὴν Εὐρυτείαν παρθένον, *Tr.* 1220), who he has nevertheless slept with him (τοῖς ἐμοῖς πλευροῖς ὁμοῦ κλιθεῖσαν, *Tr.* 1225-6).[25]

24 Plato uses ἠίθεος even in reference to animals in the sense of 'unmated' (*Leg.* 840d).

25 Hyllus is understandably scandalized by his father's wish that he should marry her (μηδ' ἄλλος ἀνδρῶν … αὐτὴν ἀντὶ σοῦ λάβῃ ποτέ, *Tr.* 1225-6).

The idea that a maiden should ideally remain a virgin until she becomes a wedded wife (γυνή) gave rise to the semantic narrowing of παρθένος.[26] Compare, for instance, the definition of γυνή and παρθένος by Ptolemy of Ascalon:

(12) γυνὴ παρθένου διαφέρει· γυνὴ μὲν γὰρ καλεῖται κυρίως ἡ ἤδη ἀνδρὸς πεῖραν εἰληφυῖα, παρθένος δὲ ἡ μήπω μυηθεῖσά ποτε ἀνδρός

γυνή is different from παρθένος; γυνή is generally the word for a woman who has had sexual experience with a man, παρθένος for a woman who has not yet been initiated by a man. (Ptol. 61 Palmieri)

Pollux' definition of the verbs διακορεύω and διαπαρθενεύω, both meaning 'deflower', implies the idea of virginity as well:

(13) τὸ δὲ τῆς παρθένου παρθενίαν ἀφελέσθαι

To take away a maiden's virginity. (Poll., *Onom.* 3.42 Bethe)

In the Judeo-Christian context, it is of course the virgin birth of Jesus that gave rise to the generalization of the sense 'virgin'. According to the Gospel of Luke, Mary is described as παρθένον ἐμνηστευμένην ἀνδρί 'a maiden / virgin engaged to a man' (Lc. 1.27). When the angel Gabriel announces that she will get pregnant, she asks how this could possibly be, since she does not 'know a man', i.e. carnally (ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω, Lc. 1.34).[27] Mary's fiancé Joseph is of course, technically speaking, a man, but in Matthew's version of the story it is made clear that 'he took her as his wife and did not get to know her [carnally] until she had borne a son' (παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, Mt. 1.25). John Chrysostom is therefore justified to ask the question that must have been on many people's lips:

(14a) πῶς τίκτει ἡ Παρθένος καὶ μένει παρθένος;

How is it possible that the Virgin gives birth and remains a virgin?

(*Hom. in Mt.* 4.6 Field)

He could and should perhaps also have asked:[28]

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26 For a very thorough discussion of the Greek concept of "virginity" see Sissa (1990).

27 Compare the description of Isaac's future wife Rebecca: παρθένος ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτήν (*Gen.* 24.16), where παρθένος translates the Hebrew בְּתוּלָה *bəṯūlāh*.

28 Clement of Alexandria gave of course the only possible answer: μία δὲ μόνη γίνεται μήτηρ παρθένος 'only one woman becomes a virgin mother' (*Paed.* 1.6.42.1). A longer discussion is given by Gregory of Nyssa (*Or. dom.* = *PG* 1136.15 Migne).

(14b) πῶς γαμεῖται ἡ Παρθένος καὶ μένει παρθένος;
How is it possible that the Virgin gets married and remains a virgin?

Even though the mystery surrounding Mary's virginity remained, there was no doubt about her sex nor about her parental or, indeed, her marital status. It is therefore surprising that παρθένος remained a second-declension noun in the vast majority of the early Christian writers. Coker invokes "its religious significance" (2009: 51) to explain the overwhelming frequency of the second-declension noun (2009: 49, tab. 6) as opposed to its meagerly attested first-declension alternative. Coker found nine dated examples of παρθένα instead of παρθένος in the TLG, six plural and three singular. The plural examples obviously do not refer to the Virgin Mary, a rather important fact which has escaped Coker's attention, but the (two, not three) singular examples do and this is of course noteworthy. The first example is taken from the *Catena* on the Epistle to the Hebrews and is very remarkable, as both the second- and the first-declension noun are used in the same text, which is dated to the fifth (!) century:

(15a) γέγονεν υἱὸς Δαυίδ, σῶμα λαβὼν **ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου**
He was born a son of David, receiving his body from the Holy Virgin.
(138.9-10 Kramer)

(15b) τὸν … **διὰ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένας** γεγεννημένον
He who is born through the Holy Virgin. (138.16 Kramer)

The second example is found in the Late Byzantine *Etymologicum Gudianum*, where the legal status of children is discussed and παρθένιος is one of the terms to refer to illegitimate children:

(16) παρθένιος δὲ ὁ ἐκ τῆς παρθένας ἔτι νομιζομένης γεννώμενος
παρθένιος refers to the son born from a woman who is considered to be a virgin (?) (*EG* 410.34 Sturz)

In Modern Greek, παρθένος has become a masculine second-declension noun used to refer to male virgins,[29] as opposed to the feminine noun παρθένα used to refer to a female virgin, including the Virgin Mary, e.g. in the invocation Παναγία μου Παρθένα or more colloquially, with a hypocristic term of endearment, Παναγίτσα μου Παρθένα—but the old epicine form continues to

29 The masculine παρθένος was already used in the New Testament book of Revelation to refer to men 'who were not defiled [*sic*] by women' (οἳ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν, *Apoc.* 14.4).

be used as well, though not in combination with a hypocoristic: *Παναγίτσα / Παναγία μου Παρθένε.

5. BOYS AND GIRLS

Probably the most remarkable clashes between biological sex and grammatical gender occur in the category of diminutives referring to animate, particularly human beings. (Pseudo) Hippocrates famously distinguished the following age classes in the life cycle of men:[30]

(17) **παιδίον** μέν ἐστιν ἄχρις ἑπτὰ ἐτέων ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς· **παῖς** δ᾽ ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσιος, ἐς τὰ δὶς ἑπτά· **μειράκιον** δ᾽ ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσιος, ἐς τὰ τρὶς ἑπτά· **νεανίσκος** δ᾽ ἄχρις αὐξήσιος ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐς τὰ τετράκις ἑπτά· **ἀνὴρ** δ᾽ ἄχρις ἑνὸς δέοντος ἐτέων πεντήκοντα, ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ἑπτά· **πρεσβύτης** δ᾽ ἄχρι πεντήκοντα ἕξ, ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ὀκτώ· τὸ δ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν **γέρων**

He is παιδίον until he is seven years, i.e. until the shedding of teeth; παῖς until puberty, i.e. two times seven; μειράκιον until his beard begins to grow, i.e. three times seven; νεανίσκος until the completion of the body's growth, i.e. four times seven; ἀνήρ until his fourty-ninth year, i.e. seven times seven; πρεσβύτης until fifty-six, i.e. eight times seven; and after that he is γέρων.

(*Sept.* 5 Roscher)

There are, of course, more words to refer to male persons of different age classes. Probably the longest and most detailed list is given by Ptolemy of Ascalon:

(18) **βρέφος** μὲν γάρ ἐστιν τὸ γεννηθὲν εὐθέως, **παιδίον** δὲ τὸ τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τιθηνοῦ, **παιδάριον** δὲ τὸ ἤδη περιπατοῦν καὶ τῆς λέξεως ἀντεχόμενον, **παιδίσκος** δὲ ὁ ἐν τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡλικίᾳ, **παῖς** δὲ ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων ἐρχόμενος, τὸν δὲ ἐχόμενον οἱ μὲν **πάλληκα**, οἱ δὲ **βούπαιδα**, οἱ δὲ **ἀντίπαιδα**, οἱ δὲ **μελλέφηβον**· ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα **ἔφηβος**, ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα **μειράκιον**, εἶτα **μεῖραξ**, εἶτα **νεανίσκος**, εἶτα **νεανίας**, εἶτα **ἀνὴρ** μέσος, εἶτα **προβεβηκώς**, ὃν καὶ **ὠμογέροντα** καλοῦσιν, εἶτα **γέρων**, εἶτα **πρεσβύτης**, εἶτα **ἐσχατόγηρως**

30 The passage is quoted by several other authors: Ptolemy of Ascalon (*Diff. voc.* 61 Palmieri), Philo of Alexandria (*Op.* 105 Cohn), Pseudo-Iamblichus (*Theol. ar.* 55.14-56.7 de Falco), John of Damascus (*Sac. par.* = *PG* 95.1109.1-13 Migne). There were, of course, other divisions of the life cycle in Antiquity for which see, e.g. Overstreet (2009), Laes & Strubbe (2014: 23-9), Kosior (2016) and for the stages of childhood in particular Beaumont (2012: 17-24), Golden (2015: 10-9).

> βρέφος is the newborn, παιδίον the child fed by the nurse, παιδάριον the child which is already walking and learning to talk, παιδίσκος the one in the next age class, παῖς the one who is following general education, the next age class is called by some πάλληξ, by others βούπαις, ἀντίπαις or μελλέφηβος, the one after that ἔφηβος, the one after that μειράκιον, then μεῖραξ, then νεανίσκος, then νεανίας, then ἀνὴρ μέσος, then προβεβηκώς, who is also called ὠμογέρων, then γέρων, then πρεσβύτης, then ἐσχατόγηρως
>
> (Ptol. 403.26-404.6 Palmieri)

It is possible that Ptolemy really believed that these words could and would be properly distinguished by some, but it seems more likely that the author of a treatise entitled περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων was a bit obsessed with finding distinctions too subtle to be detected, let alone applied, by ordinary mortals. Homer, for instance, combines νεηνίης with ἀνήρ (*Od.* 10.278, 14.523), Herodotus with παῖς (1.61, 7.99, 9.111). The latter uses both νεηνίης and νεηνίσκος to refer to Periander's son Lycophron (3.53), who is said to be seventeen years old (3.50). A young man who accidentally killed a boy (παῖς) with a javelin in the gymnasium is referred to as μειράκιον throughout Antiphon's second tetralogy, but in the defendant's second speech as νεανίσκος (3.4.6) as well as μειράκιον (3.4.4, 3.4.5, 3.4.8). In Plato's *Phaedo*, Socrates' children are referred to as τὰ παιδία, with an additional specification: δύο γὰρ αὐτῷ ὑεῖς σμικροὶ ἦσαν, εἷς δὲ μέγας 'for he had two younger sons and one older one' (*Phaed.* 116b). In the *Apology*, Socrates mentions his sons (ὑεῖς γε) again: εἷς μὲν μειράκιον ἤδη, δύο δὲ παιδία 'one already a young man, two still boys' (*Ap.* 34d). In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, on the other hand, Socrates' eldest son is referred to as νεανίσκος (*Mem.* 2.2.1).

Some of the words listed by Ptolemy have feminine doublets which are derived from the same stem: παιδίσκος ~ παιδίσκη, νεανίσκος ~ νεανίσκη, μειρακίσκος ~ μειρακίσκη,[31] νεανίας ~ νεᾶνις, πρεσβύτης ~ πρεσβῦτις.[32] The word ἔφηβος, originally a second-declension adjective of two endings referring to the age class of ἥβη 'adolescence',[33] hence theoretically applicable to adolescent boys and girls alike,[34] came to be used in fourth-century Athens as a legal term for boys who entered a two-year period of military training in their eigteenth year (Arist., *Ath.* 42).[35] In reference to adolescent girls the now common noun ἔφηβος is found from the sixth century onwards, and again in

31 On the positive and negative connotations of diminutive nouns in -ίσκος / -ίσκη referring to persons see Chantraine (1933: 408-9).

32 The details of the relationship between the obvious cognates γέρων and γραῦς / γραῖα are disputed, cf. Chantraine (1968-80: 235), Beekes (2010: 285).

33 Compare the phrase ἐφ' ἥβης (Ar., *Eq.* 524).

34 Compare the expression ἐς ἥβην ἦλθεν ὡραίαν γάμων 'she came to the marriagable age' (Eur., *Hel.* 12).

35 For a recent assessment of the Athenian *ephebeia* in the fourth century see Friend (2019).

a legal context. In his paraphrase of the Justinian Code, Theophilus Antecessor, for instance, mentions οἱ ἄρρενες ἔτι δὲ καὶ αἱ θήλειαι ἔφηβοι 'the male and also the female adolescents' who are under the guardianship of a *curator* (κουρατωρεύονται) until they are old enough (at the age of twenty-five) to manage their property (*Par. inst.* 1.23.7-10). In the ninth-century successor to the Justinian Code, the so-called *Basilika*, ἔφηβος is used in combination with παρθένος (*Bas.* 2.2.12), θυγάτηρ (39.1.41) and κόραι (*Scholia in Bas. I-XI* 60.37.78.3). In Modern Greek, έφηβος is still being used as a common noun in high-register scientific jargon, but colloquially ο έφηβος now has a feminine counterpart: η έφηβη.

The common noun παῖς is much more interesting for our purpose. Homer uses παῖς to refer to children of either sex and of any age. The wives and children left behind at home are referred to as παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων 'children and wives' by Nestor (*Il.* 15.662), ἡμέτεραί τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα 'our wives and infant children' by Agamemnon (*Il.* 2.136),[36] and Odysseus compares the Greeks 'wailing to each other to return home' (ἀλλήλοισιν ὀδύρονται οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι, *Il.* 2.290) to παῖδες νεαροί χηραί τε γυναῖκες 'little children and widowed women' (*Il.* 2.289). The sex of the children is not specified in these cases: both νήπια τέκνα (grammatically neuter) and παῖδες νεαροί (grammatically masculine) refer to infants in general, whether male or female. Astyanax, on the other hand, is referred to as νήπιον υἱόν 'infant son' (*Il.* 6.366, 6.400), παῖδά τε νηπίαχον 'infant son' (*Il.* 6.400), τόνδε … παῖδ' ἐμόν 'this here son of mine' (*Il.* 6.476-7) and τὸν ῥ᾽Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον 'him Hector used to call Scamandrius' (*Il.* 6.402), where the masculine agreement patterns are triggered by the sex of the boy. When παῖς is used to refer to daughters, it triggers feminine agreement patterns, e.g. παῖδα φίλον (*Il.* 16.459), παῖδ' ἐμόν (*Il.* 6.479) versus παῖδα φίλην (*Il.* 1.446), παῖδά τ' ἐμήν (*Od.* 4.262).

In many cases, however, παῖς is lexically opposed to its female counterpart, as in Eumaeus' account of the fate of Odysseus' parents (*Od.* 15.351-79). Laertes 'is grieving for his absent son' (παιδός ὀδύρεται οἰχομένοιο, 15.355), but Anticlea 'has died of grief for her glorious son' (ἄχεϊ οὖ παιδὸς ἀπέφθιτο κυδαλίμοιο, 15.358), after having brought up Eumaeus together with his sister Ctimene, of whom he says:

(19) **θυγατέρ'** ἰφθίμῃ, τὴν ὁπλοτάτην τέκε **παίδων**
Her stately daughter [F], whom she bore as the youngest of her children [M/F].
(Hom., *Od.* 15.364)

36 For recent discussion of this particular line see Janse (2021).

It is clear that παίδων is here used generically in reference to both Odysseus and Ctimene,[37] the latter being identified as θυγατέρι 'daughter' (15.364) as opposed to Odysseus, who is twice referred to as παιδός 'son' (355, 358).

Example (19) leads me to a minor digression on the use of ἴφθιμος, an adjective with uncertain meaning and unknown etymology.[38] In the example just quoted ἰφθίμῃ agrees with θυγατέρι (cf. *Od.* 10.106, 15.364), is it does elsewhere: ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος 'stately wife' (*Il.* 5.415, cf. *Il.* 19.116, *Od.* 12.452), ἰφθίμη παράκοιτις 'stately wife' (*Od.* 23.92), ἰφθίμη βασίλεια 'stately queen' (*Od.* 16.332), ἰφθίμην Πηρώ 'stately Pero' (*Od.* 11.287). These are all feminine nouns referring to female humans, but in two cases ἴφθιμος does not agree with feminine nouns referring to inanimate σκεύη, to borrow Protagoras' term quoted in (1). The first example occurs in the beginning of the *Iliad*:

(20a) πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν | ἡρώων
Many [F] valiant [M/F] souls [F] he sent down to Hades, of heroes.
(Hom., *Il.* 1.3-4)

It might be argued that ψυχή is here used metonymically to refer to the soul as a person, as in μία τὰς πολλάς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς | ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ 'who alone destroyed many, very many souls under Troy' (Aesch., *Ag.* 1456-7, cf. 1465-6), ψυχὰς δὲ πολλὰς κἀγαθὰς ἀπώλεσας 'who destroyed many and excellent souls' (Eur., *Andr.* 611), ψυχαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ δι' ἔμ' ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις | ῥοαῖσιν ἔθανον 'many souls died on my account by the streams of Scamander' (Eur., *Hel.* 52-3, quoted in Ar., *Thesm.* 864-5). Homer, however, uses ψυχή to refer to the souls of the dead:[39]

(21) ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ | ψυχαὶ ἐλεύσονται νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων
There many souls of the dead who have died will come forth.
(Hom., *Od.* 10.529-30)

The second example from Homer's *Iliad* is a variant of the first:

37 It may be noted that the superlative ὁπλοτάτην instead of the metrically equivalent 'binary' comparative ὁπλοτέρην suggests that Laertes and Anticlea had more than two children.

38 Cf. Chantraine (1968-80: 473), Beekes (2010: 606).

39 Latacz et al. believe that "die ψυχαί sind als Teile von Lebenden vorgestellt; ψυχή hat im fgrE nur hier ein adj. Attribut: 'starke' eigtl. zu 'Heroen' (*Enallage*). ψυχαί verschmiltzt mit ἡρώων zu einem Gesammtbegriff (etwa 'Heroenleben', 'Heroen-Existenzen')" (2000: 17). Apart from the fact that this explanation ignores the fact that ἡρώων is added in enjambement, which precludes any "Verschmelzung" with ψυχαί, the authors take pains to explain the difference between ψυχάς at *Il.* 1.3 (20a) and κεφαλάς at *Il.* 11.55 (20b): "κεφαλή [bewährt] bei Homer durchgängig seinen Körperteilcharakter … und [könnte] daher niemals, wie ψυχή, in Gegensatz zu αὐτός treten …, das das *ganze des Körpers* (*mit* Kopf) bezeichnet" (ibid.).

(20b) ἔμελλε | πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδι προϊάψειν
He was about to send many [F] valiant [M/F] heads [F] down to Hades.
(Hom., *Il.* 11.54-5)

Liddell and Scott's remark that "Hom. uses ἰφθίμη of women; but ἴφθιμοι ψυχαί, κεφαλαί, speaking of men" (LSJ, s.v. ἴφθιμος) is echoed by Montanari: "Hom. -η referring to women; -ος with fem. nouns speaking of men" (2015: 995). It is tempting to accept this explanation for an apparent mismatch in natural and grammatical gender agreement, but one is left wondering why πολλάς [F] should be left out of the game, when πολλούς [F] would have been a viable and metrically equivalent alternative. Alternatively, it has been argued that ἴφθιμος is a second-declension adjective of two endings, except "bei Frauen" (Schwyzer 1950: 32).

Returning to the use of παῖς in reference to sons, it is clear that the plural may be used to refer to male and not to female children, as when Hector is met with "the womenfolk at large" (Kirk 1990: 155) at the Scaean gates:

(22) ἀμφ' ἄρα μιν Τρώων ἄλοχοι θέον ἠδὲ **θύγατρες** | εἰρόμεναι **παῖδάς** τε κασιγνήτους τε ἔτας τε | καὶ πόσιας
Around him the wives and daughters of the Trojans came running asking about their sons and brothers and relatives and husbands. (Hom., *Il.* 6.238-40)

Here, as in the case of (19), the daughters are referred to by θύγατρας, the sons by παῖδας, but the identification of the latter can only be deduced from the context: the men return from the battlefield and the women are anxious to know if they are still alive. Shortly thereafter the sleeping quarters of Priam's children in his palace are described:

(23) ἔνθα δὲ **παῖδες** | κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο **παρὰ μνηστῇς ἀλόχοισι**
There the sons of Priam slept besides their wedded wives. (Hom., *Il.* 6.245-6)

Again the identification of παῖδες as 'sons' is made possible by their conjunction with their wives and the mention of Priam's daughters in the following line (κουράων δέ, *Il.* 6.247). Herodotus relates how the Hyperborean maidens (referred to as κόρας at 4.33 and παρθένοισι at 4.34) who had come to Delos to bring offering but had died there, were honoured by the Delians: κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων 'both the girls and the boys cut their hair', sc. in honour of the maidens (4.34).

In other cases, the sex of the children is revealed by the addition of the adjectives ἄρσην / ἄρρην and θηλύς, e.g. παῖδες ἄρρενες καὶ θήλειαι 'male

and female children' (Plat., *Leg.* 788a), παῖδας θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενας 'children, female as well as male' (*Leg.* 930b), παῖδας θηλείας 'female children' (*Leg.* 924e), στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδές εἰσιν ἄρσενες 'for the pillars of a house are the male children' (Eur., *I.T.* 57). Even in cases where παῖς is used in conjunction with θυγάτηρ, as in (22), ἄρσην is sometimes added for the sake of clarity, e.g. Ἀλεῷ ἄρσενες μὲν παῖδες … θυγάτηρ δέ ἐγένετο 'Aleus had male children … and a daughter' (Hecataeus 1a.1F.29a Jacoby). Oedipus distinguishes among his children 'the males' from his 'little girls':

(24) **παίδων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀρσένων** μή μοι, Κρέων | προσθῇ μέριμναν· **ἄνδρες** εἰσίν, ὥστε μὴ σπάνιν ποτὲ σχεῖν, ἔνθ' ἂν ὦσι, τοῦ βίου· | **ταῖν δ' ἀθλίαιν οἰκτραῖν τε παρθένοιν ἐμαῖν** … ταῖν μοι μέλεσθαι

As to my children [M/F], about the males do not worry, Creon; they are men, so they will never lack, wherever they are, a means of living; but as for my two poor and pitiable little girls … for them you must care!

(Soph., *O.T.* 1459-66)

Aristophanes uses an unusual combination to refer to a young girl. After stating that women have a fair share in the burdens of war, τεκοῦσαι | κἀκπέμψασαι παῖδας ὁπλίτας 'giving birth to sons and sending them off as hoplites' (*Lys.* 588-9), Lysistrata says she is worried περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκουσῶν 'about the girls growing old in their rooms' (*Lys.* 593), contrasting παῖδας 'boys' with κορῶν 'girls'. She complains that even a grey old man 'marries a child girl in no time': ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκεν (*Lys.* 595).

Finally, there is of course the possibility of signalling the sex of the child by making articles or pronouns agree with the noun, as in Menander's *Epitrepontes*, where one of the girls (κόραις, *Epit.* 477) Habrotonon was invited to play for at the Tauropolia is later referred to as τὴν παῖδα (*Epit.* 480), ἐλευθέρα[ς | παιδός 'of a freeborn mother' (*Epit.* 495-6). Smicrines' daughter is called παῖδ' ἐπίγαμον 'marriagable girl' (*Epit.* 1115) and referred back to by the demonstrative pronoun ταύτην (*Epit.* 1119).[40]

6. BOYS WILL BE BOYS

Before turning to the diminutives of παῖς, I would like to present a remarkable difference in marking agreement with the neuter nouns τέκνον and τέκος, both meaning 'child', in Homer. The latter always triggers neuter agreement

40 Another example is αἱ παῖδες αὗται 'those girls' (Strattis fr. 27 apud Athen. 589a). They are said to have come from Megara, but are in fact Corinthian, so it is unlikely that παῖδες is here used to refer to "slave girls".

with φίλος in the vocative φίλον τέκος 'dear child', whether it is used in reference to men (Achilles, *Il.* 9.437, 9.444; Hector, *Il.* 22.38, 24.373) or to women (Helen, *Il.* 3.162, 3.192; Aphrodite, *Il.* 5.373, 22.183; Athena, *Il.* 8.30; Leto, *Il.* 21.509). The former, however, seems to trigger masculine agreement in the vocative φίλε τέκνον in reference to men (Telemachus, *Od.* 2.363, 3.184, 15.125, 15.509). Hecabe addresses Hector first as τέκνον ἐμόν (*Il.* 22.82), with the expected neuter agreement, and then as φίλε τέκνον (22.84). Eurycleia, on the other hand, addresses Penelope once as φίλον τέκος (*Od.* 23.5) and once as τέκνον φίλον (*Od.* 23.26), both with the expected neuter agreement.

The diminutives of παῖς are either male (παιδίσκος) or female (παιδίσκη), but the most frequently used are neuter: τὸ παιδίον / τὸ παιδάριον. Looking at the respective positions of the neuter diminutives παιδίον and παιδάριον and the masculine nouns παιδίσκος and παῖς in Ptolemy of Ascalon's division of age classes (18), one might be inclined to look for a correlation between grammatical and natural gender, but a παῖς is generally not deemed old enough to be able to engage in sex—as opposed to a μειράκιον, who is considered to be young enough to still go to school according to Aristophanes (*Nub.* 916-7) and old enough to have sexual relationships (*Pl.* 975-91). Although the sex of a παιδίον does not seem to matter a lot, it is sometimes explicitly identified, e.g. θηλύ παιδίον (Plut., *Pomp.* 53.4) versus ἄρρην παιδίον (Ar., *Lys*. 748b).[41]

There are many cases in which παῖς and παιδίον are used interchangeably to refer to the same child, e.g. τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται 'to whom of the men the παιδίον resembles, the παῖς is adjudged to be his' (Hdt. 4.180).[42] Aesop's fable about the boy who went hunting for grasshoppers begins with παιδίον and ends with ὁ παῖς (9b Hausrath-Hunger). Socrates discusses Protagoras' principle τὸ πάντων μέτρων 'the measure of all things' in reference to a παιδίον who is immediately thereafter referred to as τοῦ παιδός (Plat., *Theaet.* 168d).

There is, however, a very interesting and remarkable case of a mismatch between the grammatical and the natural gender of a baby in Menander's *Epitrepontes*. The usual words to refer to the baby are παιδάριον (*Epit.* 245, 464, 473, 646, 986) and παιδίον (*Epit.* 266, 268, 269, 295, 302, 311, 354, 355, 403, 448, 533, 539, 569, 864, 896, 956, 1131).[43] Once the baby is addressed as ὦ φίλτατον τέκνον (*Epit.* 856). On three occasions, however, it is referred to as παῖς and identified as a boy. When Syrus reveals to Smicrines that the

41 In reference to the latter, Sommerstein suspects that "there may be a play on *sklēros* 'hard' which, in later Greek at any rate, could also mean 'tough, virile'" (1982: 196).

42 The Ausoneans are said have μῖξιν ἐπίκοινον 'promiscuous sex', οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι 'without living together and mating like cattle' (Hdt. 4.180). Here we have another example of an adjective which can be used in both a biological and grammatical sense, though I would hesitate to translate ἐπίκοινον γένος as 'promiscuous gender'.

43 Παιδίον at *Epit.* 1076 refers to a male slave (cf. παῖδες, *Epit.* 1076-7).

shepherd found the baby (τὸ παιδίον, *Epit.* 295) with some jewelry, he presents him as if he is a young man:

(25) **αὐτὸς** πάρεστιν **οὑτοσί**. **[τὸ] πα[ιδί]ον** δός μοι, γύναι· τὰ δέραια καὶ γνωρίσματα **οὗτος** σ᾽ ἀπαιτεῖ, Δᾶ᾽· **ἑαυτῷ** φησι γὰρ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιτεθῆναι κόσμον, οὐ σοὶ διατροφήν

He [M] is here himself [M]. Give me the παιδίον [N], wife. The bracelet and the necklace, he [M] is here to claim them back, Daos. He says they were put there as ornament for himself [M], not as support for you! (Men., *Epit.* 302-5)

The baby is anaphorically referred to by the demonstrative pronouns οὑτοσί and οὗτος.[44] The use of the masculine οὗτος instead of the neuter τοῦτο presents the infant as a young man who has the authority to claim the jewelry for himself. In other words, Syrus lets the baby speak on his own behalf, even though he identifies himself as its legal guardian (κύριος, *Epit.* 306). He then asks whether the gold trinkets should be kept τῷ παιδίῳ … ἕως ἂν ἐκτραφῇ 'for the child … until he is grown up' (*Epit.* 311), confirming its status as an infant. The demonstrative pronoun now used to refer back to the baby is not the masculine οὗτος, but the neuter τοῦτο (*Epit.* 314). Then, however, Syrus says the following:

(26) ἴσως ἔσθ᾽ **ο[ὑτο]σὶ | ὁ πα]ῖς** ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς καὶ **τραφεὶς** ἐν ἐργάταις | ὑπ]ερόψεται ταῦτ᾽, εἰς δὲ τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν | **ᾰ̓ξ]ας** ἐλεύθερόν τι τολμήσει πονεῖν, | θηρᾶν λέοντας, ὅπλα βαστάζειν, τρέχειν | ἐν ἀ]γῶσι

Maybe this boy [M] here is above our class and having been brought up [M] by working people, he may despise that, and when he is fully grown [M], he will want to try to engage in something fit for a freeman—hunting lions, bearing arms, running in competitions. (Men., *Epit.* 320-25)

By using the masculine ο[ὑτο]σὶ ὁ πα]ῖς, Syrus is again presenting the baby as a young adult freeman who has the right to self-determination. Finally, παῖς is used in the phrase χρήματ᾽ … ὀρφανοῦ | παι]δός 'the possessions … of an orphan boy' (*Epit.* 397-8), where the masculine noun is also used to emphasize the legal rights of the boy once he is an adult.[45]

I would like to conclude with a brief discussion of the use of μειράκιον. In (Pseudo) Hippocrates' division of age classes (17), μειράκιον is used to refer to an adolescent boy between fourteen and twenty-one years, i.e. between παῖς and νεανίσκος, the latter being a full-grown, but still young, man. Ptolemy of

44 On the anaphoric use of οὗτος see van Emde Boas et al., who suggests that "the use of οὗτος indicates that the speaker suggests some 'distance'" (2019: 353), in the case of Syrus between himself and the child.

45 Παῖς also figures in a reconstructed line: Χα[ρισίῳ παῖς γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς ψαλ]τρίας; 'The [harp-girl has borne] Cha[risius a son]?' (*Epit.* 621 Sandbach).

Ascalon, however, distinguishes μειράκιον from μεῖραξ in his division (18), which is remarkable as the same Ptolemy elsewhere distinguishes the two in the following way:

(27) μειράκιον καὶ μεῖραξ διαφέρει· **μειράκιον** μὲν λέγεται **ὁ ἄρσην**, **μεῖραξ** δὲ **ἡ θήλεια**

There is a difference between μειράκιον and μεῖραξ: the male is called μειράκιον, the female μεῖραξ. (Ptol. 94 Palmieri)

Moeris gives the following specification:

(28) **μειράκια τοὺς ἄρρενας** Ἀττικοί· **μείρακας τὰς θηλείας** Ἕλληνες

Attic writers call the males μειράκιον, Hellenistic writers call the females μειράξ. (Moer. 15 Hansen)

Given the obvious relationship between the two words, it seems surprising that the diminutive should be used to refer to male youths, whereas the base form from which it is derived is used to refer to female youths. Etymologically, μεῖραξ is related to Sanskrit मर्य *márya-* 'young man, lover' and मर्यक *maryaká-* 'small man'.[46] The latter is a formation independent of μεῖραξ, but the former suggest that μεῖραξ itself was derived from an unattested *μεῖρος, which would go back to Proto-Indo-European **mer-i̯o-* 'young (girl or man)' (Beekes 2010: 921). Chantraine (1933: 379) suggests that nouns in -αξ may have been originally adjectives, e.g. μύλος 'mill' → μύλαξ 'millstone', λίθος 'stone' → λίθαξ 'stony' as in λίθακι ποτὶ πέτρῃ 'against the stony rock' (Hom., *Od.* 5.415). Herodian says that μεῖραξ, -ᾰκος is feminine by analogy with other words in -αξ with a short suffix vowel such as ἡ κλῖμαξ, -ᾰκος 'ladder', ἡ πῖδαξ, -ᾰκος 'spring' as opposed to masculine nouns with a long suffix vowel such as ὁ Φαίαξ, -ᾱκος 'Phaeacean', ὁ θώραξ, -ᾱκος 'breast' (Hdn. *GG* 3.2.631). However, animate nouns in -αξ are often common nouns, e.g. σκύλαξ 'puppy', δέλφαξ 'swine', σπάλαξ 'mole rat', so it is not inconceivable that μεῖραξ was originally a common noun as well. This would imply that the masculine use of μεῖραξ in "later writers" (LSJ) is not necessarily an innovation or an extension.[47]

The use of μεῖραξ to refer to a male youth is found in the story of the seven Maccabean martyrs who were one by one tortured and killed by Antiochus

46 Other cognates have been suggested, but rejected by Chantraine (1968-80: 678) and Beekes (2010: 921-2).

47 In the *Aethiopica* of the Atticist novelist Heliodorus, for instance, ἡ μεῖραξ (4.19.4) is used alongside τὸν μείρακα (10.23.4) and οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ μείρακες (4.19.4). The use of the masculine ὁ μεῖραξ οὑμὸς φίλος 'the laddie, my dear friend' (*Sol.* 5.15) is ridiculed in Lucian's *Soloecista* by his "teacher" Socrates of Mopsus: λοιδορεῖς φίλον ὄντα; 'so you insult your own friend?' (*Sol.* 5.16), i.e. by calling him a μεῖραξ instead of a μειράκιον.

IV Epiphanes.[48] In the first version of the story, the third oldest is referred to as νεανίσκος (2 Macc. 7.12), the seventh and youngest as νεανίας (7.25, 7.30) and μειράκιον (7.25). In the second version, they are collectively called μειρακίσκοι (4 Macc. 8.1), μειράκια (8.14, 14.4), νεανίαι (8.5, 8.27, 14.9), νεανίσκοι (14.12) and even ἄνδρες (14.11), but also μείρακες (14.8) and οἱ ἱεροὶ μείρακες (14.6).[49]

It is worthy of note that the Greek of 2 and 4 Maccabees is considered "literary and Atticistic" by Thackeray (1909: 13).[50] As a matter of fact, the distinction between μειράκιον / μειρακίσκος on the one hand and νεανίσκος / νεανίας on the other is as spurious as in other cases quoted earlier in reference to Ptolemy's life cycle (18). Leaving aside μειρακίσκος and νεανίας, it is interesting to observe that both μειράκιον and νεανίσκος can be used to refer to "the junior partner in homosexual eros" (Dover 1989: 85). In Plato's *Charmides*, Socrates says of the eponymous youth:

(29) οὐ γάρ τι **φαῦλος** οὐδὲ τότε ἦν ἔτι **παῖς ὤν**, νῦν δ᾽ οἶμαί που εὖ μάλα ἂν ἤδη **μειράκιον** εἴη
He wasn't plain [M] even then when he was [M] still a παῖς [M], but I suppose that he must be quite a μειράκιον [N] by now. (Plat., *Charm.* 154b)

Chaerephon replies:

(30) αὐτίκα … εἴσει καὶ **ἡλίκος** [M] καὶ **οἷος** [M] γέγονε
Immediately … you will see how how big and what kind of a person he has become. (Plat., *Charm.* 154b)

When Charmides enters the room, followed by a host of other lovers (πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἐρασταί, 154c), Socrates consistently refers to him with masculine pronouns (ἐκεῖνος, 154b; αὐτόν, 154d), wherupon Chaerephon asks him:

(31) τί σοι φαίνεται **ὁ νεανίσκος**;
What do you think of the νεανίσκος [M]? (Plat., *Charm.* 154d)

It appears that a sexually active μειράκιον can not only trigger male attention but masculine agreement patterns as well, despite the neuter gender of the noun. Νεανίσκος thus fits the natural gender better than μειράκιον.

48 Antiochus IV was the first of the Seleucids to persecute Jews, which resulted in the Maccabean revolt (167-160 BC).

49 The 'holy youths' (ἱεροὶ μείρακες) are later called οἱ ἑπτὰ Μακκαβαῖοι 'the seven Maccabees' by the Cappadocian Fathers, cf. Basil of Caesarea (*Const.* = *PG* 31.1385.45 Migne), Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 43.74.2 Boulenger), Gregory of Nyssa (*Mart.* 2 = *PG* 46.785.39 Migne).

50 For a more detailed discussion see, e.g., deSilva (2006: xii).

Equally intriguing are the word choice and agreement patterns in reference to Cleinias in Plato's *Euthydemus*. At the very beginning of the dialogue, Crito introduces him as follwos:[51]

(32) ἐν μέσῳ δ' ὑμῶν **τὸ Ἀξιόχου μειράκιον** ἦν· καὶ μάλα πολύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπιδεδωκέναι μοι ἔδοξεν καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐ πολύ τι τὴν ἡλικίαν διαφέρειν Κριτοβούλου· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν σκληφρός, **οὗτος** δὲ **προφερὴς** καὶ **καλὸς** καὶ **ἀγαθὸς** τὴν ὄψιν

Between you was the μειράκιον [N] of Axiochus; and he seemed to me to have grown up quite a bit and not to differ a lot in age from our Critobulus [M]; but whereas the latter [M] is puny [M], the former [M] is precocious [M] and handsome [M] and noble [M] in appearance. (Plat., *Euthyd.* 271b)

The masculine gender of the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος may have been triggered by that of ἐκεῖνος, which refers back to Κριτοβούλου, which is of course a masculine proper name, but it may equally well have been triggerd by the fact that Cleinias is portrayed as being ahead of his age. He is nevertheless still refered to as τὸ μειράκιον by Socrates in his description of the same seating plan in which Cleinias was first identified by Crito (273b). Socrates agrees with Crito that Cleinias is well developed for his age (ὃν σὺ φῂς πολὺ ἐπιδεδωκέναι, 273a) and goes on to say that he was followed by a host of lovers (ἐρασταὶ πάνυ πολλοί, 273a), just as Charmides was described in his eponymous dialogue. In other words, the context is again erotically charged.

In the first eristic scene (272d-277c), Cleinias is first referred to as τουτονὶ τὸν νεανίσκον and immediately thereafter as τῷ μειρακίῳ τούτῳ (275a). The context is no longer erotically charged, as Socrates' purpose is to have Euthydemus and Dionysiodorus persuade Cleinias 'to ensue wisdom and practise virtue' (ὡς χρὴ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, 275b). He is twice characterized by Socrates as a νέος who is by his very nature susceptible to corruption (οἷον εἰκὸς περὶ νέῳ, 275b). He urges the two sophists to make trial τοῦ μειρακίου (275b) and they agree provided ὁ νεανίσκος (275c) is willing to answer their questions. Socrates continues his account as follows:

(33) καὶ **τὸ μειράκιον** … ἠρυθρίασέ τε καὶ **ἀπορήσας** ἔβλεπεν εἰς ἐμέ· καὶ ἐγὼ γνοὺς **αὐτὸν τεθορυβημένον** … ἦν δ' ἐγώ

And the μειράκιον [N] … blushed and looked at me in bewilderment [M]; and I, perceiving that he [M] was totally at loss [M] … I said.

(Plat., *Euthyd.* 275d)

51 I translate καλός as 'beautiful', following Dover (1989: 16).

Though a neuter noun, μειράκιον triggers masculine agreement patterns on the participle ἀπορήσας and the pronoun αὐτόν, which in its turns triggers masculine agreement on the particple τεθορυβημένον. It seems as if the youth is considered to be a (young) man of reason who is able to refute the sophists despite his ἀπορία, as is clear from Socrates' reassurement:

(34) θάρρει … καὶ ἀπόκριναι **ἀνδρείως**, ὁπότερά σοι φαίνεται
Do not worry … and answer *like a man*, whatever you think it is.
(Plat., *Euthyd.* 275d-e)

It is tempting to explain to masculine agreement pattern in (33) by the subsequent use of ἀνδρείως in (34), which Socrates apparently uses to convince Cleinias that he is a (young) man of independent thought. Dionysiodorus, however, is convinced that τὸ μειράκιον (275e) will be confuted, no matter what his answer will be, and Socrates knows he is unable to advise τῷ μειρακίῳ (276a), who continues to be referred to as τὸ μειράκιον in the ensuing interrogation (276b-d *ter*; 277b).

At the beginning of the first protreptic scene (227d-282e), as Euthydemus is about to press τὸν νεανίσκον (277d) for the third fall (πάλαισμα, as in a wrestling game), Socrates continues his account as follows:

(35) καὶ ἐγὼ γνοὺς **βαπτιζόμενον τὸ μειράκιον**, βουλόμενος ἀναπαῦσαι **αὐτό** … παραμυθούμενος εἶπον
And I, perceiving that the μειράκιον [N] was going under and wanting to give it [N] some breathing space … encouraged him with these words.
(Plat., *Euthyd.* 277d)

All of a sudden, Cleinias is presented as a helpless little boy who is "getting into deep water" (LSJ) and this time τὸ μειράκιον triggers neuter agreement patterns on the participle βαπτιζόμενον, here of course indistinguishable from its masculine equivalent, and the anaphoric pronoun αὐτό, as opposed to αὐτόν at 275d (33).[52] The idea that Cleinias is too young to be able to tackle questions of such magnitude is later explicitly stated by Socrates, when he explains to the bewildered Cleinias that good fortune is not the greatest of all good things (τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 279c):

(36) ἡ σοφία δήπου … εὐτυχία ἐστί· τοῦτο δὲ **κἂν παῖς** γνοίη
Wisdom surely … is good fortune; *even a child* would see that.
(Plat., *Euth.* 279d)

52 Unsurprisingly, this minute detail of grammar has escaped the attention of serious commentators of the *Euthydemus* such as Gifford (1905).

The particle δήπου combines "the certainty of δή" with "the doubtfulness of που", but "often the doubt is only assumed μετ' εἰρωνίας" (Dover 1954: 267).[53] That this is certainly the case here appears from Socrates' subsequent comment:

(37) καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασεν· **οὕτως ἔτι νέος τε καὶ εὐήθης** ἐστί
And he wondered at this; he is *still so young and ignorant*. (Plat., *Euth.* 279d)

At the end of the first protreptic scene, Socrates urges Euthydemus and Dionysiodorus again to show Cleinias how "to ensue wisdom and practise virtue":

(38) ἐπιδείξατον **τῷ μειρακίῳ**, πότερον πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην δεῖ **αὐτὸν** κτᾶσθαι, ἢ ἔστι τις μία ἣν δεῖ **λαβόντα** εὐδαιμονεῖν τε καὶ **ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα** εἶναι, καὶ τίς αὕτη· ὡς γὰρ ἔλεγον ἀρχόμενος, περὶ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν τυγχάνει ὂν **τόνδε τὸν νεανίσκον σοφόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν** γενέσθαι
Show the μειράκιον [N] whether he [M] ought to acquire every kind of knowledge, or whether there is a single sort of it which he [M] must obtain if he [M] is to be both happy and a good man [M]. For as I was saying at the outset, it is really a matter of great importance to us that this νεανίσκος [M] here should become wise [M] and good [M]. (Plat., *Euth.* 282e)

In (38), τὸ μειράκιον triggers masculine agreement patterns on the anaphoric pronoun αὐτόν, as opposed to αὐτό at 277d (35), and on the participle λαβόντα, which suggests that Socrates is now treating Cleinias again as being *compos mentis* in that he assumes him to be capable of acquiring ἐπιστήμη to become a 'good man' (ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα). It seems as if the use of τόνδε τὸν νεανίσκον in the second part of Socrates' statement is intended to suggest that he is actually a boy on the brink of manhood.

At the beginning of the second eristic scene (283a-288b), which immediately follows after (38) and basically reiterates what Socrates had said, Cleinias continues to be referred to as νεανίσκος (283a *ter*). He is turned back into a μειράκιον again, when Socrates allows the two sophists to apply their τέχνη (285b) 'to make good and sensible people out of bad and senseless' (ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀφρόνων χρηστούς τε καὶ ἔμφρονας ποιεῖν, 285a):

(39) ἀπολεσάντων ἡμῖν **τὸ μειράκιον** καὶ φρόνιμον ποιησάντων
Let them destroy the μειράκιον for us and make him sensible.
(Plat., *Euth.* 285b)

53 Cf. van Emde Boas et al. (2019: 688).

In other words, they should destroy the ἄφρον μειράκιον in Cleinias and turn him into a φρόνιμος ἄνθρωπος, perhaps a φρόνιμος νεανίσκος.[54]

This is an important turning point in the intellectual evolution of Cleinias in the *Euthydemus*. As Sermamoglou-Soulmaidi points out (2014: 55), Socrates responds to Cleinias' growing eloquence by addressing him in an increasingly laudatory way: ὦ Κλεινία (288d), ὦ καλὲ παῖ (289b) and, finally, ὦ κάλλιστε καὶ σοφώτατε Κλεινία 'most handsome and ingenious Cleinias' (290c), after Cleinias' brilliant explanation of the art of generalship (290b-d). Crito is equally impressed upon hearing Socrates' account of this:

(40) τί λέγεις σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, **ἐκεῖνο τὸ μειράκιον** τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐφθέγξατο; … οἶμαι γὰρ **αὐτὸν** ἐγώ, εἰ ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν, οὔτ᾽ Εὐθυδήμου οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔτ᾽ ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι εἰς παιδείαν

What are you saying, Socrates? Did that [N] μειράκιον speak like that? I am sure that if he [M] spoke like this, he does not need education from Euthydemus or anyone else for that matter. (Plat., *Euth.* 290e)

Clearly, Crito could not believe that a μειράκιον would be able to speak in such a clear and sensible way. The masculine agreement on the anaphoric pronoun αὐτόν again indicates that Crito considers Cleinias to have grown out of the age class of μειράκιον and to be no longer in need of education.

An even more remarkable shift in grammatical gender agreement appears in Plato's *Protagoras*, when Agathon is introduced as follows:

(41) παρεκάθηντο δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλησίον κλίναις Παυσανίας τε ὁ ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ μετὰ Παυσανίου **νέον τι ἔτι μειράκιον**, ὡς μὲν ἐγῷμαι **καλόν τε κἀγαθὸν** τὴν φύσιν, τὴν δ᾽ οὖν ἰδέαν **πάνυ καλός**· ἔδοξα ἀκοῦσαι ὄνομα αὐτῷ εἶναι Ἀγάθωνα καὶ οὐκ ἄν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ **παιδικὰ** Παυσανίου τυγχάνει **ὤν**

and near him on the adjacent beds lay Pausanias from Cerames and with Pausanias a μειράκιον still quite young [N], noble [N] of descent, I should say, and certainly handsome [M] of appearence. I thought I heard his name was Agathon and I should not be surprised if he is [M] Pausanias' παιδικά [N.PL].

(Plat., *Prot.* 315e)

In this passage, Agathon is presented as a relatively young μειράκιον.[55] The noun triggers neuter agreement on the adjectives καλόν τε κἀγαθόν, which refer to his "birth and breeding" (Lamb 1924: 115), but masculine agreement on the next adjective καλός, which refers to his current appearence. It is again tempting to see in this grammatical gender mismatch an attempt at

54 The word ἄνθρωπος is used in this very passage (285b).

55 For speculations about Agathon's age see Denyer (2008: 84).

connecting the μειράκιον both with its past (τὴν φύσιν) and with its present (τὴν ἰδέαν).

In his current state, Agathon is obviously sexually active, as is made clear by Socrates' suspicion that he is Pausanias' παιδικά. About the latter word Dover says: "The Greeks often used the word *paidika* in the sense of 'eromenos'. It is the neuter plural of an adjective *paidikos*, 'having to do with *paides*', but constantly treated as if it were a masculine singular" (1989: 16). In the passage just quoted (41), παιδικά is used as the predicative complement of ὤν, which shows masculine agreement, even though it refers back to μειράκιον.

There are many more cases of this kind of (mis)match between grammatical and natural gender. I conclude with some examples in which a neuter diminutive is used to refer to a female referent. The first one comes from Aristophanes' *Wasps*:

(42) καὶ **τὸ γύναιόν** μ' **ὑποθωπεῦσαν** φυστὴν μᾶζαν προσενέγκῃ | κἄπειτα **καθεζομένη** παρ' ἐμοὶ προσαναγκάζῃ· φάγε τουτί

And my little woman [N], suspecting [N] something, offers me a puff pastry and then, sitting [F] next to me, urges me: "Eat this!" (Ar., *Vesp.* 610-11)

In (42), τὸ γύναιον triggers neuter agreement on the first participle ὑποθωπεῦσαν, but the second participle καθεζομένη is feminine, which agrees with the natural, not the grammatical gender of τὸ γύναιον. A very similar example comes from the Septuagint:

(43) καὶ αὐτοὶ εὑρίσκουσιν **τὰ κοράσια ἐξελθυθότα** ὑδρεύσασθαι ὕδωρ καὶ λέγουσιν **αὐταῖς**· εἰ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ βλέπων; καὶ **ἀπεκρίθη τὰ κοράσια** …

And they found the girls [N], who had come out [N] to draw water, and they said to them [F]: 'Is the seer here?' And the girls [N.PL] answered [SG] …

(1 *Ki.* 9.11-12)

In (43), τὰ κοράσια triggers neuter agreement on the participle ἐξελθυθότα, but the anaphoric pronoun αὐταῖς is feminine, the gender of which is again determined naturally, not grammatically. The following clause is therefore all the more remarkable, as the verb ἀπεκρίθη is singular, because the subject τὰ κοράσια is neuter. This is of course the normal agreement pattern for neuter plural subjects (van Emde Boas et al. 2019: 322), but in this particular case it indicates that the grammatical and not the natural gender prevails again.

The final example is taken from the story of Jesus' healing of the daughter of Jairus, one of the rulers of a Galilean synagogue. It is transmitted in three versions in the synoptic gospels. Mark's version begins as follows:

(44) **τὸ θυγάτριόν** μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει, ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας **αὐτῇ** ἵνα σωθῇ καὶ ζήσῃ

My little daughter [N] is dying; please come and lay your hand on her [F], so she may be healed and live. (Mc. 5.23)

Here again the feminine pronoun αὐτῇ does not agree with the neuter diminutive τὸ θυγάτριον.[56] Matthew (9.18) and Luke (8.42) read θυγάτηρ instead of θυγάτριον, which explains the feminine agreement in ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν in the version of the former (ibid.). Jesus' intervention is interrupted by a hemorrhaged woman and in the meantime Jairus' daughter has died. Jesus immediately goes to his house and says the following to the grieving crowd according to Mark:

(45) **τὸ παιδίον** οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει … καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς **τοῦ παιδίου** λέγει **αὐτῇ**· ταλιθα κουμ, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον· **τὸ κοράσιον**, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε· καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέστη **τὸ κοράσιον** καὶ περιπάτει· ἦν γὰρ ἐτῶν δώδεκα … καὶ εἶπεν δοθῆναι **αὐτῇ** φαγεῖν

The παιδίον [N] is not dead but sleeping … and he took the hand of the παιδίον [N] and said to her [F]: *talitha koum*, which translates as: 'girl [N], I say to you, stand up', and immediately the girl [N] stood up and walked around, for she was twelve years old … and he said that she [F] should be given to eat.

(Mc. 5.39-43)

Again feminine pronouns are used to refer to neuter diminutives: the second αὐτῇ (5.43) refers back to τὸ κοράσιον (5.43), but even more remarkable is the first αὐτῇ (5.41), which refers back to τὸ παιδίον (5.39) and τοῦ παιδίου (5.41). In Matthew's version, Jesus uses the neuter diminutive τὸ κοράσιον (9.24), which is again referred back to by a feminine pronoun in the phrase ἐκράτησεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς (9.25). Luke uses the feminine noun ἡ θυγάτηρ with female agreement patterns throughout his version of the story, with one exception: he uses the common noun ἡ παῖς [F] instead of the neuter diminutive τὸ κοράσιον to translate ταλιθα (Aramaic טליתא).

Judging from (43), (44) and (45) it seems safe to conclude that Greek girls behave exactly like German girls. The use of feminine pronouns to refer to the German neuter diminutive *Mädchen* has become a textbook example of a clash between semantics and grammar. Braun and Haig conclude that the choice depends both on the "semantics of age" (2010: 70) and on the "semantics of femaleness" (2010: 82), which is perfectly applicable to the examples just discussed, except that the definition of "femaleness" in terms of "age" differ in the case of Greek girls. The same holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for the use of

56 It may be noted that a few witnesses (𝔓^{45vid} A *pc*) read αὐτῷ instead of αὐτῇ.

masculine pronouns to refer to the neuter diminutives παιδίον and μειράκιον, which is equally dependent on the semantics of age and maleness.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have discussed selected mismatches between natural and grammatical gender and the ways in which grammatical agreement is sometimes used to repair such mismatches. Epicene nouns (§2) are sometimes overtly marked to reveal the natural gender of their referents, such as the male tortoise in (4b). The natural gender of common nouns (§3) can be overtly marked by agreement on articles, pronouns, adjectives and participles, as in the case of the cock in (6). Masculine second declension nouns such as θεός are prototypically associated with male referents, as opposed to feminine first declension nouns such as θεά which are prototypically associated with female referents. Apparent mismatches of natural and grammatical gender often result in the reassignment of a noun to the other declension, such as the feminine second-declension noun παρθένος, which eventually became a first declension noun, i.c. παρθένα (§4).

Nouns referring to human beings of the same sex sometimes differ in grammatical gender (§5). In the division of the life cycle of male human beings according to (Pseudo) Hippocrates (17) and Ptolemy of Ascalon (18), the neuter τὸ παιδίον is younger than the masculine ὁ παῖς, who in turn is younger than the neuter τὸ μειράκιον, who in turn is younger than the masculine ὁ νεανίσκος. There seems no logical or, indeed, natural reason to shift gender twice in the coming of age of boys. The case of the common noun παῖς reveals that if the natural gender is not explicitly marked by agreement or, indeed, by the addition of the gendered adjectives ἄρσην / ἄρρην and θηλύς, it is either ambiguous, especially in the plural (παῖδες = 'children', whether male or female) or, quite often, exclusively male (παῖδες = 'sons'). In the latter case, the opposition between male and female children is often expressed by antonyms, e.g. παῖδες ~ θύγατρες (22).

Diminutive nouns offer the most exciting insights in the way natural and grammatical gender interact and, indeed, clash. Neuter diminutives normally trigger neuter agreement patterns, but sometimes the semantics of age and "maleness" / "femaleness" have an impact on the choices speakers and writers make. Grammatically neuter nouns such as παιδίον, μειράκιον, γύναιον, κοράσιον and θυγάτριον are sometimes referred to by masculine and feminine pronouns, and in some cases even trigger 'gendered' agreement on adjectives or participles, as in the case of μειράκιον in (33) and (41). Braun and Haig conclude their study of the use of feminine pronouns to refer to German *Mädchen* that "people perceive biological gender as more relevant for adults

than for children" and that "a natural boundary, that of puberty, appears to be relavant in the statistical distribution of feminine and neuter forms" (2010: 82). A more detailed study is needed to determine to what extent this also applies to Greek, but the data presented in this paper indicate that this is a worthwhile topic for future research.

Mark Janse
Ghent University & Harvard University
Mark.Janse@UGent.be

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ABSTRACT

This paper is about the relation between natural and grammatical gender in Greek and the ways in which the twain are matched or mismatched. A variety of topics is discussed, including the relation between grammatical gender and declension, the resolution of gender clashes in epicene nouns and the marking of natural gender in common nouns. Particular attention is given to the gendering of neuter diminutives with male or female referents. Age and particular aspects of "maleness" or "femaleness" are shown to be major determinants in triggering male or female instead of neuter agreement patterns, especially on anaphoric pronouns, but occasionally also on other word classes such as predicative adjectives and participles.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, natural gender, grammatical gender, gender agreement, pronominal reference

POVZETEK

Spol in ujemanje: (ne)skladja med naravnim in slovničnim spolom v grščini

Članek obravnava razmerje med slovničnim in naravnim spolom v grščini ter primere, v katerih prihaja znotraj navedene dvojice do ujemanja oziroma neujemanja. Naslovljena je vrsta vprašanj, denimo vprašanje razmerja med slovničnim in naravnim spolom, razreševanja protislovja med naravnim in slovničnim spolom pri epicenih ter zaznamovanja naravnega spola pri večspolnih samostalnikih. Posebna pozornost je namenjena problemu spola pomanjševalnic s slovničnim srednjim spolom ter z nanosniki moškega ali ženskega biološkega spola. Članek pokaže, da sta odločilna dejavnika, ki vplivata na privzetje moških ali ženskih vzorcev ujemanje namesto vzorcev, značilnih za srednji spol, starost ter določeni vidiki »moškosti« ali »ženskosti«. To še posebej pride do izraza pri anaforičnih zaimkih, občasno pa tudi pri pridevnikih, kadar so rabljeni kot povedkovo določilo, in pri deležnikih.

Ključne besede: stara grščina, naravni spol, slovnični spol, ujemanje slovničnega in naravnega spola, nanašanje zaimka

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Brian D. Joseph

What is not so (E)strange about Greek as a Balkan Language

1. INTRODUCTION

Back in the early 1980s, I was trying to raise some research funds for a project I had in mind involving Modern Greek, and I was looking at a Social Science Research Council (SSRC) brochure about their area studies grant programs. I saw that they had a program for "Eastern European countries" and one for "Western European countries". I thought I had better check out both programs to see where my grant application belonged because Greece historically is both east and west, and could reasonably be considered as belonging in one or the other group. However, in looking at the list of Eastern European countries, I saw expected ones like Yugoslavia (then still intact), Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and others, and in the list of Western European countries, there was France, Germany, Italy, and so on, but I could not find Greece on either list. Just to be sure, I telephoned[1] SSRC to inquire into the status of Greece from their perspective and was told that I was indeed reading the brochure right, and that Greek and Greece were no place, so to speak, neither east nor west.

But of course we know where Greece is: it is planted firmly in the Balkan peninsula that occupies most of what can be called "Southeastern Europe" and geographically speaking, it is to the east of "eastern" countries like Albania or the Czech Republic or Slovakia, and to the west of truly eastern countries like Russia.

My SSRC experience is emblematic of an attitude about Greece and about Greek that pervades much of the way Greece and the Greek language are treated in the scholarly world, that is, they are seen as neither east nor west, located

1 Readers should keep in mind that this was before the days of the world-wide web and the internet, so brochures (made of paper!) and telephoning were the chief means of garnering such information.

in the Balkans but with no particular significance attached to the geography. As a reflection of this attitude, works on the Greek language typically act as if the fact that Greek is spoken in the Balkans is almost irrelevant to its history and development.

While such an attitude is understandable from certain points of view, it is especially curious because there are many linguistic characteristics that Greek has in common with the other "eastern" languages in the Balkans, specifically Albanian; the Slavic languages Bulgarian, Macedonian, and some parts (mostly southeast Serbian, the Torlak region) of the Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian complex; the Romance languages Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, (Daco-)Romanian, and Judezmo (also known as Judeo-Spanish); the Indic language Romani; and Turkish. In fact, the commonalities are so great that these languages are said to form a "Sprachbund", a term borrowed from German to signify a linguistic area where languages, through intense and sustained contact in a mutually multilingual society, have come to converge with one another structurally and lexically and to diverge from the form that they held previously.

To document and thus to begin to understand this view of Greece and especially of the Greek language, I first offer a brief historiography of the study of Greek in the Balkans. From such a starting point, I then document the status of Greek vis-à-vis its linguistic neighbors by way of building a case for why detaching the recent history of the Greek language from its Balkan element is a serious mistake, both methodologically and substantively.

2. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GREEK WITH REGARD TO THE BALKANS

First let me offer a quick overview of what has been said about Greek vis-à-vis the Balkans in some relatively recent treatments of the history of Greek:

- Horrocks ([1997] 2010): a scant 3 pages in a c.400-page book
- Moleas ([1989] 2004): no mention at all (even when potentially relevant features are discussed)
- Tonnet (1993): virtually nothing; some features that have been ascribed to Balkan influence, regarding the pluperfect in Medieval Greek, are said to be of French origin

These three works are all by non-Greek scholars, but the same sort of treatment—or nontreatment as the case may be—can be said with regard to Greek linguists themselves, from somewhat more distant times. Jannaris (1897: 19), for instance, recognizes the possible relevance of Balkan languages for some structural aspects of northern dialects but makes it clear that he does not see much need to pay attention to it:

> We see then that, from a phonological point of view, the northern and southern groups, especially towards their extreme boundaries (e.g. Velvendos in Macedonia—Crete), exhibit a very marked difference of sonantism …. It is further evident that the geographical position of the several localities, their isolation or their vicinity to foreign races, their political and internal history, have, to a greater or less extent, conduced to shape the idioms at present spoken in the various Greek communities. That these various dialects have not the same historical value needs no special comment. Thus while northern speech has been influenced by alien (Albanian, etc.) phonology, the dialects of Pontos and South Italy bear unmistakable traits of Turkish and Italo-Venetian influence. Now as phonology in every language is intimately connected with morphology, it inevitably follows that the grammar of the above specified (northern, Pontic and Italian) dialects has been, within Neohellenic times, considerably affected by extraneous influences. At the same time, a careful examination of the southern group will show that, for various reasons, these dialects have withstood foreign influence with far greater success than the northern, and so preserved the ancient phonology, substantially also morphology and syntax … with such (chiefly morphological and syntactical) changes and vicissitudes only as would be inevitable from the nature of the case and the culture or spirit of the time. It is for these reasons that students of the post-classical and subsequent history of Greek, in looking for information in the present stage of modern Greek, should direct their attention not so much to the northern as to the *southern* group of Neohellenic dialects.

This is an interesting perspective, and Jannaris is certainly right that based on what we know of the history of Greek, the southern dialects do preserve certain aspects of the ancient language, especially as to phonology, more faithfully than do northern dialects. Nonetheless, the northern dialects are part of the Greek-speaking world, and what has happened to them, one could argue, is part of the history of Greek, whether or not the changes are due to contact with "alien" influences; that is, the facts of their development should not be ignored.

Especially telling is the statement in Andriotis and Kourmoulis (1968: 30), where the authors say that the Balkan Sprachbund is "une fiction qui n'est perceptible que de très loin" and that the commonalities are "tout à fait inorganiques et superficielles." Moreover, Balkanists, by which I mean scholars who look at the region as a whole and at the interactions between and among the various languages and who do not just look at one language in its Balkan context, have generally paid less attention to Greek than to other major languages in the region (that is, excluding those with far smaller numbers of speakers, such as Aromanian or Judezmo); Albanian, for instance, is quite the mysterious language, certainly the stepchild of Indo-European linguistics and thus less well-known and obscure, but that fact gives it a certain allure and

attraction, so that there are numerous works that pertain to it in its Balkan aspect (mostly not by western scholars, however). The fact that it is spoken in six countries—Albania and Kosovo as the main ones, but also Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Italy, as well as … Greece, through both the now somewhat moribund but once quite vibrant communities of Arvanitika speakers who entered and settled in Greece some 500 or so years ago, and the more recent immigrant communities in Athens, Ioannina, and elsewhere—gives it a certain importance too (though the same could almost be said about Greek, inasmuch as it is spoken in Greece, in Albania, and in Italy, with enclaves too in Bulgaria and Turkey).

And, perhaps most importantly, most Balkanists (on the linguistic side) are by training Slavicists, lured into work on the Balkans by the intriguing parallels between several of the South Slavic languages and other non-Slavic Balkan languages, as well as the ways in which Balkan Slavic languages diverge from the rest of Slavic (e.g., regarding the system of cases in nouns). Indeed, from an historical point of view, it cannot be denied that most of the work done on the languages of the Balkans as a group has been by Slavicists; I have in mind early contributors like the Slovenian scholars Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844) and Franz Miklosich (1813–1891), as well as Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy, in the 1920s, both of whom were Slavicists by training even if their interests were more general, and whose views on the Balkans was also important to understanding the linguistic situation there. Furthermore, the scholar who was the benefactor of the professorship I hold,[2] Kenneth E. Naylor (1937–1992), a South Slavic specialist who was also known as a Balkanist, should be added to this list. The Slavic orientation holds as well among Balkan linguistic scholars who are still living; I note, for instance, the following, listed roughly according to their age:

- Helmut Schaller
- Jack Feuillet
- Ronelle Alexander
- Petya Asenova
- Victor Friedman
- Grace Fielder
- Andrey Sobolev

as among those who began their scholarly lives as Slavicists and got into Balkan linguistics through Slavic; some, admittedly, especially Asenova, Fielder, and Sobolev, do give scholarly mention to matters Greek in some of their work.

2 My position in the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Cultures, which I have held since 1997, is officially known as the Kenneth E. Naylor Professorship of South Slavic Linguistics.

There are some notable exceptions, most particularly Eric Hamp, sadly recently deceased (February 17, 2019) at the age of 98, whose interests are so broad that it is hard to say he got into Balkan studies just through one language, but whose dissertation (1954) was on the Albanian of southern Italy. Mention should be made here also of Christos Tzitzilis of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, though he comes at Balkanistics from a Slavic orientation due to his studies in Bulgaria. A more relevant exception among 20th century scholars was the late Kostas Kazazis in that he was a Hellenist who extended himself into the other languages of the Balkans. And without wanting to seem self-promoting, I think it is fair to say that among current Balkanists, I am just about the only one who has come at the study of the Balkan languages from Greek (upwards, as it were, geographically, as opposed to downwards from Slavic).

This is not to say that papers on Greek topics are not to be found in Balkanist conferences and Balkanistic journals, but that is because such venues allow within their ambit studies of individual languages, without requiring attention to the Sprachbund aspect of the Balkans.

Interestingly, looking back on Balkan linguistic historiography, it can be noted that it took a non-Slav, non-Slavicist, non-Greek, non-Hellenist scholar, Kristian Sandfeld, the Danish Romance scholar who was a specialist in the Classics and especially Romanian, to elevate the study of the Balkans from a linguistic standpoint to a high level. His 1926 work, in Danish *Balkanfilologien* but known mainly from the 1930 French translation, *Linguistique balkanique: Problèmes et résultats*, really focused attention on the Balkans as a linguistic area and contact zone with a large number of interesting shared traits that deserve particular mention and attention from scholars.

There are other factors that have played into the dominance of the Slavic line in Balkan linguistics, such as the fact that Romance scholars for the most part seem not to have cared much about Romanian over the years, in comparison to the intense interest in French, Spanish, and Italian. Moreover, the relative accessibility of Yugoslavia and even Bulgaria in the post-WWII era, before the fall of the Soviet Union, gave Slavicists a place to visit and to do research in where, given the nature of the differences between South Slavic and the rest of Slavic—differences largely due to Sprachbund-related language contact—they would often be drawn into Balkan linguistics, but again, from the Slavic perspective as their starting point.

3. THE GENESIS OF THIS ARTICLE

So, why do we find a general rejection of the Balkans by Greeks and a relative lack of interest in Greek by Balkanists? The latter may be due, as suggested above, to the fact of how it was that many Balkanists got into the field,

i.e. coming from a Slavic perspective. For the former, however, one probably has to look, to a large extent, to ideology, especially as far as Greek linguistic scholarship is concerned (see Joseph 1985),[3] which mirrors the ways in which Greek folklore studies and ethnography were affected, as discussed by Herzfeld (1982).

Nonetheless, some part of the answer may also come from insights to be gained from a lecture given at Princeton University in February 2013, sponsored by the Modern Greek Studies Program there. In particular, the renowned Greek historian, Professor Basil C. Gounaris of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, an Onassis Foundation Senior Visiting Scholar,[4] spoke on "Greece and the Balkans: A Story of a Troubled Relationship (19th–20th Centuries)". His abstract is worth quoting in its entirety to give an idea of his argument concerning the relationship of Greece to the Balkans:

> Before the ideas of Enlightenment and Hellas were infiltrated in the Balkan world, Balkan peoples shared a common mentality. Greek- and Vlach-speaking merchants topped the Christian social pyramid and it was their self-esteem and their economic prosperity which transformed enlightenment ideas into Greek nationalism. The glory of ancient Hellas gave a special meaning to their superiority. Through education it became increasingly clear that Greeks had absolutely no relation with the Slavs, formerly thought to be their brethren in God and in servitude to Islam. In other words Hellenisation could not be accomplished and turned into effective nationalism unless all links with the Balkan peoples were cut off. This paper argues that this process of estrangement was no easier or smoother than the transformation of the Greek-orthodox society itself into a Modern Greek nation. In fact the Balkan peoples and states became for the Greeks the convenient point of reference for evaluating social modernisation, politics, financial progress and irredentistic efforts. Furthermore it is argued that

3 The ideology also of Greek as "one language" diachronically and diatopically, as discussed in Joseph (2009), may also have played a role in this phenomenon, since it would seem to deny the significance of dialectal variation and contact leading to divergence from Ancient Greek.

4 The publicity for the lecture described Professor Gounaris' considerable scholarly accomplishments as follows:

> Basil C. Gounaris is Professor of Modern History at the Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He studied Modern History in Thessaloniki and at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford (D.Phil., 1988). He serves as Director of the Centre for Macedonian History and Documentation in Thessaloniki. Since May 2011 he is the Dean of Humanities and member of the Governing Board at the Hellenic International University in Thessaloniki. Gounaris is the author of *Steam over Macedonia: Socio-Economic Change and the Railway Factor, 1870–1912* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1993); *Family, Economy, and Urban Society in Bitola, 1897–1911* (Athens: Stachy, 2000 in Greek); *Social and other Aspects of Anticommunism in Macedonia during the Greek Civil War* (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 2002 in Greek); *The Balkans of the Hellenes, from Enlightenment to World War I* (Thessaloniki: Epikentro, 2007 in Greek); *The Macedonian Question from the 19th to the 20th century: Historiographical Approaches* (Athens: Alexandreia 2010, in Greek); *'See how the Gods Favour Sacrilege': English Views and Politics on Candia under Siege (1645-1669)* (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, 2012).

> this troubled relationship reflects until today the endless political dispute as to the exact position of Greece within the European civilisation.

Professor Gounaris' lecture afforded an ideal opportunity to explore the very interesting contrast between the "estrangement" of Greece and Greek society from the Balkans and the very profound influence the Balkans have had, and continue to have, on Greece from a linguistic standpoint. So, I take here this opportunity to carry out this exploration in print.[5]

First, by way of justifying the title of this article, various meanings and the etymology of *strange* and *estrange* (adjective and verb) are relevant (based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* [on-line version, oed.com], s.vv.):

> STRANGE: 'from elsewhere, foreign, alien, unknown, unfamiliar,' from Old French *estrange* (Modern French *étrange*) … from Latin *extrāneus* 'external, foreign' from *extrā* "outside of"
>
> ESTRANGE (adjective (obsolete)): 'distant, strange, unusual,' from Old French *estrange*
>
> ESTRANGE (verb): 'treat as alien; alienate'

My claim is that whereas recognizing the foreign, the alien (as Jannaris put it) in the development of the Greek *language* is not at all (e)strange—indeed the foreign has helped to shape Greek and to make the modern form of the language into what it is today, the southern varieties as well as the northern ones that Jannaris was so dismissive of—estrangement may have been necessary for the development of the Greek *nation*. That is, from a linguistic standpoint there is a longer history of *engagement* than of *estrangement* between Greek peoples and the Balkans. Interactions between Greek speakers and speakers of other languages in the Balkans have had profound effects on the Greek language that last to this very day.

Accordingly, I present here a side of Greece, namely the Greek language, that is not estranged from the Balkans, and explore the ways in which Greek has been affected by, and has influenced, other Balkan languages and the ways in which it can be considered to be a Balkan language.

4. LINGUISTIC PRELIMINARIES ON THE BALKANS

To set the stage, I offer as a preliminary an overview of the languages in question here. The Balkans have been a hotbed of multilingualism and language contact

5 This paper actually had a public airing orally, as I presented it at Princeton University, as a guest of the Hellenic Studies Program, on April 23, 2013.

since ancient times,[6] but given my focus here on the interactions Modern Greek has had with its neighboring languages, I concentrate just on the medieval and modern era, the periods during which the Balkan Sprachbund took shape.

There is an important distinction to be made between languages that are geographically in the Balkans, what can be called "languages of (or in) the Balkans", and languages that show significant convergence in structure and lexicon due to contact among their speakers, that is to say, languages that participate in and form the Balkan Sprachbund, what can be called "Balkan languages".

4.1 Languages of/in the Balkans

The following languages can be identified as the "languages of/in the Balkans", given here along with some brief notes as needed and as appropriate; omitted here are languages of very recent in-migrations, e.g. by Urdu speakers who have settled recently in Greece, and international languages in wide use such as English or French:

- Albanian (spoken in Albania, Kosovo, North Macedonia, and Montenegro, as well as enclaves in Greece)
- Armenian (spoken in Bulgaria)
- Bulgarian
- Circassian (Adygey variety; spoken in Kosovo)
- German (spoken in Romania)
- Greek (including the very divergent dialects like Tsakonian and Pontic (the latter only in Balkans proper via relatively recent migrations from Asia Minor in the 1920s in the aftermath of the Treaty of Lausanne))
- Hungarian (spoken in Romania)
- Italian (spoken in the Istrian peninsula)
- Judezmo (also known as Ladino or Judeo-Spanish)
- Macedonian (the South Slavic language, not a continuation in any way of Ancient Macedonian)
- Romanian (see below for fuller picture)
- Romani (the Indic language of the Roms)
- Ruthenian (also known as Rusyn, spoken in Vojvodina area of Serbia, considered by some to be a dialect of Ukrainian)
- "Serbo-Croatian" (now the Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian complex of related West South Slavic varieties)
- Slovak (spoken in a small enclave in the Vojvodina area of Serbia)
- Slovenian
- Turkish (especially Western Rumelian Turkish, distinct from the current standard language)

6 See Katičić (1976) for an overview of the various languages in the ancient Balkans.

4.2 Balkan Languages

The following languages can be identified as the "Balkan languages", given here along with some brief notes as needed and as appropriate. They are a subset of the languages of/in the Balkans given in §4.1, and are those languages that participate to some significant extent in Balkan Sprachbund; varieties that are less involved in the Sprachbund are given in *italics*, though they differ considerably in degree of involvement:

- Albanian (both major dialects, though to different degrees: *Geg* (North) and Tosk (South))
- Bulgarian
- Greek (various dialects, including Tsakonian (but excluding Asia Minor dialects))
- *Judezmo*[7]
- Macedonian
- Romanian (actually more specifically Aromanian (spoken in Greece, North Macedonia, and Albania), and Meglenoromanian (spoken in a few villages in Greece and North Macedonia near the border between these two countries), less so *Romanian* (the national language of Romania and Moldova) and even less so *Istro-Romanian*)
- Romani
- *Serbian* (really only the Torlak dialects of the Southeastern Serbian-speaking area as most relevant; much less so *Bosnian*, *Croatian*, and *Montenegrin*)
- *Turkish* (as in §4.1, not a "full" structural participant but crucial nonetheless)

A useful terminological point that emerges from this listing is that Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Torlak Serbian can be said to constitute "Balkan Slavic" (i.e., that part of the Slavic group that is fully in the Balkan Sprachbund), and similarly, Aromanian, Meglenoromanian, and to some extent Romanian itself can be classified as constituting Balkan Romance. To follow up on this presentation of the Balkan languages, we can now turn to the features that characterize the Balkan languages, that is to say, the features on which significant convergence among the languages in §4.2 is found.

7 See Friedman and Joseph (2014, 2021), and Joseph (2020) for discussion of the extent to which Judezmo can be considered to be a Balkan language.

5. BALKAN CONVERGENT FEATURES

In order to see where Greek stands with respect to the Balkan Sprachbund, it is necessary to survey the features on which the Sprachbund languages converge, so-called "Balkanisms". Unfortunately, no definitive list can be easily compiled of all such features, due in part to the vastness of such an undertaking, as there are so many points of convergence, but also due to methodological issues that are hard to resolve, such as how many languages need to be in on a convergent feature for it to be significant.[8] I sidestep those issues here by giving a list of fifteen Balkanisms that have been discussed the most in the literature. These are but a small glimpse, in a sense, of the overall convergent picture but they are representative and have commanded the attention of analysts over the years. Moreover, they cover various levels of linguistic analysis: morphosyntax (a–g), semantics/pragmatics (h), syntax (i–j), and phonology (k–o); I add some lexical (and other more restricted) convergences in a later section (§8). I give a description of each such feature, without giving details or a lot of the relevant data, but I illustrate each one with an example from Modern Greek, where possible, or from one other language, in order to give readers a sense of what is involved in each:

(1) A selection of Balkan convergent structural features
   a. a reduction in the nominal case system, especially a falling together of genitive and dative cases, e.g. Greek του ανθρώπου 'of the man; to a man' (continuing earlier Greek genitive τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, dative τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ)
   b. the formation of a future tense based on a reduced, often invariant, form of the verb 'want', e.g. Greek θα γράψω 'I will write' (from earlier θέλει να γράψω, literally "it-wants that I-write")
   c. the use of an enclitic (postposed) definite article, typically occurring after the first word in the noun phrase, e.g. Albanian *njeri* 'man' ~ *njeriu* 'the man'
   d. analytic adjectival comparative formations, e.g. Greek πιο όμορφος 'more beautiful'
   e. marking of personal direct objects with a preposition, e.g. Aromanian *U vâdzuj pi Toma* 'I see Toma' (literally "him I-see PREP Toma")
   f. double determination in deixis (= a demonstrative adjective with a definite article and a noun, e.g. Greek αυτός ο άνθρωπος 'this man' (literally "this the man"))
   g. possessive use of dative enclitic pronouns, e.g. Bulgarian *knigata mi* 'my book' (literally "book-the to-me")

8 To provide an index of the size of the task, I note that Friedman and Joseph (2021), perhaps the most recent, and (hopefully) authoritative compendium of data about linguistic convergence in the Balkans, runs to some 800 pages and has taken nearly 20 years to be completed.

h. the use of verbal forms to distinguish actions on the basis of real or presumed information-source, commonly referred to as marking a witnessed/reported distinction but also including nuances of surprise (admirative) and doubt (dubitative), e.g. Albanian *qenka* 'I allegedly am'
i. the reduction in use of a nonfinite verbal complement ("infinitive") and its replacement by fully finite complement clauses, e.g. Greek πώς τολμάς να μου μιλάς έτσι 'How dare you speak to me like that' (literally "how you-dare that to-me you-speak thus"); cf. Ancient Greek εἰ … τολμήσεις … ἔγχος ἀείραι 'if you dare to raise (your) spear' (literally "if you-dare spear to-raise", *Iliad* 8.424)
j. the pleonastic use of weak object pronominal forms together with full noun phrase direct or indirect objects ("object doubling"), e.g. Greek σε είδα εσένα 'you I saw' (literally "you I-saw you")
k. the presence of a (stressed) mid-to-high central (thus, schwa-like) vowel, e.g. Albanian *ë*
l. the presence of *i-e-a-o-u* in the vowel inventory without phonological contrasts in quantity, openness, or nasalization, e.g. Greek ι ε α ο ου
m. voicing of voiceless stops after nasals (NT > ND), e.g. την τάση (pronounced [tin dasi]) 'the tendency' (accusative singular)
n. presence of *ð θ γ*, as in Greek
o. elimination of palatal affricates in favor of dentals, e.g. Greek τσιπς 'chips' (pronounced with dental [ts] even though from English *chips* (with palatal [tʃ])

With this set of features established, the question of the position of Greek among the Balkan languages, i.e. whether it is part of the Balkan Sprachbund, and if so, to what extent, can be taken up.

6. DISTRIBUTION OF FEATURES

Crucial to an answer to the question of Greek as a Balkan language is the determination of which of the features listed in §5 occur in Greek. As already indicated by the fact that some of the features in §5 are exemplified by material from languages other than Greek, it is the case that not every feature is found in all of the Balkan languages. Accordingly, the distribution of these features is given here, where * signals partial or dialectal (as opposed to Standard language) realization, "Slavic" means the feature occurs generally across Balkan Slavic and "Romance" that it occurs generally across Balkan Romance. Given the focus herein on Greek, the fact of a feature being found in Greek is highlighted by the occurrence of "**GRK**" in bold capital letters, and those features which are not instantiated in Greek are specially marked by being given in italics. It must of course be noted that even if a feature occurs across the Balkans,

it need not have arisen due to contact with other languages, as it could be an independent innovation in various languages; the matter of origins for the features is taken up in §7.

(2) The distribution of the features in (1)
   a. a reduction in the nominal case system, especially a falling together of genitive and dative cases [Albanian, **GRK**, Romance, Slavic]
   b. the formation of a future tense based on a reduced, often invariant, form of the verb 'want' [Albanian*, **GRK**, Romance*, Romani, Slavic]
   c. *the use of an enclitic (postposed) definite article, typically occurring after the first word in the noun phrase [Albanian, Romance, Slavic]*
   d. analytic adjectival comparative formations [Albanian, **GRK**, Judezmo, Romance, Romani, Slavic, Turkish]
   e. *marking of personal direct objects with a preposition [Romance, Slavic*]*
   f. double determination in deixis (= a demonstrative adjective with a definite article and a noun (i.e., "this-the-man")) [Albanian*, **GRK**, Slavic*]
   g. possessive use of dative (genitive) enclitic pronouns [**GRK**, Romance, Slavic]
   h. *the use of verbal forms to distinguish actions on the basis of real or presumed information-source, commonly referred to as marking a witnessed/reported distinction but also including nuances of surprise (admirative) and doubt (dubitative) [Albanian, Aromanian*, Slavic, Turkish]*
   i. the reduction in use of a nonfinite verbal complement ("infinitive") and its replacement by fully finite complement clauses [Albanian*, **GRK**, Romance, Romani, Slavic]
   j. the pleonastic use of weak object pronominal forms together with full noun phrase direct or indirect objects ("object doubling") [Albanian, **GRK**, Judezmo, Romance, Romani, Slavic]
   k. *the presence of a (stressed) mid-to-high central (thus, schwa-like) vowel [Albanian, Romance, Slavic*]*
   l. the presence of *i-e-a-o-u* in the vowel inventory without phonological contrasts in quantity, openness, or nasalization [Albanian*, **GRK**, Judezmo*, Romance, Romani, Slavic]
   m. voicing of voiceless stops after nasals (NT > ND) [Albanian, **GRK**, Aromanian]
   n. presence of *ð θ γ* [Albanian, Aromanian, **GRK**, Slavic*]
   o. elimination of palatal affricates in favor of dentals [Albanian*, Aromanian, **GRK**, Romani*]

It is misleading to think of the Balkan Sprachbund as being determined in purely quantitative terms, judged by a scorecard of pluses and minuses with regard to a selection of linguistic features. Among other considerations, it is especially hard to quantify the cases of partial involvement and it is also the

case that not all features necessarily count equally in terms of their effect on the overall structure of the language and how a language looks relative to the other languages; some of the phonological features, for instance, might affect only a relatively small number of morphemes in a given utterance.

Nonetheless, it is striking that 11 of the 15 features considered here find realization in Greek. Such a preponderance of representation of Balkan features in Greek intuitively gives a solid basis for considering Greek to be a true Balkan language and therefore a part of the Balkan Sprachbund.

7. THE DIACHRONY OF THESE FEATURES IN GREEK

Another dimension to the assessment of Greek as a Balkan language is the matter of how many of these features represent divergences from earlier stages of Greek—as noted in §1, with the convergence characteristic of the contact that creates the cluster of geographically connected languages referred to as a Sprachbund, there is typically divergence away from the structures and lexical forms that characterized these languages prior to the contact. This means that another index of the Balkan character of Greek is the extent to which the convergent features represent innovations away from the structures and vocabulary of earlier stages of Greek. In the case of Greek, we are fortunate in having the extensive documentary record of Ancient Greek, especially Greek of the Classical and post-Classical eras, so that it is possible to determine which features reflect changes that are candidates for Balkan contact-induced effects.

Four of the features under examination here are irrelevant for this question as they are not found in Greek at all:

(3) Features from (2) to be excluded
- c. *the use of an enclitic (postposed) definite article, typically occurring after the first word in the noun phrase [Alb, Slavic, Romance]*
- e. *marking of personal direct objects with a preposition [Slavic*, Romance]*
- h. *the use of verbal forms to distinguish actions on the basis of real or presumed information-source, commonly referred to as marking a witnessed/reported distinction but also including nuances of surprise (admirative) and doubt (dubitative) [Alb, Slavic, Aromanian*]*
- k. *the presence of a (stressed) mid-to-high central (thus, schwa-like) vowel [Alb, Slavic*, Romance]*

Of the remaining features, the ones that diverge from what is found in Ancient Greek are given in (4).

(4) Features from (1) that are innovative within Greek
   a. a reduction in the nominal case system
   b. the formation of a future tense based on 'want'
   d. analytic adjectival comparative formations
   i. the reduction in use of a nonfinite verbal complement ("infinitive") and its replacement by fully finite clauses
   j. the pleonastic use of weak object pronominal forms together with full noun phrase direct or indirect objects ("object doubling")
   l. the presence of *i-e-a-o-u* in the vowel inventory without phonological contrasts in quantity, openness, or nasalization
   m. voicing of voiceless stops after nasals
   n. presence of *ð θ γ*
   o. elimination of palatal affricates in favor of dentals

Only features (f), double determination in deixis, and (g), possessive use of dative (genitive) enclitic pronouns, represent carry-overs from constructs found in Ancient Greek. Thus in 9 of the 11 features under consideration here that are found in Greek, we see structural changes on the way to Modern Greek.

Moreover, of these 9 features, it is possible to gauge how many are likely to be the result of or to have been enhanced by "alien" influence on Greek, i.e. due to contact with other languages—these are highlighted in bold below—as opposed to being a Greek-internal development, where the chronology often can tell us the extent to which contact was involved. For instance, a reduction of the case system, with the loss of the dative case, is evident in New Testament Greek and thus clearly predates Balkan contact.[9] This is admittedly a difficult determination to make definitively in some instances, in that some features show beginnings in pre-Balkan-contact times but accelerate in later Greek under conditions of contact; such is the case with the pleonastic use of weak object pronouns, for instance (see Janse 2008) and the developments with the infinitive (see Joseph 1983). Still, here is the list of features as run through this filter, again with (c), (e), (h), and (k) excluded, and now also (f) and (g), as they are irrelevant to this aspect of the assessment:

(5) Innovative features in Greek likely due to language contact
   a. a reduction in the nominal case system
   b. **the formation of a future tense based on 'want'**
   d. analytic adjectival comparative formations
   i. **the reduction in use of a nonfinite verbal complement ("infinitive") and its replacement by fully finite clauses**
   j. **the pleonastic use of weak object pronominal forms together with full noun phrase direct or indirect objects ("object doubling")**

9 See Humbert (1930) and more recently, Mertyris (2014, 2015).

l. the presence of *i-e-a-o-u* in the vowel inventory without phonological contrasts in quantity, openness, or nasalization
m. voicing of voiceless stops after nasals
n. presence of *ð θ γ*
o. **elimination of palatal affricates in favor of dentals**

This calculus suggests that Greek developed various Balkan-like features—just under half of those at issue here—on its own, or at least started down that path to showing such structures, prior to the period in medieval times of significant contact with other Balkan languages. Although the numbers here are not as clear-cut as the others reported on above, they do not vitiate the claim that Greek is fully Balkan in many respects.

There are several reasons for this assessment. First, the occurrence of some of the features in other languages may be due to contact with Greek, so that even if some features within Greek have a Greek-internal origin, Greek would be part and parcel of the overall convergence zone. As it happens, the origins of the Sprachbund is actually a rather complicated question that has been the subject of much discussion and cannot be resolved here;[10] still, it can be said that not all Balkanisms can be due to Greek influence—at the very least, since Greek does not have a postposed definite article, it could not have been the source of that feature in other languages. Second, even if a feature has a Greek-internal starting point, it could have gained scope within the language through contact, with influence from other languages enhancing the feature's viability within Greek. Third, it is not at all clear how many features are needed for a language to qualify as "Balkan"; as noted earlier, this judgment is not based simply on a scorecard of pluses and minuses—there has to be a qualitative dimension as well. Finally, even if of native/internal origin, the occurrence of a particular feature that is parallel to one found in another language in close contact gives a surface sameness between the languages, thus feeding the impression of a Sprachbund for bilingual speakers, regardless of the ultimate cause of the sameness.

Moreover, there are other features that can be considered, as the next section makes clear. I turn to those next.

8. ADDITIONAL FEATURES

As noted in §5, the features that have been considered in §6 and §7 are just a subset of the full scope of convergent features linking the Balkan languages to one another. Thus, there are others, actually many others, but in this section,

10 See Friedman and Joseph (2021) for discussion of the origins of various Balkanisms.

a few additional features, of two types, are mentioned here. First, there are a few features that are quite restricted in Greek, in that they are found just in certain regional dialects (and thus not in the standard language) and not widely distributed across the entire Greek-speaking realm. Inasmuch as such features are not widespread across all of Greek, they might be viewed as being less significant for judging the "Balkanness" of the language. However, since overall, and for each feature even, the degree of involvement of a particular language can vary, these restricted features are not irrelevant. Moreover, they are no less real for the varieties in which they occur, and thus must be taken seriously. Second, there are features that are not structural in nature but rather involve lexical material.

8.1 Dialectally restricted features

The quote from Jannaris (1897) in §2 indicates that northern dialects of Greek show some effects of contact with other languages in the Balkans that are not found in other dialects. Two areas of grammar where such dialectally restricted features occur in Greek are phonology and morphosyntax, as detailed in the following subsections.

8.1.1 Phonology

One feature found in northern Greek dialects is the raising of unstressed mid-vowels ([+mid] > [+high]), this *e* > *i* and *o* > *u*. This raising is exemplified by forms such as άνθρουπους 'man' (nominative singular, vs. Standard Greek άνθρωπος) and πιρίμινι 'wait!' (imperative singular, vs. Standard Greek περίμενε!). This raising is found marginally in Albanian, in Judezmo (though under slightly different conditions so it may not be the same feature in a certain sense), and in Balkan Slavic. It is an innovation when compared with earlier stages of Greek, as reflected still in the standard language, based as it is on southern varieties (recall Jannaris's quote), and thus, given its geographic restriction, is plausibly to be attributed to language contact. In this way, therefore, northern Greek is brought in line phonologically with more centrally located Balkan languages.

8.1.2 Morphosyntax

In the realm of morphosyntax, there are two noteworthy features in northern dialects of Greek that show affinities with other Balkan languages.

First, in Thessalian Greek, as reported in Tzartanos (1909)—see (6a)—but also with a broader distribution in northern varieties, as reported in Thavoris (1977) and Ralli (2006)—see (6b)—an innovative placement of a weak

indirect object pronoun occurs with plural imperatives. In particular, instead of the expected occurrence of the pronoun outside of (to the right of) the plural marker -τι (with raising of earlier -ε to -ι, as in §8.1.1), the pronoun is positioned inside of (i.e., to the left of) the plural marker; for instance, one finds (here and in (7), hyphens have been added to make the parsing of the morphemes more evident):[11]

(6) a. δο' - μ' - τι
give.IMPV me.ACC 2PL
'(Y'all) give (to) me!' (literally: "give-(to)-me-y'all")

b. φέρι - μέ - τι
bring.IMPV me.ACC 2PL
'(Y'all) bring (to) me!' (literally: "bring-(to)-me-y'all")

From a language contact perspective, this innovative placement is interesting because it mirrors exactly what is found in Albanian with plural imperatives (cf. Newmark et al. 1982, Rasmussen 1985, Joseph 2010):

(7) hap - e - ni
open.IMPV it.ACC 2PL
'(Y'all) open it!' (literally: "open-it-y'all")

The geographic restriction of this phenomenon in Greek and the availability of a model from Albanian, spoken in some parts of central and northern Greece, makes a claim of language contact suggestive as a basis responsible for this innovation.

Second, in the dialect of the northern Greek prefecture of Kastoria, as described by Papadamou and Papanastassiou (2013), there occurs an impersonal use of the nonactive voice verb form together with an indirect object pronoun to indicate internal disposition, what can be translated as "feels like". For instance, they cite the following (showing northern raising of unstressed -ε/-αι to -ι, and accusative for genitive):

(8) a. μι τρώγιτι
me.ACC eat.3Sg.NonAct
'I feel like eating' (literally: "(to-)me it-is-eaten")

11 These examples also show the characteristic northern use of the accusative for the genitive indirect object.

b. μι πίνιτι
me.ACC drink.3Sg.NonAct
'I feel like drinking' (literally: "(to-)me it-is-drunk")

These constructions are perfectly acceptable for these northern speakers, and are constructed as if standard Modern Greek, contrary to fact, allowed sentences like μου τρώγεται / μου πίνεται in the intended meaning.

What makes the sentences in (8) of particular interest in the Balkan context is the fact that other Balkan languages in the region, the same construction is found, with an impersonal nonactive verb and an indirect object personal pronoun, as in (9):

(9)	Mac	*mi*	*se*	*jade*	*(burek)*
		me.DAT	REFL	eats.3sg.PRS	(burek)
	Blg	*jade*	*mi*	*se*	*(bjurek)*
		eats.3sg.PRS	me.DAT	REFL	(burek)
	Alb	*më*	*hahet*		*(një byrek)*
		me.DAT	eats.3sg.NonAct.PRS		(a burek)
	Aro	*nji-si*		*mãcã*	
		me.DAT-3REFL		eat.3sg.PRS	
		'I feel like eating (a burek)' (literally: "to-me is-eaten …")			

The Balkan Slavic and Aromanian use of the reflexive pronoun with a 3rd person active verb form is the Slavic and Romance equivalent of the nonactive verb form in the Albanian and the Greek. This appears to be a Slavic construction in origin, as it is found in Slavic languages outside of the Balkans, so its occurrence in Kastoria Greek is clearly a contact-induced innovation, moving that variety in the direction of other Balkan languages it is in contact with.

8.2 Lexicon

The features discussed so far have been grammatical in nature, ranging over phonology, morphosyntax, syntax, and semantics, and it is certainly true that scholarly attention regarding the Sprachbund has long been on matters of grammatical convergence. However, there is an important lexical dimension to the Sprachbund as well, and the relevant evidence bears in important ways on the assessment of Greek as a Balkan language.

It is well documented that the lexicon is generally the first component in a language to be affected by contact, through the appearance of loanwords

(borrowings) passing from one language into another. Not surprisingly, one can find numerous words that are shared across languages of the Balkans. Greek is the source of many terms having to do with Orthodox Christianity, for instance:[12]

(10) Christianity-related loans from Greek into Balkan languages
Grk ἁγίασμα 'sanctification': Alb *ajazmë*, Aro *(a)yeasmó* 'holy water', Blg *agiazma/ajazma*, Mac *ajazma* 'holy water', Rmn *aghiazmă*
Grk ἀναφορά 'blessed bread': Alb *naforë*, BRo *(a)naforă*, BSl *nafora* 'holy or toasted bread'
Grk ἀνάθεμα 'curse, excommunication': Alb *anatemë*,[13] BRo *anatemă*, BSl *anatema* (also Mac *natema go* 'damn him')
Grk εἰκόνα 'icon': Alb *ikonë*, BRo *icoană,* BSl *ikona*
Grk καλόγηρος 'monk': Alb *kallogjër*, Blg *kaluger*, BRo *călugăr*
Grk ἡγούμενος 'abbot': Alb *(i)gumen*, Blg *igumen*, BRo *egumen* (*igumen*), Mac *egumen*

Moreover, there is another significant lexical group of wide distribution in the Balkans consisting of words of Turkish origin, especially administrative and Islamic terms and words associated with aspects of urban commercial life, a reflection of the fact that Turkish was the key language of Balkan urban areas during the period of Ottoman rule, but also covering terminology for food, names for items of material culture, and the like. Among such words of Turkish origin are the following, constituting a representative sample (meanings the same as the Turkish source; / separates variants within a given language):

(11) Turkish cultural loans into Balkan languages
aga '[Turkish] lord' (StTrk *ağa*):[14] Alb *aga*, Aro *aga*, Blg *aga*, Grk αγάς, Mac *aga*
asker 'soldier': Grk ασκέρι. Rmi *askeri*, Rmn *ascher*[15]
minare 'minaret': Alb *minare*, Aro *minare*, Grk μιναρές, Mac *minaret*
cami 'mosque': Alb *xhami*, Aro *ğimie*, Grk τζαμί, Mac *džamija*
imam '(Muslim) priest': Alb *imam*, Aro *imam*, Grk ιμάμης, Mac *imam*
dukkân 'shop': Alb *dyqan,* Blg *djukjan*, Mac *dukjan*
hendek 'ditch': Aro *endec/hãndac*, Blg *hendek*, Grk χαντάκι, Jud *jendek*, Mac *endek*, Rmn *hindichi/hendechi/hândechi*
sokak 'alley': Alb *sokak*, BSl *sokak*, BRo *socac*, Grk σοκάκι, Rmi *sokako*
çorba 'soup': BRo *ciorbă*, BSl *čorba*, Grk τσορμπάς, Jud *čorba*, Rmi *čorba*

12 A key to the abbreviations used here and in other displays: Alb = Albanian, Aro = Aromanian, Blg = Bulgarian, BRo = Balkan Romance, Grk = Greek, Jud = Judezmo, Mac = Macedonian, Rmi = Romani, Rmn = Romanian, StTrk = Standard Turkish.

13 Here the Albanian /t/ suggests a non-Greek, probably Slavic, intermediary.

14 The Turkish source is actually Western Rumelian Turkish; the Standard Turkish form is given for comparison.

15 This is now archaic or historical and refers to (Ottoman) Turkish soldiers.

paça 'tripe, trotter': Alb *paça*, Aro *pãce*, Blg *pača*, Grk πατσάς, Mac *pača*
tencere 'pot; cooker': Alb *tenxhere*, Aro *tengire*, BSl *tendžere,* Grk τεντζερές, Jud *tenǧere*, Rmn *tingire*

In a certain sense, such culturally related loans represent a somewhat trivial sort of language contact effect, in that all they do is demonstrate that contact of some sort occurred, but they really say nothing about the nature of that contact. Even very casual contact can yield cultural loans of this sort. What is more telling than these regarding the Balkan lexicon is the penetration of a different class of elements into the lexicon of the various Balkan languages. According to Friedman and Joseph (2014; 2021, Chap. 4) what is essential for understanding the Balkan Sprachbund is the recognition of a class of conversationally based loans that they refer to as "E.R.I.C." loans. This label is an acronym for borrowings that are "Essentially Rooted In Conversation",[16] and their presence reveals something very interesting with regard to the nature of language contact in the Balkans. These loans go beyond the simple informational needs and the object/goal orientation that speakers of different languages who are interacting with one another have. Borrowing such words is not dictated by prestige or need, two of the most common motivations for loanwords; instead, E.R.I.C. loans are forms that can be exchanged only via direct conversational interaction, and they cover elements that include discourse particles, terms of address, greetings, exclamations, interjections, and the like, and therefore reflect a more human side of speaker interactions. Friedman and Joseph argue that the conditions of close and sustained contact that yield such lexical convergence, what they refer to as mutual multilateral multigenerational multilingualism, are also precisely the right type of social context in which Sprachbund-like structural convergence can emerge as well. Thus E.R.I.C loans point to conditions that are Sprachbund-conducive, as opposed to loans that take place under casual contact situations.

E.R.I.C. loans are all over the Balkans, as documented extensively in Friedman and Joseph (2021, Chap. 4), and, significantly for the discussion here, such loans are found in Greek. Many are from Turkish, but their source is not limited to Turkish, and indeed some of the E.R.I.C. loans in the various languages have their origins in Greek. In (12), a very small sampling of such conversational loans is given:

(12) Some conversational loans (E.R.I.C. loans) in the Balkans
Trk (provincial) *de*: Grk ντε (signaling impatience), Alb *de* (emphatic with imperatives), Mac *de* 'c'mon'

16 The term is also intended as a tribute to Eric Hamp, Balkanist par excellence and a scholar from whom I learned a tremendous amount about various Balkan languages, including Greek but especially Albanian.

Trk *belki(m)* 'perhaps, maybe': Alb *belqim*, Aro *belchi*, BSl *belki(m)* 'maybe; probably; as if', Grk μπελκί(μ) (dialectal, e.g. Cretan), Jud (of Istanbul) *belki*
Grk μάλιστα 'yes (indeed)': Aro (dialectal) *malista*
Trk *(h)ay di* 'hurry up! go on! all right!': Alb *hajde*, Blg *hajde*, Grk άιντε 'c'mon'
Grk *ela* 'c'mon': Aro *ela*, Blg *ela*, Mac *ela*
Trk *aman* 'oh my!': Alb *aman*, BSl *aman*, BRo *aman*, Grk αμάν, Jud *aman*, Rmi *aman*

Two very widespread conversational and discourse-related forms deserve special mention. The first is what Pring (1975, s.v.) calls an "unceremonious term of address", roughly 'hey you' but with many nuances of meaning and usage and a great many variant forms, almost all ultimately from Greek (cf. Joseph 1997):

(13) Forms of an unceremonious address term in the Balkans
Alb: *o*, *ore*, *or*, *mor*, *more*, *moj*, *ori*, *mori*, *moré*, *mre*, *voré*, *bre*
Blg: *more*, *mori*, *bre*
Jud: *bre*
Mac: *more*, *mori*, *bre*
Rmn: *bre*, *mă*, *măi*
Trk: *bre*, *bire*, *be*

Greek here has forms such as *μωρέ, μπρε, βρε, ρε, αρέ, μαρέ, μαρή, ωρέ, βορέ,* etc., some 55 variants in all. The second is the various forms with an *-m-* nucleus meaning 'but', of varied— and disputed—origins, and various uses (cf. Fielder 2008, 2009, 2015, 2019):

(14) *-m-*based words for 'but' in the Balkans
a. *ama*, *ma*, *ami*, *mi* (as discourse marker and conjunction)
Aromanian
Greek
Bulgarian
Macedonian
Meglenoromanian
b. *ama*, *ma* only (as discourse marker and conjunction)
Albanian
Judezmo
Romani
Turkish
c. *ama*, *ma* (as discourse marker only)
Romanian

In some instances, it is not specific words that are borrowed but rather the semantic structure of a word or phrase, resulting in a calque or loan translation:

(15) Some Balkan calques
Trk *kötek yemek* 'get a beating' (literally "eat a blow"): Mac *jade k´otek*, Grk τρώγω ξύλο (literally "eat wood")
Grk το ξέρω απ' έξω 'I know it by heart' (literally "it I-know from outside") = Agia Varvara Romani (Messing 1988: 61) *dzanav-les avral* (*avral* = 'from outside, from abroad')

Relevant here too are various everyday expressions that match in the different languages but for which the directionality of borrowing is unclear; an example is the common greeting exchange in (16) where the shared response with its use an adverb (possibly with 'be') is striking:[17]

(16) A shared greeting exchange
Alb *Si je?* (*Jam*) *mirë* (note: adverb *mirë*, not adjectival form *i/e mirë*)
Blg *Kak si? Dobre* (adverbial form)
Grk Πώς είσαι; (Είμαι) καλά
Mac *Kako si? Dobro* (adverbial form)
Rmi *Sar sijan? Shukar*
Trk *Nasılsın? Iyi*

E.R.I.C. loans can also add color and affect to conversation; the highly expressive and mildly dismissive *m*-reduplication of Turkish, e.g. *kitap mitap* 'books (*kitap*) and such', is an example of such an affective borrowing throughout the Balkans. Examples are given in (17):

(17) *m*-Reduplication in the Balkans
Blg *knigi-migi* 'books and such'
Mac *kal-mal* 'mud or whatever'
Alb *cingra-mingra* 'trivia'
çikla-mikla 'tiny bits and pieces; crumbs; trivia'
Grk τζάντζαλα-μάντζαλα 'this and that' ("rags and such"), πιπέρι-μιπέρι 'pepper and such', καφέ-μαφέ 'coffee and such', ιδού-μιδού 'see here, or whatever'[18]
άρα μάρα 'who cares?'
άρες μάρες (κουκουνάρες) 'nonsense'[19]

17 And indeed, some of these may be independent coinages in each language, but their surface similarity contributes to the sense of sameness among the languages from a lexical and phraseological viewpoint.

18 These last three examples come from Demetrius Byzantios's 1836 play *I Babylonia*, a work in which dialect-based miscomprehension is a recurring theme and *m*-reduplications occur frequently and for particular effect; see Levy 1980.

19 The additional word here, κουκουνάρες, means 'pine cones; pine nuts' and surely was added just for the rhyme effect; Joseph (1985) discusses other proposed etymologies for άρα μάρα and άρες μάρες. Whatever the source of individual pieces in these phrases might be, it is undeniable that the juxtaposition of these pieces fits the Turkish *m*-reduplication pattern in both form and expressivity.

Moreover, many ERIC loans are members of closed lexical classes, representing vocabulary domains that are generally held to be somewhat resistant to borrowing, and yet they are borrowed. These classes include kinship terms, pronouns, negatives, complementizers. Friedman and Joseph (2014; 2021, Chap. 4) argue that the same intense and intimate conditions that yield the conversational borrowings offer the opportunity for the borrowing of these closed-class items. Some representative examples from these classes are given in (18):

(18) Closed-class borrowed E.R.I.C. items
Trk *baba* 'father': Alb *baba*, Aro *baba*, Grk μπαμπάς 'dad'
Grk μου 'my': Aromanian *–m* (vs. native *-n'i*; from Latin *mihi*, presumably via *mnihi)
Trk *yok* '(emphatic) no!': Grk γιοκ
Grk ότι 'that': Mac *oti* 'that'
Grk ό,τι 'for that reason': BSl *oti* 'because'

E.R.I.C loans are thus found all over the Balkans and bespeak an intense sort of contact at a very human and personal level. In this way, therefore, even the lexicon provides some insight into the degree of Balkan integration that is seen in Greek. Moreover, the fact that Greek is both a donor and a recipient of E.R.I.C. loans means that Greek was a full participant in the contact that led to the Sprachbund, a relevant consideration when judging the degree of "Balkanness" that the language shows.

9. CONCLUSIONS

The material in the preceding sections, especially §§6–8, should make it clear that treating Greek as a full-fledged Balkan language is entirely warranted by the linguistic evidence, and specifically by the range of features it shares with the other Balkan languages. It is of course true, however, that as far as the standard language is concerned, Greek is not showing any signs of further "Balkanization", e.g. through the development of one or more of the Balkan features not found in the language, such as a postposed definite article, but at the same time, neither is it moving away from the Balkan features it currently displays. The simple fact here is that speakers of the standard language are not in close contact with other Balkan languages in the way that Greek speakers were in the pre-modern era. However, that fact does not lessen the Balkan character of the standard language, when viewed through the lens of the Balkan features it shows still.

Moreover, in situations where contact remains intense, varieties of Greek continue to show innovative effects resulting from that contact. The

geographically highly localized nature of the impersonal "feels-like" construction discussed in §8.1.2 suggests a relatively recent origin, inasmuch as it has not spread to other local varieties of Greek, and Lavidas and Tsimpli (2019) document the innovative omissibility of direct objects with specific reference in Modern West Thracian Greek, the local dialect of Evros, under conditions of contact with Turkish.

The answer, then, to the question implicit in the title of this piece is that there is nothing strange or estrange about considering Greek to be fully "Balkan" in all respects.

Brian Daniel Joseph
The Ohio State University
joseph.1@osu.edu

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ABSTRACT

In a 2013 lecture at Princeton University, distinguished historian Professor Basil Gounaris suggested that in the 19th–20th centuries there was a "troubled relationship" between Greece and the Balkans, and a process of "estrangement" associated with "the transformation of the Greek-orthodox society itself into a Modern Greek nation". This is all very well and good as far as the 19th and 20th centuries are concerned, and as far as the cultural and political side of the development of modern Greece are concerned, but there is a longer history of engagement between Greek peoples and the Balkans and other dimensions to that history. In particular, from a linguistic standpoint, the interactions between Greek speakers and speakers of other languages in the Balkans—Albanian, Slavic, Romance, Indic, and Turkish in particular—had profound effects on the Greek language that last to this very day. Accordingly, I present here a side of Greece, namely the Greek language, that is not estranged from the Balkans, and explore the ways in which Greek has been affected by, and has influenced, other Balkan languages and the ways in which it can be considered to be a Balkan language.

Keywords: Balkans, dialects, Greek, language contact, Sprachbund

POVZETEK

Kaj balkanskega grščini ni zelo (od)tuje(no)

Ugledni zgodovinar, profesor Vasilis Gunaris je leta 2013 na predavanju na Univerzi Princeton zagovarjal tezo, da je za obdobje 19. in 20. stoletja značilno »problematično razmerje« med Grčijo in Balkanom ter proces »odtujevanja«, povezan s »preoblikovanjem grške pravoslavne družbe v moderno grško nacijo«. Ko je govora o 19. in 20. stoletju ter o kulturnem in političnem razvoju v moderni Grčiji, je tezi težko ugovarjati. A interakcije med Grki in balkanskimi ljudstvi imajo daljšo zgodovino, ta zgodovina pa ima tudi drugačne vidike. Konkretneje, v jezikovnem smislu smemo trditi, da so pustili stiki med govorci grščine in drugih balkanskih jezikov – ali drugače, albanščine, nekaterih slovanskih in romanskih jezikov, romskega jezika in turščine – na grščini globok in še dandanes viden pečat. Tako v članku predstavim enega izmed vidikov Grčije, to je grški jezik, ki se od Balkana ni odtujil, ter raziskujem, v katerih pogledih so na grščino vplivali drugi balkanski jeziki ali obratno in v kakšnem smislu smemo o grščini govoriti kot o balkanskem jeziku.

Ključne besede: Balkan, narečja, grščina, jezikovni stik, jezikovna zveza

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Matej Hriberšek

Dominik Penn, Lexicographer at the Intersection of Slovenian and Greek

1. ABOUT VID (DOMINIK) PENN

Dominik or Vid Pen(n)[1] is one of those Slovenian lexicographers whose work has remained relatively poorly noticed and quite forgotten in the history of Slovenian literature and Slovenian lexicography as well as in the history of classical philology, since he was not a writer who would decisively mark the history of Slovenian or Greek linguistics. He did, indeed, devote more than three decades of his life to the preparation of a dictionary which has never been published but remained in manuscript; due to certain peculiarities, the dictionary and its writer remained anonymous and poorly known or completely unknown to most people. Only scant notes are found about them which are scattered across the scientific and expert bodies of literature, and only one article (Stabej 1975) that somewhat more precisely sketches Dominik Penn's lexicographical and grammatical work. Nevertheless, he was a fascinating and slightly unusual lexicographer of the Slovenian language who included Greek in his work in a very unusual way.

Dominik Penn was born as Vid Penn on 5 May 1785, in the village of Sveti Vid near the town of Ptuj in Slovenian Styria, to father Franc and mother Marija; his Godparents were Mihael and Marjeta Kacijan.[2] No information or records can be found about his youth. He probably went to primary school in his home town; in 1802, he enrolled in the gymnasium in Maribor, which he attended for six years, between 1802 and 1808. This was relatively late, since he was eighteen years old at the time, i.e. the age at which students usually completed gymnasium. At the time, the closest university

1 In the sources and documents his surname is mostly written with double *n* (*nn*), which he used himself also.

2 ŠAM, RMK (Parish register and obituary) Sv. Vid pri Ptuju 1756–1787, p. 325.

centre for students originating from Styria was the Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz, Austria, where Vid Penn went in 1808 for a two-year course of studies in philosophy, which was a direct preparation for studying at the university. After these two years of studying philosophy, he enrolled to study theology at the university in Graz; at the end of the 18th century, this was also the only option if one wanted to study theology since that was a period when it was not possible to study it in Ljubljana: Four-year theological studies at the faculty, which had the right to award academic titles, started in Ljubljana in 1811, in the period of the Illyrian Provinces, when the authority over this territory was French. During his school years, he was influenced by a few patriotic individuals who knew how to appeal to the patriotic note in young people and encourage them to be active in the fields of literature, science, and culture. On 13 May 1810, students of Slovenian nationality and young Slovenian intellectuals in Graz, among whom was most probably also Vid Penn (even though this has not been documented), joined in the so-called Slovensko društvo (*Societas Slovenica*), which was headed by the Slovenian teacher and intellectual Janez Nepomuk Primic; the primary mission of the society was to preserve the Slovenian language, its research, and to collect the Slovenian linguistic material.[3] During his study of theology, Vid Penn decided that he would not work as a regular diocesan priest but entered the order of Friars Minor and chose his monastic name Dominik. He completed the study of theology in 1814; on 21 September of the same year he was ordained. As a priest he functioned only locally, on the narrow area of his home town and its surroundings in parishes run by Friars Minor: first, he was a chaplain in the parish of Sveta Trojica (The Holly Trinity, now Podlehnik) in Haloze until 1829, which was under the care of friars from the Minorite monastery; during this time, he was in close contact with his friend from his student years, Anton Krempl (1790–1844).[4] In 1829, he took over his home parish of Sveti Vid (Saint Vitus) near Ptuj, which he ran until 1844; that year, he returned to Ptuj, where he became the monastery vicar and one of the members of the definitory of the Minorite province. He worked here until 14 April 1855, when his heart gave out and he was buried on 16 April in the cemetery near the church of St. Ožbalt in Ptuj.[5]

3 See Šumrada (2002), Slodnjak (2013), Kidrič (1934 a–b), Kidrič (1929: 381–383, 430–440, 483–546, 573–589), Legiša (1959: 36–38), von Wurzbach (1872: 309–310), Prunč (1983: 281).

4 See Glazer (2013-a), Raič (1869), Medved (1895), Macun (1883: 80–83), Glaser (1896: 183–184).

5 See Ilešič (1905: 6, 7, 10), Kidrič (1930: *80, 92, 229, 273),* Kidrič (2013-c), Stabej (1975: 42).

2. PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

Not counting the sporadic mentions of the dictionary and Penn himself, the dictionary did not receive detailed study until the second half of the 20th century. It is interesting that later literary historians practically never mention him; and it is truly surprising that he is not mentioned even by Ivan Macun in his work *Književna zgodovina Slovenskega Štajerja* (*Literary History of Slovenian Styria*), the review of literary creativity in Styria.[6] The only exception is France Kidrič, who first mentioned him in 1929 in his *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva* (*History of Slovene Literature*), where he primarily stresses the role of Penn as a revivalist in Styria and his participation in the circle of Slovenian students and intellectuals in the time when he studied theology in Graz.[7] A year later (1930), he presented D. Penn and his references in the sources of his work about Dobrovský and his age, and he also wrote a short presentation of Penn's life and work for the *Slovenski biografski leksikon* (*Slovenian Biographical Lexicon*).[8] The most in-depth discussion about Penn's dictionary, which has remained unnoticed until now, was published by Jože Stabej in the magazine *Slavistična revija* quarterly (Stabej 1975). In the last twenty years, the dictionary has been dealt with by Marko Jesenšek.[9]

3. THE DISCOVERY OF THE DICTIONARY

At the time when dictionary material was being collected and his dictionary made, Penn's lexicographical work was entirely unknown; it was familiar only to rare individuals who, like Penn, collected Slovenian vocabulary units. Indirectly, Penn's work was connected to the creation of the Slovenian-German dictionary, which Fran Miklošič started writing in 1849 (Ilešič 1905: 88). In collecting linguistic material, Miklošič was aided by some of the Slovenian students in Vienna, including Ivan Ertl (Ilešič 1905: 87–88, Kotnik 1919). He invited everyone who would be prepared to either collect the material or hand over previously prepared collections of words to join him; he also addressed his acquaintances to help him collect the dictionary material. In a letter of January 1850 (precise date unknown), he wrote to Jožef Muršec:[10]

6 Cf. Šlebinger (2013).

7 See Kidrič (1929: 458, 494, 496, 575).

8 See Kidrič (1930: 80, 92, 229, 273), Kidrič (2013-c).

9 See Jesenšek (1999-b: 369–370), Jesenšek (2015: 351–352).

10 About Muršec see Ditmajer (2019: 6–22), Vrbanov (1898), Macun (1883: 123–125), Legiša (1959: 157, 165).

> Dragi prijatelj! …
> Ja sem sklenil izdati slovensko-nemški rečnik: kar sem skoz dolge leta nabral, zdaj s pomočjo svojih dobrih prijateljev v Beču dopolnjavam. Ali če učeni ljudje v slovenskih deželah meni ne pomorejo, delo ne bo moglo doseči tiste popolnosti, ktero toliko želim. Zato Vas lepo in lepo prosim, naj se Vam rači meni poslati če kako zbirko slovenskih besed pripravljeno imate: Ertel, kteri mi je od velike pomoči v mojem delu, mi je rekel, da tako zbirko imate. Ja sem dobil dve zbirki: Kopitarjevo, Rudeševo in celo kratko Ravnikarjevo. Poznate li Vi koga, ki bi tako zbirko imel, ali ki bi mogel in htel meni pomagati? Jaz rad platim, če kdo kaj za me včini. Morebiti bi v semenišču se kdo najšel …
>
> Dear friend! …
> I've decided to publish a Slovenian-German dictionary: what I have gathered over many years, I'm now supplementing with the help of my good friends in Vienna. But if learned people in Slovenian lands don't help me, the work won't be able to achieve the perfection I'm striving for. Therefore, I kindly ask you to be willing to send me a collection of Slovenian words, if you have one prepared: Ertl, who is of great help to my work, told me you might have such a collection. I have received two collections: one from Kopitar and one from Rudeš, and even a short one from Ravnikar. Do you know of anyone else who might have such a collection or who could and would want to help me? I gladly pay if someone does something for me. Maybe someone could be found at the seminary… (Ilešič 1905-a: 88, 1905-b: 158)

Fran Miklošič solicited assistance from a wide circle of Slovenian intellectuals who would collect for him primarily less known Slovenian words against payment; they sought help from the wider public, since the project was obviously seriously thought through. The only thing missing was people who would help collect the material, since Miklošič himself could not devote his time to this task due to his obligations in Vienna. On 23 July 1851, an unsigned author published Miklošič's invitation in *Novice*[11] and presented a few individuals who were collecting linguistic material around the Slovenian national territory. At the same time, the author encouraged everyone who would be willing to embark on this task to join in. This article mentions Penn for the first time:

> Gosp. dr. Miklošič misli tudi nabirek g. Penna, minorita v Ptujem, (kteri se neki že 30 lét z nabiranjem slovenskih beséd peča), kakor tudi mnogoletni gosp. Cafov nabirek kupiti, ako ju bo volja prodati.

11 The author was presumably Matej Cigale. See Breznik (1938: 155).

> Dr. Miklošič intends to buy the collection of Mr. Penn, a Friar Minor from Ptuj (who has been dealing with the collection of Slovenian words for some 30 years now), as well as the collection of Mr. Caf, if they are willing to sell them.
>
> ("Dopisi," *Novice kmetijskih, rokodelnih in narodskih rečí* 9, 30 (1851) [sreda, 23. maliga serpana (srednoletna)]: 151)

However, Miklošič never published the intended dictionary, but did help with its creation in Ljubljana. Maks Pleteršnik, who as the editor oversaw the publication of the *Slovensko-nemški slovar*, explicitly wrote in the introduction to the dictionary in 1893:[12] "Professor Dr F. Miklošič also gave his Slovenian-German dictionary (a manuscript in four volumes, containing 287 sheets) for the board to use." Yet, Pleteršnik does not mention Penn and his dictionary among the sources from which the composers of the dictionary drew the Slovenian words; obviously, his dictionary had been forgotten by then or they simply did not know of the lexical material (see Pleteršnik [1893] 1894–1895: iii).

What happened with the dictionary after Penn's death was clearly unknown; in periodical *Slovenski glasnik* for 1858, a writer (probably the editor-in-chief Anton Janežič) wrote that he had received a letter from one of his friends in Styria, in which this friend familiarises him with Penn's dictionary:

> Iz prijateljskega dopisa iz Štajerskega tole: Pravil mi je pred nedavnim nek rodoljub o slovenskem slovarju v rokopisu, ki ga je spisal po šestnajstletnem trudu P. Dominik v Ptujem l. 1845. Obsegal je po pisateljevih besedah 20–30 tisuč besed, in samo za dele v očesu je imel blizo 20 izrazov. Govorilo se je, da misli g. pisatelj svoje spise na Dunaj poslati – pa kdo ve, kje so sedaj? Škoda velika za lepo nabero, če se je zgubila.
>
> From a friend's letter from Styria: I was told recently by a patriot about a Slovenian dictionary in manuscript that was compiled after the sixteen-year labours of F. Dominik in Ptuj in 1845. According to the author, it was compiled of 20–30 thousand words, and for parts of the eye alone he had nearly 20 expressions. It was said that the writer intended to send his documents to Vienna—does anyone know where are they now? It would be such a great shame if such a big collection were to be lost. (Janežič 1858: 172)

It is clear from the letter that neither Janežič nor his friend knew that the dictionary had been bought by Fran Miklošič, who had been interested in the purchase even before then. One question remains open: was the mediator between Penn and Miklošič the famous Slovenian linguist and collector of linguistic material Oroslav Caf?[13] Caf's biographer Božidar Raič mentions that

12 See Breznik (2013), Pirjevec (1924), Pleteršnik ([1893] 1894–1895).

13 See Raič (1878), Kolarič (2013-a), Toš (2014), Šrimpf (1972).

in 1856 Miklošič came to visit Caf and suggested that they publish a dictionary he was preparing together, but Caf turned down the invitation to collaborate (Raič 1878: 82). Was it Oroslav Caf who gave Fran Miklošič Penn's dictionary? The preserved sources do not confirm such a conclusion; in any case, Caf was in possession of Penn's manuscript, yet it is unknown whether that was while Penn was still alive or after his death. First, this is indicated by an almost unnoticeable notice on page 86 of the German-Slovenian dictionary at the entry "Brustfell, diaphragma, atis, *n.* Ρηζχιζα /rečica/ (omentum, peritoneum, diaphragm)", where Caf added the Slovenian meaning 'rečica' and signed his name (Image 1).

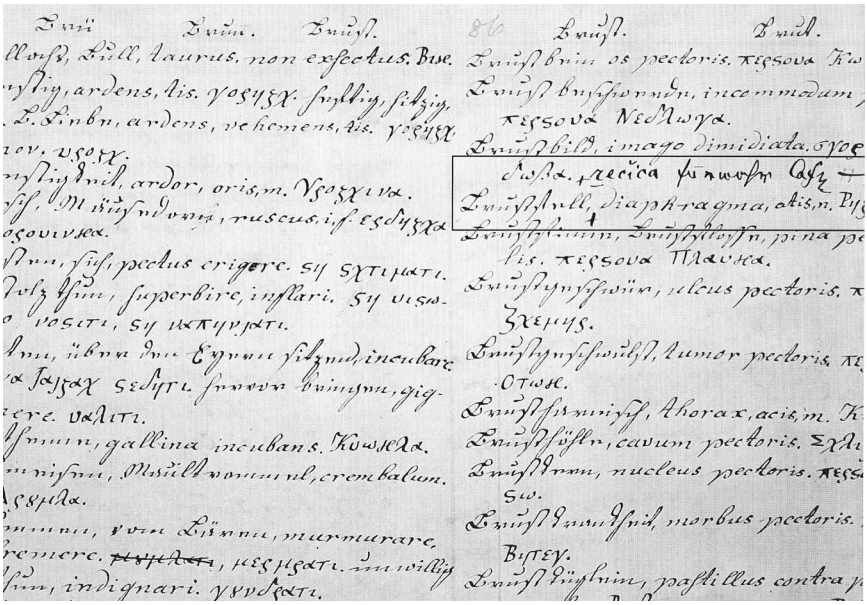

Image 1: *Oroslav Caf's addition in Penn's dictionary, p. 86;* source: NUK, Ms.

The second confirmation is found in Caf's letter to Božidar Raič, in which he was asking him about the word "skabica" that he found in Penn's material (Raič 1878: 86). It is certain that the dictionary found its way to Miklošič, who later sent it to Slovenian lexicographer Matej Cigale,[14] who explicitly wrote this in his introductory review of the history of Slovenian lexicography two years later (1860), when he published his *Deutsch-slovenisches Wörterbuch* (*Nemško-slovenski slovar*, *German-Slovenian Dictionary)*, the printing of which was sponsored by the Ljubljana bishop Anton Alojz Wolf. This is where we find more concrete information about Penn's dictionary for the first time:

14 See Atelšek (2013), Kolarič (2013), Kacin (2013).

> Von Herrn Professor Dr. Fr. Miklošič erhielt ich ein deutsch-lateinisch-windisches Wörterbuch des verstorbenen Pettauer Minoriten Penn (vollendet 1854), in welchem das Slovenische ungeschickt genug mit griechischem Alphabet geschrieben ist, das aber insoferne eine Beachtung verdient, als es aus einer lexikographisch noch wenig durchsuchten Gegend stammt.
>
> I've received a German-Latin-Slovenian dictionary by the late Friar Minor Penn from Ptuj (finished in 1854) from professor Dr Fran Miklošič, in which Slovenian is quite awkwardly written in the Greek alphabet, but which is all the more worth noticing because it originates from a lexicographically poorly researched area.
>
> (Cigale 1860, 1: vii)

What happened to the dictionary after Cigale got it from Miklošič is not known; it is last mentioned by Oroslav Caf in 1871. Caf publicly asked Slovenian intellectuals who was it that had offered him for transcription the manuscript by the Maribor Capuchin Friar Bernard or Ivan Anton Apostel a while back (1760);[15] in his inquiry, he also awoke the memory of Penn: "Our Maribor has even two lexicographers: a friar Bernard and priest Narat … as Ptuj has its own: Pen and Kupan" (Caf 1871: 1). The material of Penn's dictionary (similar to Miklošič's before him) was used by Caf in the preparation of his own dictionary material which was the base of Pleteršnik's dictionary (Jesenšek 1999-b: 370). After that, Penn and his dictionary sank into oblivion; it is not known what happened to the manuscript, but the dictionary was apparently left to be kept by Slovenska matica (possibly from Fran Ilešič), which later handed it over to the National and University Library (there are no precise data), where it is kept in the Manuscript Collection.[16]

4. THE PREFACE AND THE FIRST PART OF THE DICTIONARY

Penn's dictionary was being composed in the period between 1824 and 1845, and then he continued to supplement it until 1854. A clean copy of the dictionary was supposedly made sometime between 1846 and 1854 (Stabej 1975: 55). The dictionary's manuscript encompasses a total of 590 pages in the size 47 x 22cm and is subdivided into three parts: The first, most extensive part,

15 UKM, Ms 195 (F 83), *Dictionarium Germanico Slavonicum, Vocabula tam Antiqua, quam Nova, usu recepta, juxta Etymon purioris Slavonismi Authorum, Methodice demonstrans … Authore P(at)re Bernardo Marburgensi, Capucino.* [Maribor] 1760. See Ilešič (1939), Vidmar (2013), Kidrič (2013-a), Stabej (1972), Jesenšek (1999: 360–361), Legiša (1959: 304–305), Kidrič (1929: 149, 151, 201, 204, 256, 258, 717).

16 NUK, Ms 1313, *Deutsch-lateinisch-und windisches, dann windisch-deutschesWörterbuch Am Ende mit einem deutschen, lateinischen, windischen Alfabeticum, wie auch mit einer windischer Sprachlehre herausgegeben*.

which has 471 pages, is the German-Latin-Slovenian dictionary comprising (approximately) 57,000 Slovenian words (Stabej 1975: 47); the author gave it a lengthy title:

> *Deutsch-lateinisch-windisches, dann windisch-deutsches Wörter-Buch zum allgemeinen / Gebrauche, besonders für die Geschäfts-Männer sowohl im weltlichen als geistlichen Stande in / den slovenischen Ländern, mit allen Bedeutungen einzelner Wörter und Redensarten. Am Ende / mit einem deutschen, lateinischen und windischen Alfabeticum, wie auch mit einer windischen / Sprachlehre, herausgegeben. / Deutsch-lateinisch-windisches Wörterbuch erster Theil Im Jahre 1854.*
>
> German-Latin-Slovenian, then Slovenian-German dictionary for general / use, especially for businessmen both of secular and clerical status in / Slovenian lands, with all meanings of individual words and phrases. / In the end with the German, Latin, and Slovenian alphabet, published along with / the Slovenian grammar. / German-Latin-Slovenian dictionary, the first part in 1854.

It is not known where Penn's stimuluses came from for the collection of lexicographic material; supposedly, friends he knew from the *Societas Slovenica* while he was studying theology in Graz encouraged him to do this work when he was starting his career as a chaplain in Ptuj, therefore around 1820. The indirect cause for the work and its background can be discerned from the foreword written to the first part of his dictionary (Image 2). The main points from the introduction are:

- that a comprehensive German-Slovenian and Slovenian-German dictionary has never been created;
- that such a dictionary is essential for businessmen (he emphasised this twice; he probably has merchants in mind);
- that in many parts of the Slovenian territory, German and barbaric expressions have sneaked into the Slovenian language (this idea is repeated twice in the introduction);
- that the Slovenian language has got corrupted because true Slovenian words are being forgotten;
- that the dictionary offers authentic Slovenian words collected by the author from people who still speak the "uncorrupted" language;
- that the base for the dictionary is Schönberger's *German-Latin dictionary*;
- that he has sought authentic expressions for all words and phrases, lands and towns in Europe, tree species, bushes, vines, herbs, livestock, birds, insects, fish, body parts, tools, etc.;
- that numerous words included in the dictionary will be criticised;
- that the vocabulary of his dictionary is authentically Slovenian.

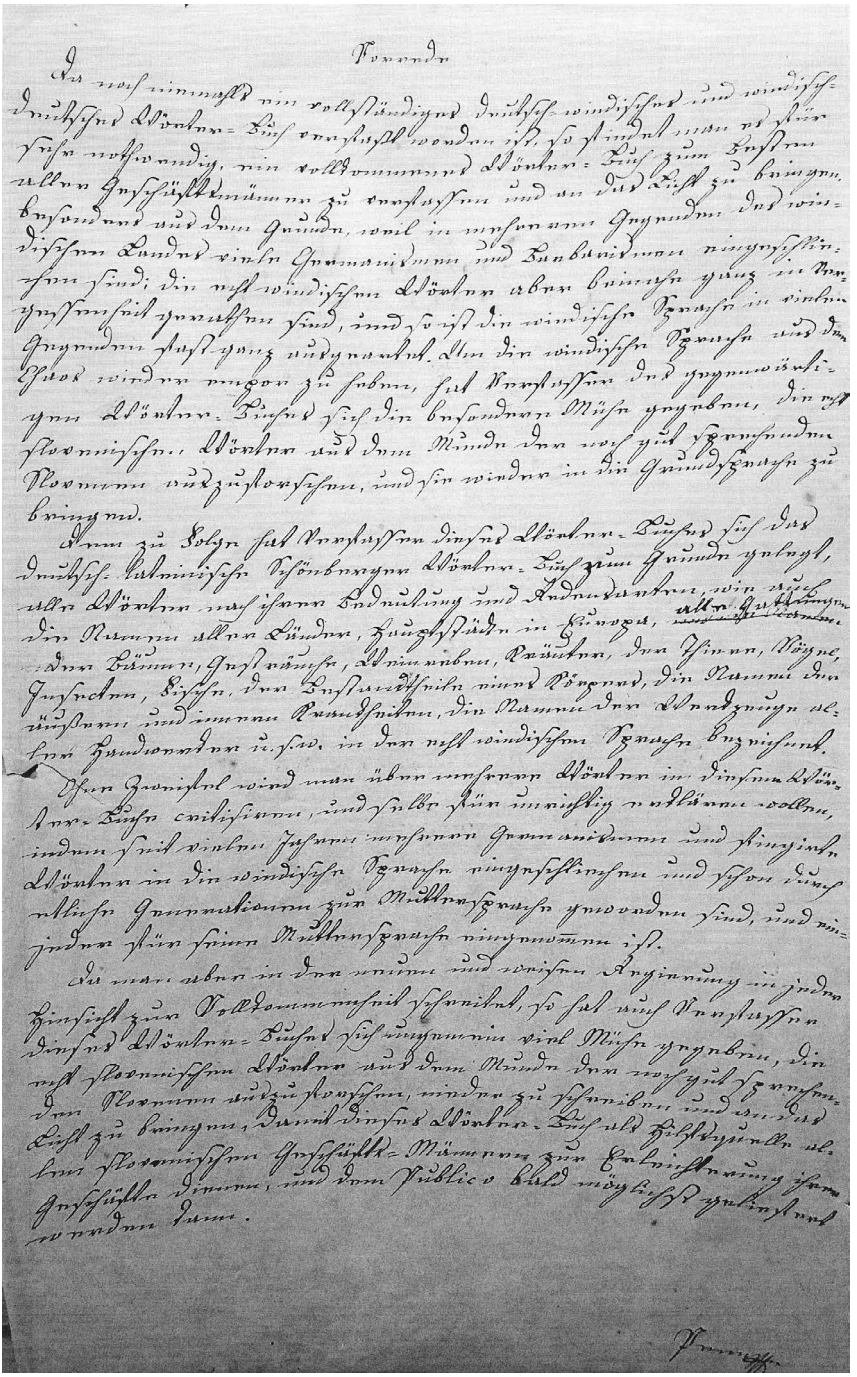

Image 2: *Dominik Penn,* Deutsch-lateinisch-windisches … Wörter-Buch *(1854), foreword (Vorrede)*; source: NUK, Ms.

The introduction is unusual especially due to Penn's statement that there has never been a German-Slovenian and a Slovenian-German dictionary written. This was not true since he could use in his work at least five contemporary dictionaries: the third edition of Megiser's *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum*, published in 1744 in Klagenfurt on the Jesuits' initiative,[17] Pohlin's *Tu malu besedishe treh jesikov* (1781)[18] and *Glossarium slavicum* (1792), Gutsman's *Deutsch-windisches Wörterbuch* (1789),[19] Jarnik's *Versuch eines Etymologikons der slowenischen Mundart in Inner-Österreich* (1832), and Murko's *Ṣlovénsko-némshki in némshko-ṣlovénski rózhni besédnik* (1832–1833);[20] his sources could also have included both dictionaries by Anton Janežič: *Popólni ročni slovár slovenskega in nemškega jezika* (1850) and *Vollständiges Taschen-Wörterbuch der slovenischen und deutschen Sprache* (1851) (Murko 1832–1833). These dictionaries must have been known and used by Penn; why he decided to conceal this fact is not known. Next in the introduction, he speaks about German words, barbaric expressions and corrupted words, which had sneaked into the Slovenian language and corrupted it. It is difficult to decide exactly which expressions he had in mind, since he himself included in his dictionary a plethora of German words, which had indeed been established in both the Slovenian literary language and in its dialectal variants; he originated from an environment in which the language was distinctly dialectally marked (Image 3). A few examples:

– Slo. cagati–Ger. zagen (Eng. to hesitate, to linger);
– Slo. erb–Ger. der Erbe (Eng. heir);
– Slo. jamrati–Ger. jammern (Eng. to groan, to moan);
– Slo. gvišno–Ger. gewiss (Eng. certainly, sure);
– Slo. knof–Ger. der Knopf (Eng. button);
– Slo. nucati–Ger. nutzen, nützen (Eng. to use, to be useful);
– Slo. štala–Ger. Stall (Eng. stable, stall), etc.

17 Megiser, *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum*; see Hriberšek (2008), Logar (2013), Legiša (1959: 251–252), Kidrič (1929: 47, [51], 53, [57, 73], 78, [78], 83, [84, 89], 90, 109, [110], 113, [121, 123, 124], 125, 127, [127], 128, 129, 130, 131, [134, 135], 136, 142, 237, 238, 251, 389, 405, 422, 491, 717).

18 See Pohlin (1781), Legiša (1959: 353–361).

19 See Gutsman (1789), Legiša (1959: 366–368).

20 See Macun (1883: 109–112), Pajek (1880), Glazer (2013), Jesenšek (1999-a), Hartman (1998).

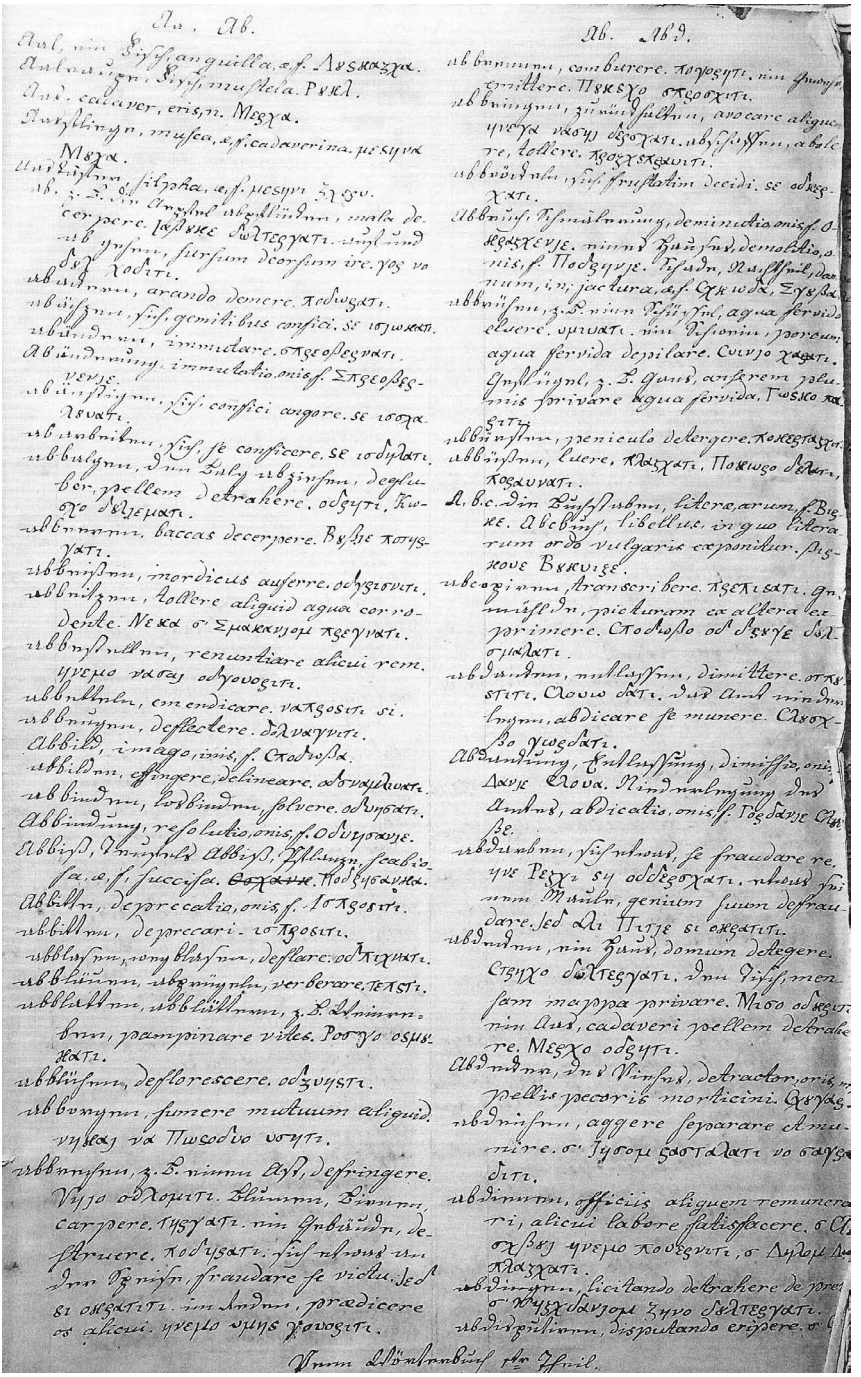

Image 3: *Example from Penn's* Deutsch-lateinisch-windisches … Wörter-Buch *(1854), p. 1*; source: NUK, Ms.

All of the above and many other expressions are classified by contemporary Slovenian lexicography as non-literary, colloquial, or folk expressions. Again, it is not known whether the preface to the dictionary is Penn's own work; it is quite possible that he recapped it from some other dictionary or manuscript and did not mention it.

Penn chose the work of an Austrian school teacher and scholar Andreas Corsinus (Franz Xaver) Schönberger (1754–1820),[21] deserving for the advancement of the classical educational system and a very prolific expert writer, for the basis of his dictionary. His greatest achievement was the transformation of Scheller-Lünemann's Latin-German and German-Latin dictionary, which was published in Vienna in 1818–1820 in three volumes (Scheller, Lünemann, and Schönberger 1818–1820), with which he wanted to provide an appropriate dictionary for high schools and universities in Austria, and also for general business use, since Schönberger mentions in his introduction that the dictionary could also be of use to businessmen; this additionally proves that Penn indeed leaned on his work since he uses the same formulation in the introduction of his own dictionary. Schönberger's dictionary was thus the framework for the collection of Slovenian words.

Entries in the German-Latin-Slovenian part of the dictionary are listed in alphabetical order of the German alphabet. The German entry is always written first, then Latin, and Slovenian at the end; often, word phrases are presented alongside entries. The first part includes entries from "Aal, ein Fisch, anguilla, Λϑςκαζχα [Luskača] (eel)" to "zwöltens, duodecimus, δυανεστημο [dvanestemo] (twelfth)".

5. "GRŠČICA"

Dominik Penn was quite an eccentric among Slovenian lexicographers due to his manner of recording dictionary material. Specifically, he wrote in uniform, well readable writing which is the same throughout the manuscript. He wrote German words in small letters Gothic script; there are no peculiarities in recording. He wrote Latin words in Latin script, for which it is characteristic—as is also stated by Stabej (1975, 47)—that the letter *q* is always written as *g*, although a small difference can frequently be noticed between *g* and *q*, for example: *Aequator* 'equator'—*circulus aequinoctialis*, *Adler* 'eagle'—*aguila*, *alltäglich* 'quotidian'—*guotidianus*, *nicht einmal* 'not even'—*nec … guidem*, *aliguid* = *aliquid*, *acguirere* = *acquirere*, etc. That which connects Dominik Penn's dictionary to Greek is the way he wrote Slovenian words. For that, Penn introduced writing in the Greek alphabet, which earned this writing the name

21 See von Wurzbach (1876), Harrauer-Reitterer (1995).

"grščica". And this is where the peculiarity of Penn's dictionary lies, which made him the biggest character among Slovenian lexicographers.

Why use Greek letters to write down Slovenian words? The period in which Dominik Penn's dictionary was created coincided with a special phenomenon in the history of Slovenian linguistics called the "Slovenian alphabetic war" or "črkarska pravda". It had to do with the polemic that arose among Slovenian linguists as to which script should replace the Bohorič alphabet ("bohoričica") used until then, for which the rules were set by Adam Bohorič,[22] the Slovenian Protestant writer and author of the first Slovenian grammar written in Latin *Arcticae horulae succissivae* (Slo. *Zimske urice proste*, Eng. Free Winter Hours), which was published in 1584 in Wittenberg. Hence, in the time of Dominik Penn, the Bohorič script had been used for 250 years and in the first third of the 19th century tendencies appeared for the introduction of a new script. Two new alphabets appeared as the competition to the Bohorič alphabet which were suggested by two Slovenian linguists:

– "dajnčica", the Dajnko alphabet, which was proposed in 1824 by the linguist and religious writer Peter Dajnko (1787–1873) in his work *Lehrbuch der windischen Sprache* (The Textbook of Slovenian Language),[23] and
– "metelčica", the Metelko alphabet, which was proposed in 1825 as a substitution for the Bohorič alphabet by the Slovenian linguist, writer, and translator Franc Serafin Metelko (1789–1860) in his work *Lehrgebaude der slowenischen Sprache in Königreiche Illyrien und in den benachbarten Provinzen* (Textbook of the Slovenian Language of Kingdom of Illyria and Neighbouring Provinces) and which enjoyed the support of the renowned Slavicist Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844).[24]

Each of these alphabets brought something new to the writing of the Slovenian language, yet neither of them asserted itself, primarily due to Slovenian intellectuals of a younger generation, especially the poet France Prešeren (1800–1840) and linguist, literary historian, and critic Matija Čop (1797–1835); metelčica was thus prohibited in 1833 and dajnčica six years later, in 1839. The Bohorič alphabet therefore remained in use and was supplanted in the mid-19th century by the new Latin alphabet called "gajica", the (Ljudevit) Gaj alphabet.[25] Penn decided to take a completely different path; Marko Jesenšek assumes that the decision for "grščica" was his escape route because he did not want to add to the already strained relations between the defenders and opponents of "danjčica" and eastern-Styrian literary language.[26]

22 See Ahačič (2013), Ahačič (2007: 69–214).
23 See Kidrič (2013-b), Dajnko (1824), Rajhman (1998), Stabej (2001), Rajh (1998).
24 See Metelko (1825), Kolarič (2013-c), Prijatelj (1935: 84–85, 96, 124–125, 143), Lokar (1957–1958).
25 See Fekonja (1891), Petrè (1939), Lenard (1909), Štrekelj (1922).
26 See Jesenšek (1999-b: 369–370), Orel (2017: 260).

For his "grščica" he even had to design the rules for writing. Therefore, at the end of his dictionary, Penn added a special chapter entitled "Empfehlung der griechischen Buchstaben" (Slo. Priporočilo grških črk, Eng. Recommendation of Greek Letters; see Image 4 and Image 5) in which he presented his writing and the system of recording it in a table, while at the same time, he also substantiated his decision in an additional explanation, the main emphasises of which are:

– once upon a time the Greeks transformed the ancient Slavic letters;
– the merit of the Greeks is that they simplified the letters;
– thus, they invented the short and long *e*, as well as the short and long *o*, in order for the length of the syllable to be pronounced correctly;
– they also accepted the soft and sharp *s*;
– such writing is useful and inevitably necessary for Slovenian, thus he recommends it for more than one reason.

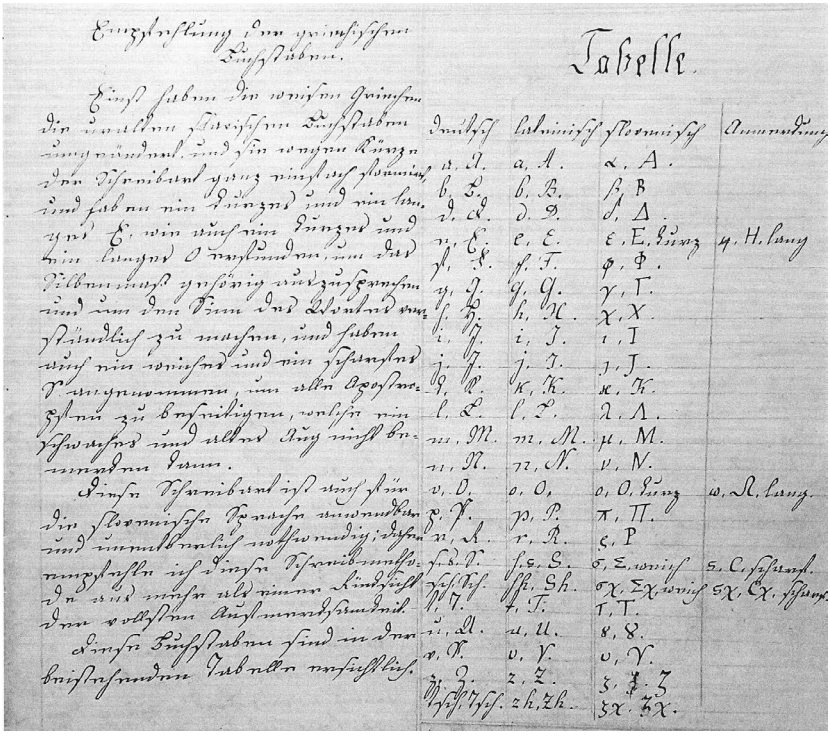

Image 4: *Dominik Penn,* Windisch-deutsches Wörter-Buch *(1854), p. 81, Empfehlung der griechischen Buchstaben – 1*; source: NUK, Ms.

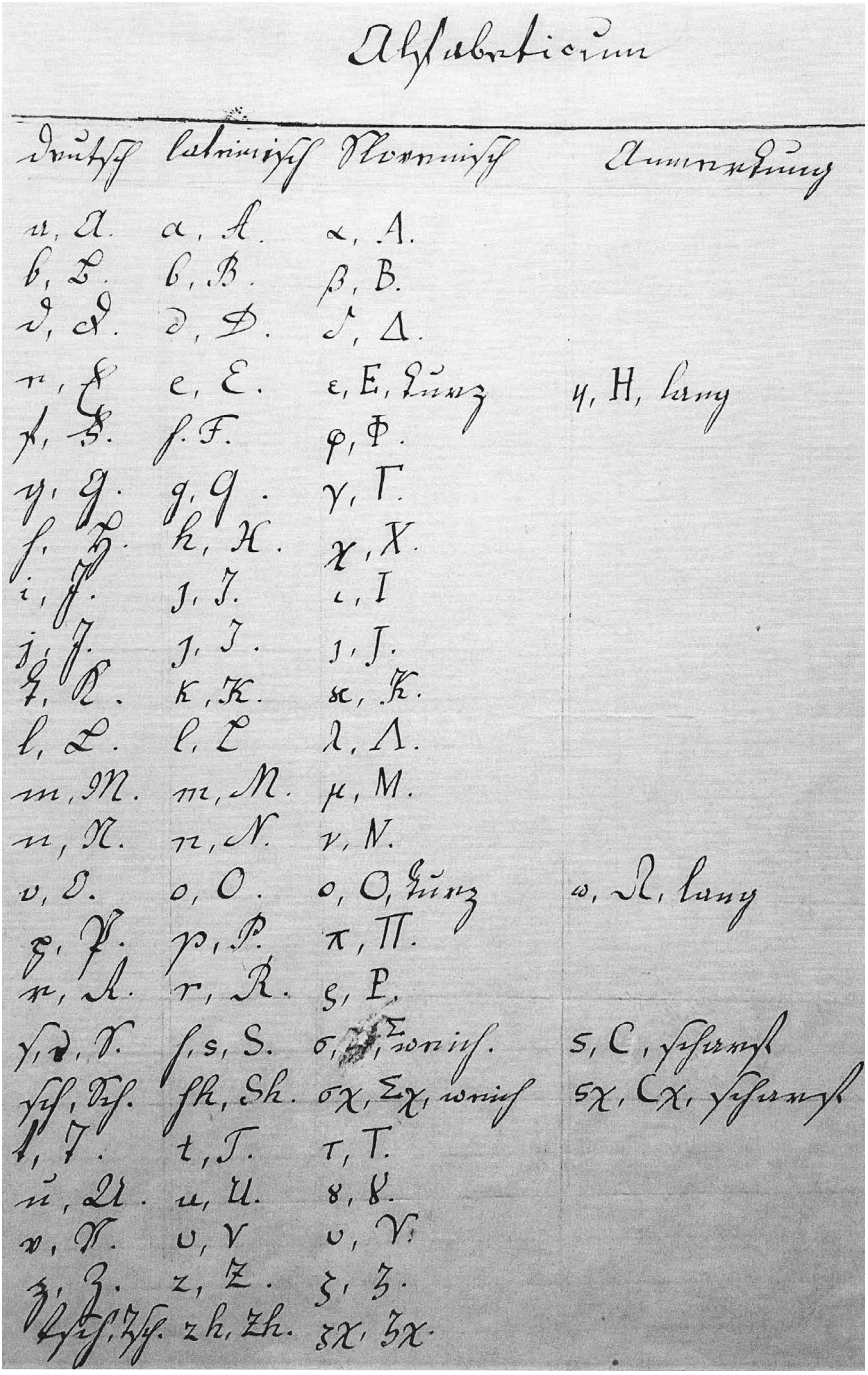

Image 5: *Dominik Penn,* Windisch-deutsches Wörter-Buch *(1854), Alfabeticum*; source: NUK, Ms.

Dominik Penn's explanation actually does not offer any tangible information why he decided to write Slovenian words in the Greek alphabet. However, two things can be discerned from the afore-stated: that he was, in a similar way to numerous other Slavic experts of his time, convinced that the Slavic alphabet (including the Slovenian) was older than the Greek, and that he found the Greek alphabet useful because it differentiates between the long and short *e* and the long and short *o* and the soft and sharp *s*.

Table 1: *Penn's system of writing Slovenian with Greek letters*

German	Latin	Slovenian
a, A	a, A	α, Α
b, B	b, B	β, Β
d, D	d, D	δ, Δ
e, E	e, E	ε, Ε (short) η, Η (long)
f, F	f, F	φ, Φ
g, G	g, G	γ, Γ
h, H	h, H	χ, Χ
i, I	i, I	ι, Ι
j, J	j, J	j, J
k, K	k, K	κ, Κ
l, L	l, L	λ, Λ
m, M	m, M	μ, Μ
n, N	n, N	ν, Ν
o, O	o, O	ο, Ο (short) ω, Ω (long)
p, P	p, P	π, Π
r, R	r, R	ρ, Ρ
ſ, s, S	ſ, s, S	σ, Σ (sharp) ς, C (soft)
sch, Sch	sh, Sh	σχ, Σχ (sharp) ςχ, Cχ (soft)
t, T	t, T	τ, Τ
u, U	u, U	ȣ, Ȣ
v, V	v, V	υ, Υ
z, Z	z, Z	ζ, Ζ
tsch, Tsch	zh, Zh	ζχ, Ζχ

How D. Penn solved problems with the writing and how he adapted the Greek alphabet to write Slovenian words in the so-called grščica:

1. for the short *e* he used the Greek *epsilon* (ε, E) and for the long *e* the Greek letter *eta* (η, H);
2. for the short *o* he used the Greek *omicron* (ο, O) and for the long *e* the Greek letter *omega* (ω, Ω);
3. the letter *s*: for the sharp *s* he uses the normal letter *sigma* (σ, Σ) *s*, for the soft *s* he used the final Greek *sigma* (ς, C); the capital letter is probably the *sigma lunatum*, but it could be the Cyrillic *s*, *C* (it is not clearly definable from the records);
4. for the letters *z, Z* he uses the Greek letter sigma (σ, Σ);
5. sibilants—letters *č, Č, š, Š, ž, Ž* he composed from the Greek letters *zeta* and *hi* (ζχ, Zχ) and the combination of letters *sigma* and *hi* (sχ, Cχ, σχ, ςχ, Σχ);
6. the letter *j, J*, for which there is no sign in the Greek alphabet, was taken from the Latin alphabet;
7. for the letters *u, U* he did not take the Greek ου, but used the Old Church Slavonic sign *uk* (ȣ, Ȣ), which replaced the digraph *ou*;
8. for the letters *v, V* he used the Greek upsilon (υ, Υ).

It is also interesting that he wrote nouns with a capital letter (Image 6), even though there was no special reason for it (it is quite possible that in doing so he was influenced by the German language), while verbs, adjectives, and

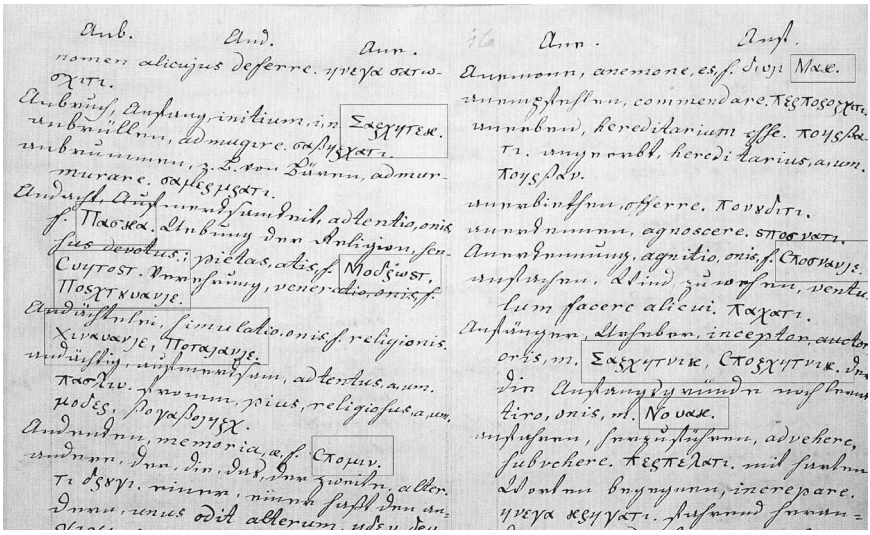

Image 6: *Dominik Penn,* Deutsch-lateinisch-windisches … Wörter-Buch *(1854), p. 16, examples of capital letters*; source: NUK, Ms.

other word types were not. For nouns, he never recorded the genitive case or their gender, while for verbs, he always wrote only the basic dictionary form, i.e. the infinitive. The German-Slovenian dictionary includes a few examples of nouns in which he used Γ instead of the capital letter Λ; the reason is unknown (it could be a mistake). When writing Slovenian words in the Greek alphabet, he never used diacritic marks and when writing Latin nouns, he frequently added the genitive and gender.

6. VOCABULARY

Dominik Penn was well versed in grammatical rules and spelling tendencies of his time, which is clear from the writing of the vocabulary. Slovenian vocabulary (a more detailed analysis of this has not yet been done for Penn's work, only a few more extensive case studies) in his dictionary can be divided into three groups.

The first group includes words which can be designated as literary and their use was set throughout the entire territory populated by Slovenian-speaking people.

The second group is composed of words which are typically dialectal and were taken by Dominik Penn from his native, Eastern-Styrian dialect; he collected many of these on his own, but had some help in the existing printed sources, among which the *Slovensko-nemški in nemško-slovenski slovar*, which was published in 1833 by the Slovenian grammarian and lexicographer Anton Murko (1809–1871),[27] stands out the most; since many of these words can be found also in other lexicographers who were Dominik Penn's contemporaries, while Slovenian writers often used them in the writing of their books, newspaper as well as periodical articles, it is impossible to determine which were his direct sources. In general, the words taken from dialectal speech Penn characteristically wrote in dialect. A few examples of such dialectal words: κηρι [keri] welcher (which); νηκεδα [nekeda] dereinst, einstmals, einst, ehemals (once); πϑχ [p(o)uh] Bilchmaus, Hasselmaus, Rellmaus (dormouse); πϑσχ [p(o)už] Schnecke (snail); τροφιτι [trofiti] treffen (das Ziel) (to hit, to score); υωσκι, α, ο [voski] schmahl, schmal, eng (narrow, tight); etc.

A completely special chapter of Dominik Penn's dictionary is the third group of words, i.e. those words which he made himself as new derivatives; thus, he suggested completely new words for numerous firmly established expressions, such as: Δυωρ ζηστνι [dvor cestni] Bahnhof (= Slo. kolodvor, železniška postaja, Eng. railway station); Cωπιχυλακ [sopihvlak] Lokomotive (Slo. lokomotiva, Eng. "engine, that puffs" = locomotive); Υηςναυϑκ

27 See Murko (1833), Stabej (1975: 50).

[vesnavuk] Universität (Slo. univerza, vseučilišče, Eng. "all-the-knowledge" = university); etc. It is intriguing that he even substituted certain expressions that had been completely established in the literary language with new ones; two among these stand out, which are: "Βιρκα [birka] Buchstabe", which he used as a substitute for the generally totally established expression "črka" (letter); and "Νjιναρ [njivar] Bauer, Feldler, Landmann", which he used instead of "kmet" (peasant, farmer). As is generally typical for grammarians of this period, he suggested his own technical terms for some grammatical terms, such as: περβεσηδκα [perbesedka] Beiwort (adjective); περσταυκα [perstavka] Beiwort (adjective); περσταυλενκα [perstavlenka] Eigenschaftswort (adjective); ποςτωjνκα [postojnka] Strichpunct (semicolon); πρηβεσηδκα [prebesedka] Vorwort (preface, foreword); etc.

7. THE SECOND PART OF THE DICTIONARY

The second part is a significantly shorter Slovenian-German dictionary, which has 82 pages and includes somewhat over 10,000 Slovenian words; Penn gave it another lengthy title:

> *Windisch-deutsches / Wörter-Buch / zum allgemeinen Gebrauche, besonders für / alle Geschäfts-Männer sowohl im weltlichen als / auch im geistlichen Stande in slavischen Ländern, / mit / beträchtlichen Vermehrungen der Wörter in / allen Amts-Geschäften, und heraus gegeben / im Jahre nach Geburt Christi / 1854. / Zweiter Theil.*
>
> The Slovenian-German dictionary for general use, especially all businessmen both of secular and clerical status in / Slovenian lands, with a significant increase in words of all business fields and published in the year after Christ's birth 1854. Part two.

This part of the dictionary comprises 82.25 pages and includes entries from "Αβαςχ [Abaš], Abt (abbot)" to "ζϑζεκ [Cucek], Mops, ein Hund (mops, cur)". Entries follow each other according to the alphabetical order of the Slovenian alphabet: A – B – Δ – E, H – Φ – Γ – X – I – J – K – Λ – M – N – O, Ω – Π – P – Σ – Cχ – T – ϑ – Υ – Z (Image 7, Image 8). A few examples: Αβαςχια, Abtei (opatija, Eng. an abbey); Αλταρ, Altar (oltar, Eng. an altar); Αμηρικα, Amerika (Amerika, Eng. America); Βαβιζα, Ambos (nakovalo, Eng. an anvil); Βαβιζα, Elternmutter (babica, stara mati, Eng. a grandmother); Βαβιζα, Hebamme (babica tj. pomočnica pri porodu, Eng. a midwife); Βαλων, Ballon, Luftball (balon, Eng. a baloon); βατι ση, befürchten, sich fürchten (bati se, Eng. to fear, to be afraid of); βλαγω ςνηδνο, Eßwaren (živila, Eng. provisions);

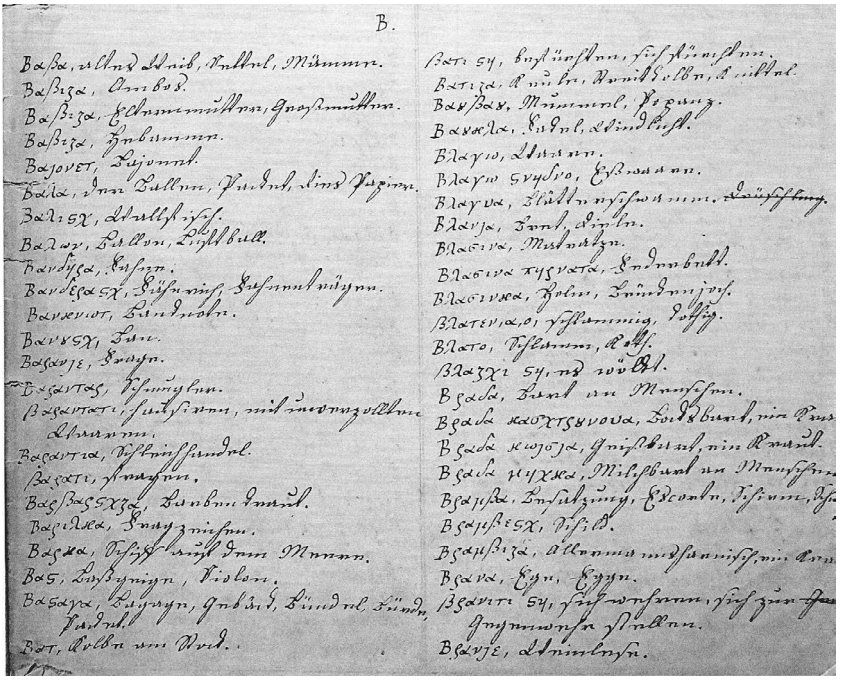

Image 7: *Dominik Penn,* Windisch-deutsches Wörter-Buch *(1854), p. 1*; source: *NUK, Ms.*

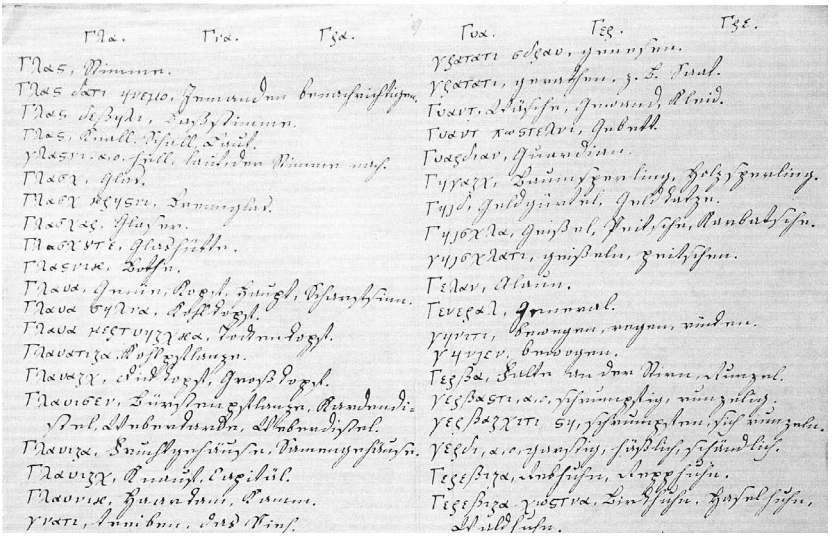

Image 8: *Dominik Penn, Windisch-deutsches Wörter-Buch (1854), p. 4*; source: NUK, Ms.

βλατο, Schlamm, Kot (blato, gnoj, Eng. mud, manure); Δοσχνικ, Schüldige, Schüldner (dolžnik, Eng. a debtor); Ελεμηντι, Elemente (elementi, prvine, Eng. elements); Ερδεζχινα, Rothe (rdečina, Eng. a redness); φϑj!, pfui! (fuj!, Eng. yuck!); φϑντ, Pfund (funt, Eng. a pound); γληδατι, schauen, zusehen (gledati, Eng. to watch); Γνjησδο δηλατι, nisten (gnezditi, delati gnezdo, Eng. to nest); Χηρβετ, Rücken (hrbet, Eng. a back); Χιτανjε, das Eilen (hitenje, Eng. a rush); Ισδαjαυεζ, Verräther (izdajalec, Eng. a traitor); Jαβϑκα, Apfel (jabolko, Eng. an apple); Καςχελ, Husten (kašelj, Eng. a cough); Κρισχ, Kreuz (križ, Eng. a cross); Λαςταυιζα, Schwalbe (lastovka, Eng. a sparrow); Μηjσευζ, Monath, Mond (mesec, Eng. a month); νατοζχιτι, einschenken (natočiti, Eng. to pour); etc. The second part of the dictionary was partly the result of Penn's independent work and collection of material, but the majority of the material was recapped after the published sources presented above and available to him. At the end, he added a simple postscript: "Κϑνεζ [K(o)unec] (konec, Eng. the end)".

8. SLOVENIAN GRAMMAR

Penn's manuscript is rounded off by his *Slovenska slovnica* (*Slovenische Sprachlehre*, *Slovenian Grammar*), which is written in German and has only 24.25 pages in which, just like in the dictionary, he wrote the entire Slovenian text with Greek letters. As can be discerned from the manuscript, Dominik Penn completed his grammar on the 1 January 1854. At the beginning of the grammar, he wrote an introduction, in which he explained what his purpose in writing a dictionary was and why he had added a grammar to it. First, he draws attention to his dictionary, to which he attributes too great a significance and too excessive a versatile usefulness; then he brings to the forefront the need for mastering the Slovenian language not only for businessmen and priests in the countryside but also in towns. Severe exaggeration is typical for the entire introduction; for one, he states that the number of Slovenian-speaking people in the Austrian monarchy far exceeds the number of all other nations in the monarchy. He explicitly mentions that there are not enough useful grammars for the learning of the Slovenian language; hence, he offers his own grammar to all who wish to perfect their knowledge of Slovenian; with its help, he strives to encourage as many people as possible to learn Slovenian, to perfect their Slovenian, and to use it in their literary endeavours. What he wrote was naturally not true, for from 1800 to the appearance of Dominik Penn's grammar, six Slovenian grammars were printed (Kopitar, *Grammatik der Slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (1808 [1809]; Vodnik, *Pismenost ali Gramatika sa Perve Shole* (1811); Janez Leopold Šmigoc, *Theoretisch-praktische Windische Sprachlehre* (1812); Peter Dajnko, *Lehrbuch der Windischen Sprache* (1824); Franc Serafin Metelko, *Lehrgebaude*

der Slowenischen Sprache im Königreiche Illyrien und in den benachbarten Provinzen (1825); Anton Janez Murko, *Theoretisch-praktische Slowenische Sprachlehre für Deutsche* (1832)), which in quality and scale surpassed Penn's, yet Penn simply ignored them. Penn in his work leaned most on the grammar by Janez Leopold Šmigoc (1787–1829)[28] which was entitled *Theoretisch-praktische Windische Sprachlehre* (Theoretical and Practical Slovene Grammar); Penn and Šmigoc were schoolmates since they studied together at the university in Graz and were both very active in the *Societas Slovenica*, which encouraged the use of the Slovenian language, and Slovenian literature and culture. Comparison reveals that Penn's introduction is a plagiarism, since it summarises in an abbreviated form the text J.L. Šmigoc wrote at the beginning of his grammar book. He even recaps some of the thoughts from Šmigoc's introduction verbatim, but does not quote his source.

Penn's grammar book is very brief; it is divided into ten chapters and only presents the basics of individual word classes: it summarises nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections, while the discussion is supplemented by a few examples and inflection patterns (Image 9). In the division of chapters, Penn more than obviously takes after Šmigoc's grammar and often presents dialectal forms as examples. A few are:

a) *Declensions of the noun Δοβρωτνικ (benefactor)*

	εδινο.		δυωjνο.		υνωγο.
I.	Δοβρωτνικ	I.	Δοβρωτνικα	I.	Δοβρωτνικι
II.	Δοβρωτνικα	II.	Δοβρωτνικου	II.	Δοβρωτνικου
III.	Δοβρωτνικι	III.	Δοβρωτνικαμ	III.	Δοβρωτνικομ
IV.	Δοβρωτνικα	IV.	Δοβρωτνικα	IV.	Δοβρωτνικε
V.	υ Δοβρωτνικι	V.	υ Δοβρωτνικαχ	V.	υ Δοβρωτνικαχ
VI.	σ Δοβρωτνικομ	VI.	σ Δοβρωτνικαμα	VI.	σ Δοβρωτνικαμι

b) *Declensions of the noun Πηζχ (furnace)*

	εδινο.		δυωjνο.		υνωγο.
I.	Πηζχ	I.	Πεζχι	I.	Πεζχι
II.	Πεζχι	II.	Πεζχηχ	II.	Πεζχηχ
III.	Πηζχι	III.	Πηζχιμ	III.	Πηζχιμ
IV.	Πηζχ	IV.	Πεζχι	IV.	Πεζχι
V.	υ Πηζχι	V.	υ Πεζχημ	V.	υ Πεζχηχ
VI.	σ Πεζχjωj	VI.	σ Πηζχιμα	VI.	σ Πεζχμι

28 See Štrekelj (1922: 15), Kidrič (1930: 230 and footnote 274), Glazer (2013-c), Jelovšek (n.d.).

c) *Cardinal numerals from 1 to 20*

1.	ηδεν, ην, ηνα, ηνο eins, eine, ein	11.	εδνηȷcτ eilf
2.	δυα, δυη, δυα zwei	12.	δυανηȷcτ zwölf
3.	τριȷε, τρι, τρι drei	13.	τρινηȷcτ dreizehn
4.	cχτιρȷε, cχτιρι vier	14.	cχτιρνηȷcτ vierzehn
5.	πητ fünf	15.	πετνηȷcτ fünfzehn
6.	cχηcτ sechs	16.	cχεcτνηȷcτ sechszehn
7.	σηδεν sieben	17.	cεδνηȷcτ siebzehn
8.	ωcεν acht	18.	ocνηȷcτ achtzehn
9.	δευητ neun	19.	δευετνηȷcτ neuzehn
10.	δεcητ zehn	20.	δυαȷcτι zwanzig

č) *Declensions of the personal pronoun for the 3rd person [un 'he']*

dritte Person					
I.	ȣv	I.	ȣνα	I.	ȣνω
II.	Njηγα	II.	Njη	II.	Njηγα
III.	Njημο	III.	Njι	III.	Njημο
IV.	Njηγα	IV.	Njω	IV.	Njηγα
V.	υ vjημ	V.	υ vjηȷ	V.	υ vjημ
VI.	σ vjιμ	VI.	σ vjωȷ	VI.	σ vjημ

Unlike the dictionary, which was directly or indirectly used by Fran Miklošič, Oroslav Caf, Matej Cigale, and Fran Pleteršnik, Dominik Penn's grammar book had no later reaction.

Penn's dictionary and grammar text includes practically no corrections, which indicates that this manuscript was probably already in its clean copy intended for potential printing. Did he intend to publish his dictionary and grammar? Obviously yes, for with the manuscript of the dictionary kept by the National and University Library in Ljubljana (NUK, Ms 1313) a sheet is preserved with a trial print of four dictionary entries meaning that, despite its peculiarity, Penn wanted to publish his dictionary material (Image 10). Why it did not happen is not known; his intention could have been prevented by his death in 1855. It is also not clear whether the sample print was made by Penn himself or any of the subsequent owners of the manuscript.

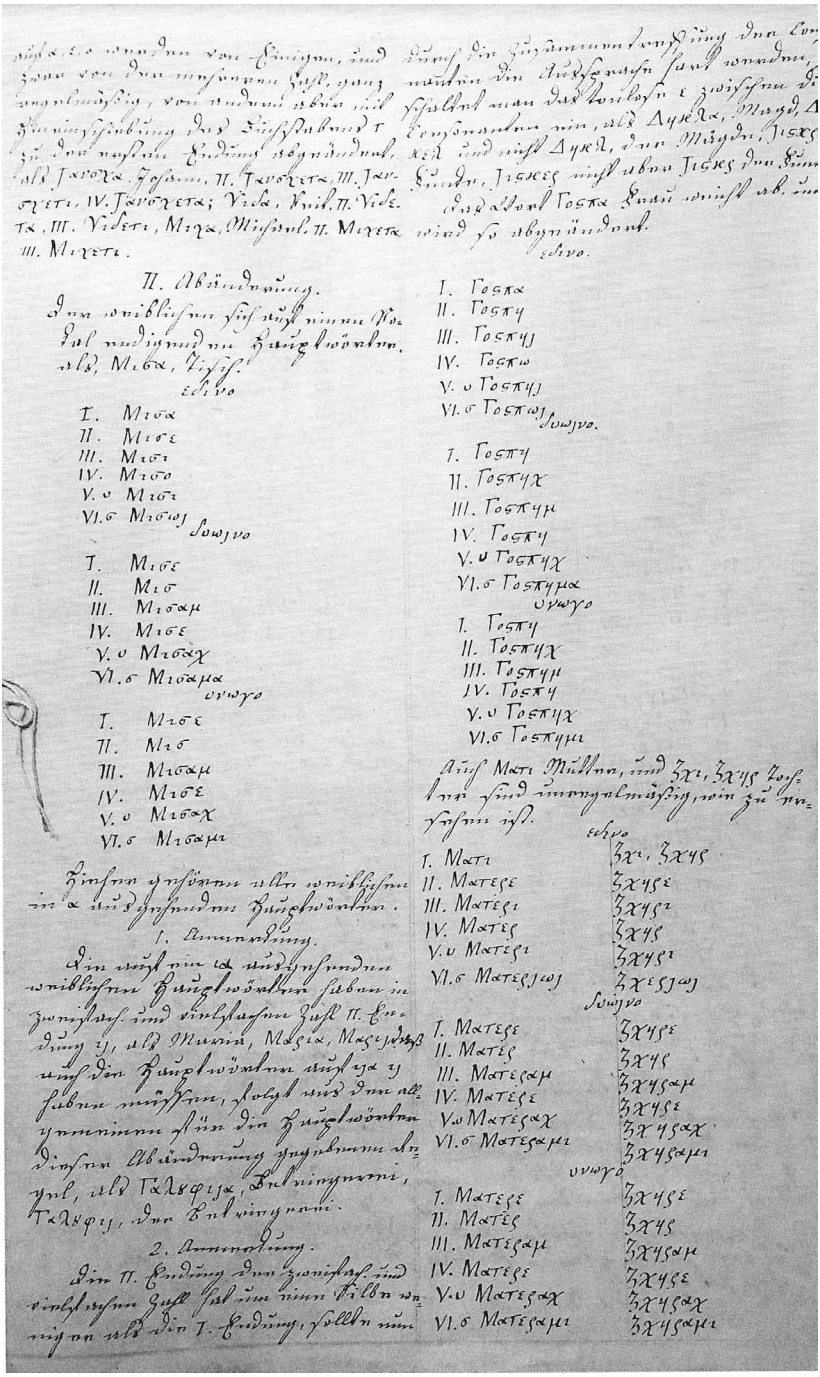

Image 9: *Dominik Penn,* Slovenische Sprachlehre *(1854), example*; source: NUK, Ms.

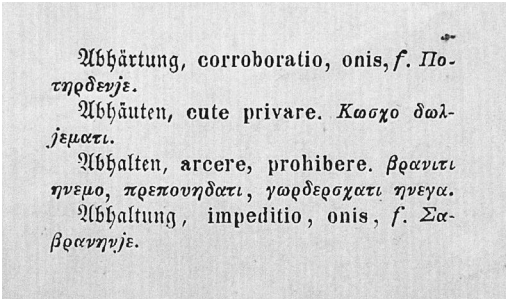
Abhärtung, corroboratio, onis, *f.* Ποτηρδενjε.
Abhäuten, cute privare. Κωσχο δωλjεματι.
Abhalten, arcere, prohibere. βρανιτι ηνεμο, πρεπουηδατι, γωρδερσχατι ηνεγα.
Abhaltung, impeditio, onis, *f.* Σαβρανηνjε.

Image 10: *Dominik Penn, sheet with a trial print, preserved in manuscript of the dictionary*; source: NUK, Ms.

9. CONCLUSION

Is Dominik Penn's dictionary solely an interesting attempt at creating something special with the intention to avoid potential disputes with the leading linguists of his time and their linguistic directions? We can say for certain that that is not the case. Penn was undoubtedly led by a sincere desire to collect Slovenian vocabulary; the collection of words, which encompasses several hundred pages in manuscript, proves that he collected the material systematically and that his dictionary can be assigned among the greater lexicographic achievements of Penn's time, from which many remained in manuscript (e.g., the dictionary by Ivan Anton Apostel and the dictionary by Mihael Zagajšek); despite the fact that Penn's dictionary was never printed, it was still used by some of the most important Slovenian lexicographers in their work.

By writing the Slovenian language in the Greek alphabet, Penn introduced a new alphabet into the Slovenian territory: "grščica". Did he want to interfere in the polemic regarding the Slovenian alphabet with his unusual manner of recording Slovenian? Almost certainly not, since his intellectual reach was not of an extent that he could have more decidedly influenced the development of the Slovenian language. He did not want to actively touch upon the polemics regarding the use of the alphabet; it remains unknown whether he decided on this independent path, i.e. the writing of the Slovenian language with Greek letters, because he believed that other alphabets did not offer appropriate solutions, or because he did not want to participate in the disputes of his contemporaries, linguists. He could have been an eccentric himself and thus his lexicographic approach could not have been different. There was nobody among his contemporaries who imitated him and used his "grščica"; Penn himself probably never expected it, since writing Slovenian with the "grščica" alphabet would be, despite some of its advantages, simply too complicated and demanding not only due to the rules of writing but also

because the use of such alphabet would have been limited to a very small circle of users, i.e. to those fluent in Greek. All others would have to have learned at least some basics of the language, which was difficult in Penn's time. Namely, Greek was familiar only to those who enrolled in high school, while a knowledge of Greek would have been absolutely unattainable for the wider masses since there were no Slovenian textbooks to learn it from. Everything written about why Penn decided to use "grščica" is simply a speculation, for he never explained and substantiated his decision. It would be of immense help if some kind of legacy were found, such as correspondence or archival material that would shed some light on the background of his work; however, the chances of that are quite slim. Despite the fact that Penn's work did not find an echo in Slovenian literature, that Dominik Penn himself remained fairly unknown in the Slovenian territory, and that his work is considered to be a sort of boutique professional experiment, his dictionary remains an intriguing documentary peculiarity not only in the Slovenian but also wider European territory.

Matej Hriberšek
University of Ljubljana
matej.hribersek@ff.uni-lj.si

ABBREVIATIONS

NUK, Ms: Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (National and University Library), Zbirka rokopisov, redkih in starih tiskov (Manuscript, Rare and Old Prints Collection).

ŠAM: Nadškofijski arhiv Maribor (Archdiocesan Archives Maribor).

UKM, Ms: Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor (University Library Maribor), Enota za domoznanstvo in posebne zbirke (Local History and Special Collections Department).

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POVZETEK

Na presečišču med slovenščino in grščino: leksikograf Dominik Penn in njegovo delo

Vid Penn se je rodil v vasi Sveti Vid pri Ptuju 5. maja 1785; po končani osnovni šoli in nato gimnaziji v Mariboru ter dvoletnem študiju filozofije je študiral teologijo na Univerzi v Gradcu (1810–1814). Tam se je pridružil Slovenskemu društvu (*Societas Slovenica*), katerega člani so se posvečali ohranjanju in raziskovanju slovenskega jezika; v tem času je vstopil v red minoritov in si izbral redovno ime Dominik. Kot duhovnik je deloval na ožjem območju Ptuja in njegove okolice na župnijah, ki so jih upravljali minoriti. Umrl je na Ptuju 14. aprila 1855.

Dolgo je bilo Pennovo slovarsko delo znano le redkim izobražencem in slovaropiscem: Franu Miklošiču, Jožefu Muršču, Maksu Pleteršniku, Antonu Janežiču, Oroslavu Cafu, Božidarju Raču in Mateju Cigaletu. Njegov slovar je nastajal v obdobju med letoma 1824 in 1854. Obsega skupno 590 strani, razdeljen pa je na tri dele. Prvi del je nemško-latinsko-slovenski slovar, ki obsega 471 strani; iz Pennove spremne besede izvemo, kaj je bil neposredni povod za delo in zakaj se je zanj odločil. Za osnovo slovarja je Penn izbral delo avstrijskega šolnika Andreasa Corsinusa (Franza Xaverja) Schönbergerja, in sicer njegovo priredbo Scheller-Lünemannovega *Latinsko-nemškega in nemško-latinskega slovarja* (*Imm. Joh. Gerb. Schellers lateinisch-deutsches und deutsch-lateinisches Hand-Lexikon*), ki je izhajal na Dunaju v letih 1818–1820. Slovarska gesla v tem delu slovarja so razporejena po abecednem vrstnem redu nemške abecede; vedno je najprej napisano nemško geslo, sledi mu latinsko in na koncu slovensko, pogosto pa so pri geslih predstavljene tudi besedne zveze. Nemško besedilo je Penn zapisoval s pisano gotico, latinske besede v latinici, za zapisovanje slovenskih besed pa je uvedel zapisovanje z grškimi črkami in tega črkopisa se je oprijelo ime grščica; zanjo je pripravil tudi poseben sistem zapisovanja z grškimi črkami (α, A; β, B; δ, Δ; ε, E; η, H; φ, Φ; γ, Γ; χ, X; ι, I; j, J; κ, K; λ, Λ; μ, M; ν, N; ο, O, ω, Ω; π, Π; ρ, P; σ, Σ, ς, C, σχ, Σχ, ςχ, Cχ; τ, T; ϑ, ϴ; υ, Υ; ζ, Z; ζχ, Zχ), črko *j, J* je prevzel iz latinice, iz stare cerkvene slovanščine pa je prevzel črko *uk* (ϑ, ϴ), ki je nadomestila dvočrkje *ou*. Slovensko besedje v slovarju lahko razdelimo na tri skupine: v prvi skupini so besede, ki jih lahko označimo kot knjižne, drugo skupino tvorijo besede, ki jih lahko opredelimo kot tipično narečne, v tretjo skupino pa besede, ki so Pennove novotvorjenke,

Drugi del je slovensko-nemški slovar, ki je znatno krajši; obsega le 82 strani. Slovarska gesla si sledijo po abecednem vrstnem redu slovenske abecede (A – B – Δ – E, H – Φ – Γ – X – I – J – K – Λ – M – N – O, Ω – Π – P – Σ – Cχ – T – ϑ – Υ – Z). Zbrano besedje je rezultat deloma Pennovega samostojnega dela, velik del gradiva pa je zbral iz že natisnjenih jezikovnih virov.

Pennov rokopis zaključuje kratka, v nemščini napisana *Slovenska slovnica* (*Slovenische Sprachlehre*), ki obsega 24 strani, z uvodom, povzetim iz uvoda, ki ga je napisal Janez Leopold Šmigoc k svoji *Theoretisch-praktische Windische Sprachlehre*; v njem je pojasnil, zakaj se je lotil priprave slovarja in zakaj mu je dodal tudi slovnico. Ta je razdeljena na deset poglavij, v katerih na kratko predstavi posamezne besedne vrste.

Rokopis Pennnovega slovarja nima skoraj nobenih popravkov, kar nakazuje, da je verjetno šlo že za čistopis, pripravljen za morebitni natis. Penn je slovar očitno nameraval natisniti in objaviti, kar potrjuje tudi listič, ohranjen na koncu rokopisa, s poskusno tiskarsko postavitvijo in natisom štirih slovarskih gesel; namero mu je najbrž preprečila njegova smrt

leta 1855. Delo Dominika Penna ostaja razmeroma slabo znano in precej pozabljeno tako v zgodovini slovenske književnosti kot tudi v zgodovini slovenskega slovaropisja; v znanstveni in strokovni literaturi najdemo o njem le dva prispevka ter nekaj krajših omemb. Vendar pa ostaja njegov slovar prav zaradi grščice, ki jo je uvedel, zanimiva dokumentarna posebnost ne le v slovenskem, ampak tudi v širšem evropskem prostoru.

ABSTRACT

Although the Slovenian language is relatively small, Slovenian lexicography has quite a rich history and tradition reaching right back to the 16th century. Until the 19th century, writers who made dictionaries and collections of Slovenian vocabulary prepared a fair amount of admirable works, albeit many remained in manuscript and have never been printed. In the 19th century, the study of the Slovenian language, efforts to preserve it, and the collecting of Slovenian linguistic material spread outside the central Slovenian land of Carniola; in Styria in particular, young intellectuals from those parts, such as Leopold Volkmer (1741–1816), Janez Krstnik Leopold Šmigoc (1787–1829), Peter Dajnko (1787–1873), Anton Krempl (1790–1844), and others, provided for the collecting of linguistic material alongside their literary endeavours; one of them was Friar Minor Dominik Penn. He was a fascinating lexicographer who included Greek in his work in a very unusual way.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, Dominik Penn, grščica, Slovenian dictionaries, lexicography

IZVLEČEK

Slovensko slovaropisje ima glede na to, da je slovenščina razmeroma majhen jezik, precej bogato zgodovino in tradicijo, ki sega vse tja do 16. stoletja. Pisci, ki so pripravljali slovarje in zbirke slovenskega besedja, so do 19. stoletja ustvarili kar nekaj zanimivih in obsežnih del. A večina jih je ostala v rokopisu in niso bila nikoli natisnjena. V 19. stoletju se je raziskovanje slovenskega jezika, skrb zanj in zbiranje slovenskega jezikovnega gradiva razmahnilo tudi zunaj osrednje slovenske dežele Kranjske; zlasti na Štajerskem so tamkajšnji mladi intelektualci (na primer Leopold Volkmer (1741–1816), Janez Krstnik Leopold Šmigoc (1787–1829), Peter Dajnko (1787–1873), Anton Krempl (1790–1844)) ob literarnem ustvarjanju skrbeli tudi za zbiranje jezikovnega gradiva; mednje spada tudi minorit Dominik Penn, izjemno zanimiv slovaropisec, ki je na nenavaden način v svoje delo vpletel grščino.

Ključne besede: stara grščina, Dominik Penn, grščica, slovenski slovarji, leksikografija

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Jerneja Kavčič, Brian D. Joseph, Christopher Brown

Teaching Modern Greek to Classicists: Taking Advantage of Continuity

1. INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that Modern Greek is in some way a continuation of Ancient Greek of some 2500 years earlier. Admittedly, there is controversy among linguists, Hellenists, and Greeks themselves as to the extent of "continuity" of the Greek language across time and even what the notion of continuity *could* mean and does mean in practical terms. For instance, is Greek one language across all its history, as Browning (1983: vii) claims, or not, as Hamp (2003: 67) counters? Nonetheless, whatever continuity might mean in the case of Greek, it is clear that there is an overwhelming presence of Ancient Greek vocabulary in the modern language, so that there is a bidirectional relationship between ancient and modern forms of the language. That is, given a particular Ancient Greek word, it is possible to predict what it should look like in Modern Greek, assuming it continues into the modern language; similarly, with a given Modern Greek word, it is possible to determine the Ancient Greek form or forms that are possible starting points for the modern form.

Our position, taken up without ideology or politics behind it, is that the recognition of this shared vocabulary and this bidirectionality of the relationship between modern and ancient forms can be a tool for introducing Classicists to the modern language, and for allowing the student of Modern Greek to gain a foothold in the study of Ancient Greek. This issue has some significance in the United States at least, and maybe elsewhere, since there is often a large gulf between classicists and Neo-Hellenists and thus between the study of Ancient Greek and Modern Greek. This is so even though many Modern Greek language and studies programs are housed within Classics departments. But this issue also has interest and significance for Greeks today,

again without reference to ideology or politics, for it encourages one to think about the extent of Ancient Greek in the modern language. In a certain sense, it is the linguistic analogue to the presence of antiquities in modern cities; it is as inescapable a fact about Modern Greek as the Acropolis is an inescapable fact about the skyline of Athens.

In taking this position, we recognize that there are various intellectual precedents to our view. The value of Modern Greek for the student of the ancient language is affirmed by the many classicists who have studied the modern language and benefitted from the bidirectionality referred to above.[1] Moreover, it was a favorite theme of Albert Thumb, Nicholas Bachtin, George Thomson, and Robert Browning, among other distinguished classicists.

The enthusiasm of such scholars for the modern language was in a general way a reaction against skepticism that some classicists have held towards Modern Greek; Friedrich Nietzsche, for instance, said the following about linguistic decline: "It was subtle of God to speak Greek, and to speak it so poorly." Indeed, the ideology of decline is a part of the history of the study and characterization of the Greek language from the Hellenistic period and the Roman Atticist movement right up to the emergence of *katharevousa* in the 19th century and the resulting diglossia throughout most of the 20th century; for instance, Adamantios Korais, the 18th- and 19th-century leading Greek intellectual, considered the absence of an infinitive in Modern Greek to be "the most frightful vulgarity of our language", and Jakob Phillip Fallmerayer, the 19th-century German historian, said that "Eine Sprache ohne Infinitiv ist nicht viel besser als ein menschlicher Körper ohne Hand". By contrast, George Derwent Thomson, a key 20th century English classicist, remarking on the views of a colleague who said "I started once to learn some Modern Greek, but when I found they use the genitive instead of the dative, I felt affronted and had to give it up," had the following reaction: "This is only an extreme case of that disdain for reality which has done so much to lower the prestige of classical studies."[2]

Accordingly, continuing along the path of such scholars as Thumb, Bachtin, Thomson, and Browning, we outline here a program by which the ancient language can be used as a stepping stone for the learning of Modern Greek, thereby introducing Modern Greek to classicists.

1 We three authors are evidence, living proof as it were, of this affirmation, as we all started in Hellenic studies via the ancient language.

2 See Fallmerayer (1845: 451), Triantafyllidis (1938: 452), Thomson (1951), Joseph (1985: 90), Mackridge (2009: 118).

2. MODERN GREEK FOR CLASSICISTS: A PROGRAMMATIC VIEW

We believe that it is possible to introduce Modern Greek to classicists in a way that is based on exploiting Ancient Greek as much as possible. Thus, in introducing classicists to the modern language, we start with words that can be used without explaining any pronunciation rules concerning Modern Greek spelling or any differences in meaning of these words and thus, without needing to adjust for all the changes in phonology, morphology, and semantics that have occurred between Ancient and Modern Greek. These words can be referred to as *carry-overs* (or "matches" or "matching forms"), and recognizing them allows for an easy and relatively "painless" transition for the classics student from Ancient Greek into Modern Greek.

An example of how Modern Greek can be introduced into teaching of the Ancient language is the dialogue below—the content is certainly less than compelling, as it is constrained by the scope of the *carry-overs*, and the phonological matches are, at least under some interpretations, not exact. In addition, some of the words in the dialogue would require different use of diacritical marks if written according to the Modern Greek orthography, so that it needs to be written in capital letters. Nonetheless, it is a starting point:

(1) A: ΞΕΝΕ! ΜΟΝΟΣ; ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ;
Foreigner! Alone? Your name?
B: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ. ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ;
Alexander. Your name?
A: ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ. ΠΟΥ ΜΕΝΕΤΕ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ;
Ourania. Where do you stay, Alexander?
B: ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΑ.
Towards Salamina.
A: ΤΙ ΠΙΝΕΤΕ;
What do you drink?
B: ΜΕΛΙ.
Honey.

The last line of the dialogue can be modified with alternative answers such as the following:

(2) B: ΝΕΚΤΑΡ./ΠΟΛΛΑ ΠΟΤΑ.
Nectar./Many drinks.

Furthermore, there are loanwards which could be used in an introductory lesson to Modern Greek as well, without additional explanations of their meaning and pronunciation. These loanwords can be read correctly even with the knowledge of the Ancient Greek alphabet and are likely to be understood by classicists due to the similarities these words show with words in familiar modern languages of Europe.[3] Therefore, the last line in passage (1) can be replaced with one of the following answers:

(3) B: ΚΟΚΑ ΚΟΛΑ./ΤΣΑΙ./ΣΟΚΟΛΑΤΑ.
Coca cola./Tea./Chocolate.

Additional examples of dialogues consisting of words that can be understood by classicists on the basis of their language skill in Ancient Greek are given in passages (4)–(6):

(4) A: ΤΙ ΝΕΑ;
What is new?
B: ΕΠΕΣΕ ΝΕΚΡΟΣ.
He fell dead (= He died).

(5) A: ΕΠΕΣΕΣ;
You fell?
B: ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ.
Yes, indeed.

(6) A: ΠΟΥ ΕΠΕΣΕΣ;
Where did you fall?
B: ΚΑΤΩ.
Down.

Of these passages, (1) in particular contains words that are usually taught in Ancient Greek classes and whose Modern Greek meaning and pronunciation show no significant difference with respect to their ancient Greek origins, e.g., the verb forms ΜΕΝΕΤΕ and ΠΙΝΕΤΕ and the noun forms ΜΕΛΙ, ΟΝΟΜΑ and ΞΕΝΕ. Therefore, such words are likely to be recognized by classicists even when used in Modern Greek spoken discourse. Passages (2)–(6), however, also use some readily recognizable verbs, e.g. ΕΠΕΣΕΣ/ΕΠΕΣΕ, but also introduce

3 We realize of course that classicists need not be familiar with modern Western European languages, but in practical terms, it is more likely than not that they will be.

words that may be readily recognizable by classicists even though they do not have phonological and semantic matches in Modern Greek. The word μάλιστα, used in passage (5), has a different meaning in Modern Greek from that in the ancient language (AG 'most' vs. MG 'yes indeed'), but (roughly) the same pronunciation in Ancient and in Modern Greek. Furthermore, the word κάτω 'down' in passage (6) has the same written form in Ancient and in Modern Greek and is therefore likely to be recognized by students of the ancient language, even though its pronunciation in Ancient Greek was different from that in the modern language in terms of the length of the final vowel ω (AG [ō], MG [o]).

These examples show that it is possible to find Ancient Greek words with semantic and phonological matches in the modern language (i.e., the *carry-overs*)—and to arrange them into plausible Modern Greek clauses and even dialogues; such words are not very frequent and in composing plausible Modern Greek clauses and dialogues from the stock of common Ancient/Modern Greek vocabulary, it is difficult to avoid Modern Greek words that display various semantic and phonological differences with regard to their ancient Greek counterparts, as is the case with the words μάλιστα and κάτω. Furthermore, some ancient words that might be useful in the dialogues such as above (e.g., ὕδωρ 'water', οἶνος 'wine') are not used at all in Modern Greek (or are rare, archaic forms) and thus are not useful in this context. Moreover, some Modern Greek words originating from the ancient language are unlikely to be recognized and understood by classicists; for instance, Modern Greek words for water (νερό) and wine (κρασί).[4] And finally, while some loanwords may be understood by classicists, as suggested in passage (3), this is clearly not always the case; for instance, it is unlikely that using the word τσίπουρο 'raki' in passage (1) would be effective.

Therefore, differences between Ancient and Modern Greek have to be introduced at an early stage of teaching Modern Greek to classicists well—as is expected given that Ancient and Modern Greek are two distinct stages of the language—and this phase cannot come much later than the original phase, which focuses on similarities between Modern Greek and its ancient predecessor. Nevertheless, our approach shows classicists that by learning the ancient language, they have also learned some Modern Greek as well. This ought, therefore, to shed a different light for them on the relation between the two phases of the language. Furthermore, our program differs from previous approaches to teaching Modern Greek to classicists (e.g., Laiou 2011, Kavagia 2009, Kolokouris 2020). None of these textbooks appear to be aware that such similarities between Ancient and Modern Greek exist and can provide a basis for teaching Modern Greek to classicists.

4 The former word originates from earlier νηρόν (AG νεαρὸν) modifying an understood ὕδωρ, thus 'fresh water', and the latter from κρᾶσις 'mixture'; LKN, s.vv. νερό and κρασί.

In what follows we further explain basic concepts of our approach to teaching Modern Greek to classicists, and provide statistical data in support of it.

3. BASIC CONCEPTS

Many of the basic concepts associated with this approach, although introduced in previous sections, require further discussion and exemplification. We address these concepts in the subsections that follow.

3.1 Carry-overs

The concept of *carry-overs* goes back to Joseph (2009: 369), who observed that some words have remained "more or less intact over the years"; examples including ἄνεμος 'wind' and ἄλλος 'other'. This concept contrasts with views that no Ancient Greek words are preserved in the modern language without having undergone significant phonological and/or morphological change (cf. Pappas and Moers 2011: 212), a defensible position, given that the realization of accent has changed in almost all words (see below), but one we do not fully embrace.[5]

Carry-overs are only those Ancient Greek words that that are preserved in Modern Greek and do not contain sounds that underwent significant phonological change; a listing of the sounds that have changed is given in (7), with an indication of their ancient pronunciation where appropriate:[6]

(7) - long vowels
- short υ [ü]
- (long and short) diphthongs
- voiced stops β [b], δ [d], γ [g]
- (voiceless) aspirated stops θ [t^h], χ [k^h], φ [p^h]
- the aspirate [h]
- double (geminate) consonants
- the consonant ρ [r]

5 See also Wilson, Pappas, and Moers (2019: 598–599), Petrounias (1998: xxii), Manolessou (2013).

6 For an overview of phonological developments, see, for instance, Horrocks (2010: 160–163). The consonant ρ is not usually mentioned among the consonants that underwent significant phonological change. See, however, the discussion in Allen (1974: 39), which speaks against the equivalence of this consonant in Ancient and in Modern Greek.

Furthermore, these are words that did not undergo morphological reshaping, as was the case with feminine and masculine nouns of the 3rd declension (e.g., φύλαξ vs. MG φύλακας), with the present stem of many verb (e.g., AG μανθάνω vs. MG μαθαίνω; AG πληρόω vs. MG πληρώνω).[7] As to the meaning, *carry-overs* must have the same meaning in Ancient and in Modern Greek. In this respect we follow etymologies of LKN (*Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*) and thus, the proposal of Petrounias (2010: 315), who has suggested that these etymologies can be a basis for identifying words that "are equivalent" in Ancient and in Modern Greek. Words with the same meaning in Ancient and in Modern Greek are represented in etymologies of LKN without explicit references to their meaning in Ancient and Modern Greek (see Petrounias 1998: xxii). An example is the etymology of the Modern Greek verb αισθάνομαι, which shows that the verb originates from the corresponding verb (with the written form αἰσθάνομαι) in the ancient language:

(8) [λόγ. < αρχ. *αἰσθάνομαι*]
[learn. < AG *αἰσθάνομαι*]

In addition to suggesting that there is no significant difference in meaning between this verb in Ancient and in Modern Greek, this etymology also indicates that, rather than being directly inherited from Ancient Greek, the verb originates from the learnèd tradition (λόγ.) or *katharevousa*. This is the origin of a significant part of Modern Greek words with the Ancient Greek origin (cf. Petrounias 1998: xxii, Joseph 2009: 369). It is therefore worth stressing that the term *carry-over* can be misleading inasmuch it may seem to imply that the words fulfilling the aforementioned phonological and semantic criteria were inherited directly from Ancient Greek. Thus, a different terminology seems appropriate. We use the (admittedly somewhat cumbersome) term *homophonographoseme* as a synonymous, but more neutral term than *carry-overs*, in reference to words that have (roughly) the same meaning, pronunciation and the written form in Ancient and in Modern Greek regardless of whether they have entered Modern Greek from the learnèd tradition or were inherited directly from the ancient language.

In determining *homophonographosemes*, one also needs to take into account the change of the accent from pitch to stress. An accented word, even if fulfilling all the aforementioned criteria cannot be a true *carry-over* because of the different nature of the accent in Ancient and in Modern Greek. There is the possibility that unaccented words (proclitics or enclitics) are legitimate *carry-overs*, an example being the Modern Greek preposition ἐν 'in'. This word belongs to the Modern Greek learnèd vocabulary and cannot be taken as true

7 See also Joseph (2009: 369).

carry-over in the sense of a word inherited from Ancient Greek—as noted, the term *homophonographoseme* is much more appropriate in such cases. It is, however, one of the lemmas in LKN and is therefore a part of the Modern Greek lexicon. Furthermore, it consists of phonemes that do not seem to have undergone any significant change; at least, they are not usually mentioned among such phonemes.[8] It also needs to be mentioned that the pronunciation of the vowel ε may not have been the same in Ancient Greek as it is today. According to Allen (1974: 60), this vowel was in Classical Greek "rather like" the vowel e in English *pet*, whereas Modern Greek ε (also αι) is "anything rather than more open than the vowel of English *pet*". According to Sturtevant (1940: 33, 47), however, ε was a rather close vowel. This is because ε + ε contracts to ει [e:] rather than η [ɛ:], and ει [e:] is also the result of the secondary lengthening of ε. If ε was an open-mid vowel, as is the case in Modern Greek, one would expect the result of all these processes to be η rather than ει. Therefore, if one follows Allen (loc. cit.), unaccented words such as the preposition ἐν are true *carry-overs*, even if adopted from the learnèd tradition. This is not the case, however, if one follows Sturtevant (loc. cit.).

Another potential class of true *carryovers* are words that are regularly accented with the grave accent—provided that they also fulfill the rest of the aforementioned phonological and semantic criteria. According to one interpretation, this accent mark represents the lack of the accent because in an earlier orthographic system, it was used to mark any unaccented syllable (Allen 1974: 115, Tsantsanoglou 2001: 988–989). If this is the case, then a Modern Greek word that may have an exact match in the ancient language is the plural form of the definite article τά, as it is typically accented in Ancient Greek texts with the grave accent and is unaccented in Modern Greek.

This means that owing to the loss of the pitch accent, no Ancient Greek word would have its exact phonological and semantic match in the modern language, with a few potential exceptions. Nonetheless, with regard to accent, the concept of *carry-overs* proves to be useful in practical, pedagogical terms, precisely the focus of the present study (whatever the theoretical interest of such *carry-overs* might be). This is because, according to Allen (1974: 136), the Ancient Greek accent is typically rendered with stress (not the pitch of the ancient accentuation) in pedagogical practice, and this is the case "even in countries where the native language has a tonal system of accentuation (as e.g. in Yugoslavia and Norway)."[9] In other words, the change in the nature of

8 See also footnote 6.

9 For the same view, see Petrounias (2001: 954). Allen's view is oversimplified because it assumes one native language in the former Yugoslavia. It is correct, however, in the respect that in the former Yugoslavia, the tonal accent was not adopted in pronunciation of Ancient Greek. For instance, this was never the case in Slovenia, although some Slovenian dialects retain the pitch accent—which could in principle, for such speakers, make it possible to adopt this accent type in pronunciation of Ancient Greek.

the accent does not mean that words with semantic and phonological matches in Modern Greek (i.e., *carry-overs*) are not a part of the vocabulary learned in Ancient Greek classes. Moreover, in any case, such words will be readily recognizable in their written form.

As a result of these considerations, one needs to distinguish between different classes of *carry-overs*, representing different degrees of strictness regarding adherence to the criteria:

1. Potential examples of *carry-overs* (*homophonographosemes*) in the strictest sense, i.e. Ancient Greek words with phonological and semantic matches in Modern Greek. These are words consisting only of sounds that appear not to have changed, and are written with the consonant letters κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, π, σ, τ, ψ, without any doubling, as well as with vowels α and ι (or ἀ/ἰ), unless the latter two letters represent long vowels (e.g., τὰ). Furthermore, these words are unaccented in both Ancient and Modern Greek.
2. Accented *carry-overs*, consisting of the same sounds as true *carry-overs*. The Ancient and the Modern Greek words differ in terms of the nature of the accent. In pronouncing the accent, however, teaching practice is much closer to Modern than to Ancient Greek. Therefore, when learned in a typical Ancient Greek class, these words appear to have direct phonological and semantic matches in Modern Greek. Examples include τί 'what', κατά 'against/according to', μία 'one' (f./sg.), κακά 'bad' (n./pl.).
3. Accented *carry-overs*, including those containing the vowels ε/αι [e] and ο [o]. These words belong to the class of the accented *carry-overs* if one adopts the view that these two vowels had in Ancient Greek roughly the same pronunciation as in the modern language. This view is adopted by Allen (1974: 60) but not by Sturtevant (1940: 33, 47). As already mentioned, the latter argues against the equivalence of the Ancient and Modern Greek ε based on contraction and lengthening facts. His arguments against the view that the pronunciation of ο was roughly the same in Ancient Greek and in the modern language have a similar basis, due to the contraction of ο+ο to ου not ω, and the secondary lengthening of ο to ου rather than ω; if there was no significant difference between the pronunciation of ο in Ancient and in Modern Greek, ω would be the expected outcome in each case in Ancient Greek. If one nonetheless follows Allen (1974: 60), the number of *carry-overs* is significantly increased, and would contain words such as the following:
   - nouns μέλι, ἄνεμος, πόλεμος, ὄνομα, νόμος
   - adjectives/numerals κακός, ἄξιος, πιστός, νέος, ἕνατος
   - inflected verb forms πίνετε, μένετε, ἔπεσε, ἔπινε, etc.

3.2 Ethnohomophonographosemes

If it is assumed that apart from the pronunciation of the accent, Ancient Greek is pronounced in modern teaching practice in its authentic form, the pronunciation of all classes of *carry-overs* that were discussed in the previous section roughly corresponds to their Modern Greek pronunciation. This, however, is a significant oversimplification. Although the teaching of Ancient Greek in many countries follows the Erasmian pronunciation, in actuality there are several varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation that show the impact of the phonology of native modern languages and of various, sometimes wrong, perceptions of the authentic Ancient Greek pronunciation (Allen 1974: 125–144, Petrounias 2001: 952). Therefore, the discussion of *carry-overs* needs to take into account their potential interaction with the traditions of the pronunciation of Ancient Greek and thus with potential effects on the teaching of Modern Greek to classicists. In some cases this can mean that the pronunciation of an Ancient Greek word is closer to its pronunciation in Modern Greek in its ancient form. An example is words containing the letters φ and χ or the digraph ου, which are pronounced in many traditions according to their Modern Greek pronunciation, namely [f], [h] and [u] (Petrounias 2001: 952). As a result, the pronunciation of some words may be much closer to Modern than to Ancient Greek. An example is the word φίλος. If φ is pronounced as [f] and if ου is pronounced as [u], the Erasmian pronunciation of φίλος, as well as some of its inflected forms (φίλου, φίλε, φίλους) corresponds to Modern Greek (namely, [fílos], [fílu], [file], [fílus]) much more closely than to the authentic ancient Greek pronunciation ([pʰílos], [pʰílō], [pʰíle], [pʰílōs]). We call these words *ethnohomophonographosemes*.

Other aspects of the Erasmian pronunciation can also have significantly different effects on teaching Modern Greek to classicists. For example, there is the so-called Henninian pronunciation, in which Ancient Greek words are pronounced according to the Latin accentuation rules (see Allen 1974: 135–136, Petrounias 2001: 954). The word ἄνθρωπος in this tradition is accentuated on the penultimate syllable and corresponds to neither Ancient nor Modern Greek accentuation. This pronunciation is used in the Netherlands, in South Africa, in Great Britain and in the Commonwealth (Allen, loc. cit.).[10]

This also means that effects of national traditions of the Erasmian pronunciation on teaching Modern Greek to classicists need to be examined for each of these traditions separately. This issue lies beyond the scope of the present paper and is a subject of a larger project we aim at conducting. The effects

10 It is interesting to observe that the Henninian pronunciation is reflected also in earlier Slovenian literature (namely, in a poem of France Prešeren), which indicates that this pronunciation used to be much more widespread (in the 19th century) than is the case nowadays (Grošelj 1970–1971).

of one of the varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation on teaching of Modern Greek are further discussed below in §4.

3.3 False friends

As was shown in passage (5), some words display phonological properties of *carry-overs* but have a different meaning in Ancient Greek from that in Modern Greek. We use the term "false friends" for these words. An example is the word μάλιστα, which means 'most' in Ancient Greek and 'yes, indeed' in the modern language. Another term for words with phonological properties of *carry-overs* but with a different meaning in Modern Greek from that in the ancient language is *homophonograph*. Furthermore, we use the term false friends for words that have the same written form in Ancient and Modern Greek but different pronunciation and meaning. These words can also be called *homographs*. The same as in the case of *carry-overs*, our analysis is based on the etymologies of LKN; therefore, *false friends* are words that have, according to these etymologies, a different meaning in Ancient Greek from that seen in Modern Greek (cf. Petrounias 1998: xxii); this is the case also with the verb παιδεύω (AG [paideúō] 'bring up, teach', MG [peδévo] 'pester'):

(9) [αρχ. *παιδεύω* 'ανατρέφω, εκπαιδεύω' (η σημερ. σημ. μσν.)]
[AG *παιδεύω* 'bring up, educate' (MG meaning Medieval)]

Examples of both types of *false friends* are given in Table 1.

These words show that knowledge of Ancient Greek can cause misunderstanding (or, interference errors) in Modern Greek. Consider, for instance, a passage such as that in (10):

(10) Η τράπεζα είναι πλούσια.
The bank is rich.

In this case, in teaching Modern Greek to classicists, it would need to be stressed that the word τράπεζα in Modern Greek means 'bank' rather than 'table', as was the case in Ancient Greek, and that the verb form είναι is in Modern Greek a finite form (namely the 3rd person singular or plural of the verb 'to be'), rather than the present infinitive of this verb, as was the case in the ancient language.[11]

11 For further details of our approach to teaching Modern Greek to classicists, as well as for additional materials, see the website *Greek Ancient and Modern: A resource for teaching and study of the Greek language in all its phases*, https://u.osu.edu/greek/.

Table 1: *Ancient-Modern Greek false friends*

Ancient ←			GREEK	Modern →		
Meaning	Pronunciation	Lower case letters	CAPITAL LETTERS	Lower case letters	Pronunciation	Meaning
foreigner	[bárbaros]	ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ βάρβαρος			[várvaros]	barbarian
marry	[gamō]	γαμῶ	ΓΑΜΩ	γαμώ	[γamó]	f***
private	[ídios]	ἴδιος	ΙΔΙΟΣ	ίδιος	[íðios]	the same
to be a slave	[dōleūō]	ΔΟΥΛΕΥΩ δουλεύω			[δulévo]	work
assembly	[ekklēsía]	ἐκκλησία	ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ	εκκλησία	[eklisía]	church
the right moment	[kairós]	ΚΑΙΡΟΣ καιρός			[kerós]	weather, time
beautiful	ΚΑΛΟΣ καλός [kalós]					good
girl	[kórē]	ΚΟΡΗ κόρη			[kóri]	daughter
power	ΚΡΑΤΟΣ κράτος [krátos]					state
possession	[ktéma]	κτῆμα	ΚΤΗΜΑ	κτήμα	[ktíma]	estate
more	[māllon]	μᾶλλον	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ	μάλλον	[málon]	probably
most	ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ μάλιστα [málista]					indeed
bring up	[paideúō]	ΠΑΙΔΕΥΩ παιδεύω			[peδévo]	pester
denouncer	[sȳkop^{h}ántēs]	ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ συκοφάντης			[sikofá(n)dis]	slenderer
free time	[sk^{h}olē]	ΣΧΟΛΗ σχολή			[sholí]	school
table	[trápedza]	ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ τράπεζα			[trápeza]	ban
seasonable	[hōraíos]	ὡραῖος	ΩΡΑΙΟΣ	ωραίος	[oréos]	beautiful

3.4 Homographosemes

In addition to *carry-overs* and *false friends*, passages (2)–(6) also contain words with the same meaning and written form in Ancient and in Modern Greek but with different pronunciations; an example is the adverb κάτω from passage (6), and additional examples include νομίζω 'think', γράφω 'write', θάνατος 'death', κίνδυνος 'danger', ἄνθρωπος 'man', etc. We call these words *homographosemes*.[12]

In this case, the similarity between the ancient and the modern word is a result of the modern Greek orthographic system (which remains relatively conservative) rather than of the lack of semantic or formal change. Still, such words draw attention to the fact that in addition to different classes of *carry-overs*, which are pronounced, at least in the modern pedagogical practice, in roughly the same way as in Modern Greek, some ancient and modern Greek words are equivalent only in terms of their written forms. More specifically, they are equivalent when written with capital letters, whereas there may be distinctions between the written form of these words in Modern Greek and in ancient texts, when written with lower case letters. For instance, the word ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ is written as ἄνθρωπος in Ancient Greek texts but άνθρωπος in Modern Greek. By using their skills in Ancient Greek, classicists are able to understand such words in Modern Greek written texts, although they may not be able to pronounce them correctly (or to recognize their Modern Greek spoken forms). Examples are given in passages (11) and (12):

(11) Λέγονται πολλά.
A lot is being said.

(12) Έρχονται ο Πέτρος και η Ελένη.
Peter and Eleni are coming.

Such examples can also be introduced in teaching Modern Greek to classicists from the earliest stages on, at least in their written forms.

4. SOME STATISTICAL DATA

Focusing on teaching the ancient language in Slovenia, this section provides statistical data on the phenomena that are discussed above, that is on different

12 Depending on the variety of the Erasmian pronunciation, the pronunciation of some of these words in actual teaching practice may (roughly) correspond to their Modern Greek pronunciation. In this section we focus on words that are *homographosemes* from the perspective of diachronic processes that affected the Greek language.

classes of *carry-overs*, *false friends* and *homographosemes*. These data show that none of these types of words are insignificant in learning Ancient Greek. Therefore, it is reasonable to take them into account in teaching Modern Greek to classicists, as is the case in our approach.

Table 2 shows how Slovenian students of Ancient Greek are taught to pronounce Ancient Greek letters, indicating also that in some aspects, this pronunciation may be much closer to Modern Greek than to its ancient predecessor. First, the table shows that the pronunciation of the letters representing sounds that appear to have undergone no significant change follows their Ancient Greek pronunciation, thus (roughly) corresponding also to their modern pronunciation. As noted in §3.1, these letters include κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, π, σ, τ, ψ, as well as α and ι (or ἀ/ἰ) (when they represent short vowels). Furthermore, the table shows important divergences from the authentic Ancient Greek pronunciation. Thus students are not taught to distinguish between the pronunciation of Ancient Greek short and long vowels (note the lack of distinction in the cases of ο and ω, ε and η, as well as long and short ι and υ). Moreover, the letters φ and χ are pronounced as [f], [h] rather than [p^h], [k^h]. Therefore, their pronunciation is much closer to Modern Greek than to its ancient predecessor, as appears to be the case in many varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation (see §3.2). Another such feature is the pronunciation of the digraph ου, which is pronounced as (short) [u] rather than [ō] or [ū], as was the case in Classical Greek (see Babič, loc. cit.). Additional divergences from the authentic Classical Greek pronunciation include the pronunciation of double consonants (which are pronounced as single consonants), as well as the lack of distinction between different accent marks.[13] In these cases too, this variety of the Erasmian pronunciation is much closer to the modern than to the authentic Ancient Greek pronunciation. Finally, it is worth noting that students are given no information about the openness of the vowels ο (ω) and ε (αι).

These data suggest that Slovenian students of Ancient Greek are likely to learn words that can be considered as true *carry-overs* (e.g., τὰ), as well as accented *carry-overs* (e.g., μία, κατά, τί); see §3.1. As for the *carry-overs* containing the vowels ε/ο, one needs to take into account that their native language distinguishes between open-mid and close-mid vowels [e] and [o], as well as that native languages usually have a significant impact on the Erasmian pronunciation of Ancient Greek (see §3.2). This means that students may often pronounce these letters as close-mid rather than as open-mid vowels, and that in teaching Modern Greek, significant attention may need to be given to the correct pronunciation of these vowels.

13 On this issue, see also footnote 9 above.

Table 2: *Ancient Greek alphabet in the Slovenian tradition (Babič 1997: 23)*

Name of the letter	Letter		Our Pronunciation	Authentic AG Pronunciation
	Capital	Lower-case		
ἄλφα (alfa)	Α	α	a	
βῆτα (beta)	Β	β	b	
γάμμα (gama)	Γ	γ	g	
δέλτα (delta)	Δ	δ	d	
ἐ ψιλόν (epsilon)	Ε	ε	e	(ĕ)
ζῆτα (zeta)	Ζ	ζ	dz	
ἦτα (eta)	Η	η	e	(ē)
θῆτα (theta)	Θ	θ	th	
ἰῶτα (iota)	Ι	ι	i	(ĭ, ī)
κάππα (kappa)	Κ	κ	k	
λάμβδα (lambda)	Λ	λ	l	
μῦ (mi)	Μ	μ	m	
νῦ (ni) ỹ	Ν	ν	n	
ξῖ/ξεῖ (ksi)	Ξ	ξ	ks	
ο μικρόν (omikron)	Ο	ο	o	(ŏ)
πῖ/πεῖ (pi)	Π	π	p	
ῥῶ (ro)	Ρ	ρ	r	
σῖγμα (sigma)	Σ	σ, ς	s	
ταῦ (tau)	Τ	τ	t	
υ ψιλόν (ipsilon)	Υ	υ	y (ü)	(ў, ȳ)
φῖ/φεῖ (fi)	Φ	φ	f	p^h
χῖ/χεῖ (hi)	Χ	χ	h	k^h
ψῖ/ψεῖ (psi)	Ψ	ψ	ps	
ω μέγα (omega)	Ω	ω	o	ō

Furthermore, in learning Ancient Greek vocabulary, students are also likely to learn *ethnohomophonographosemes* (see §3.2). Taking into account the aforementioned letters (and digraphs) whose pronunciation is closer to Modern than to Ancient Greek, this category includes words such as ἀλλά, οὐρανός, φίλος, χώρα, etc. As is likely to be the case also in other traditions of the Erasmian pronunciation, Slovenian students may also learn *false friends* (e.g., δουλεύω, παιδεύω) and *homographosemes*. The latter category includes words such as ἄνθρωπος, κίνδυνος—note, however, that words such as οὐρανός or ἀλλά, which may be considered as *homographosemes* in some

varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation, are *ethnohomophonographosemes* in the Slovenian tradition.[14]

In the last few decades, Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978) has been the most commonly used textbook for teaching the ancient language in Slovenian schools. Table 3 below below shows that this textbook contains all of the above categories of Ancient Greek words. It is also worth noting that in absolute terms, none of these words, except for those belonging to the category of (potential) true *homophonographosemes*, seem insignificant.

Table 3: *Inflected words in Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978)*

	Number of words	Learnèd words
True homophonographosemes	0–4	0–3
Accented homophonographosemes	12	2
Accented homophonographosemes with ε/o	105	31
Ethnohomophonographosemes	444	95
Homographosemes	2340	484
False friends	176	1

This table also shows numbers of words that belong in the standard modern language to the learnèd tradition and are characterized in the main lemma of LKN as "learnèd" (λόγιος, λογ.); an example is the Modern Greek preposition ἐν, discussed already in §3.1:

(13) εν [en] πρόθ.: (λόγ.)
εν [en] prep.: (learn.)

The table shows that in each of the classes, words belonging to the Modern Greek learned vocabulary are much less frequent than those from the common vocabulary. These data are important to stress because higher relative frequencies of words belonging to the learnèd tradition would mean that *carry-overs* learned in Ancient Greek classes are unlikely to be used in the most common speaking situation (in Modern Greek). This is not the case, however. A number of scholars have observed that a significant part of the most common Modern Greek vocabulary originates from the ancient language (cf. Petrounias 2000: 57, Manolessou 2013). Therefore, it is not surprising that such words are found also in the textbook that is examined here, without being characterized as learnèd in LKN. Examples include:

14 See also footnote 12 above.

- (potential) true *carry-overs* (or *homophonographosemes*): τὰ, ἐν, ἐκ, μὲν;
- accented *carry-overs* (*homophonographosemes*), including those with the vowels ο/ε: μία, κακός, κακά, νέος, πίνετε, ἔπινες, ἔπινε, ἔπεσες, ἔπεσε, νόμος, μέλι, etc.;
- *ethnohomophonographosemes*: ἀκούω, ἔχω, πίνω, τρέχω, τρέφω including some of their inflected forms (e.g., ἔχετε, τρέχετε, τρέφετε, ἔτρεφες, ἔτρεφε, ἔτρεχες, ἔτρεχε); aorist forms such as ἔσωσα, ἔσωσε; noun forms ὄνομα, ὀνόματα, ὀνομάτων, ἄλλος, ἄλλα, στόμα, στόματα, σῶμα, σώματα, etc.
- *homographosemes*: verb forms θέλω, θέλετε, γράφω, γράφετε, ἔγραφε, ὀνομάζω, ὀνομάζεις, ὀνομάζει, ὀνομάζετε, ὀνομάζομαι, ὀνομάζεται, ὀνομάζονται, ἔλεγες, ἔλεγε, λέγομαι, λέγεται, λέγονται; noun forms θεός, θεοῦ, θεοί, θεῶν, θεούς, ἄνθρωπος, ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπους, κίνδυνος, κινδύνου, κινδύνους, etc.

Furthermore, some of the words in the textbook investigated are *false friends*. These words rarely belong to the learnèd vocabulary of Modern Greek, an observation which further supports the view that avoiding interference errors originating from knowledge of the ancient language is an important part of teaching Modern Greek to classicists.[15] In the textbook examined, *false friends* include both *homophonographs* (e.g., μάλιστα) and *homographs* (e.g., δουλεύω and παιδεύω), and are also mentioned in Table 1 above.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Our data show that a beginners' textbook of Ancient Greek may contain a few hundred *carry-over* words, their exact number depending on the variety of the Erasmian pronunciation that is adopted in local teaching practice. These words have (rough) phonological and semantic matches in the modern language. Classicists can start learning Modern Greek by using these words, without being told their pronunciation and meaning in Modern Greek. It is true that some of the *carry-overs* are a part of the learnèd Modern Greek vocabulary, which might speak against using the vocabulary, as taught in Ancient Greek class, in Modern Greek. However, other words of this type are highly frequent words in Modern Greek and can be used in plausible Modern Greek sentences, as well as dialogues. This is the advantage of our proposal, which also contrasts with earlier approaches to learning Modern Greek to classicists. Furthermore, this approach shows to students of Ancient Greek that by learning the ancient language, they have also learned a part of Modern Greek and

15 The only exception is βλασφημία (AG 'word of evil omen', MG 'blasphemy'), which is a learnèd expression in Modern Greek; see LKN, s.v. βλασφημία.

may help in overcoming the idea of language corruption and decline, which continues to characterize classicists' perception of the history of the Greek language (and ancient languages in more general terms).

Due to various differences between Ancient and Modern Greek, classicists are also prone to mistakes; for instance, those concerning the use of *false friends* in Modern Greek, e.g. παιδεύω and μάλιστα. Whereas the phenomenon of *carry-overs* suggests that a part of Modern Greek vocabulary can be introduced without any explaining, avoiding such mistakes needs to be a part of teaching Modern Greek to classicists as well. The example of *false friends*—which are, according to our analysis, much less frequent than *carry-overs*—nonetheless suggests that classicists are likely to have more advantages than disadvantages in learning Modern Greek.

Finally, although we have taken a practical tack in this article, in what is essentially an exercise in applied historical linguistics, the material we have discussed is relevant for a more general issue in the study of language change. That is, one dimension of our approach has to do with the degree of difference in pronunciation, meaning, etc. between Ancient Greek and Modern Greek forms. In this regard, it is interesting to compare our approach to changes in Greek with that of Pappas and Moers (2011). Their study was aimed at testing, based on data from Greek, a claim that there is less change in general in more frequent lexemes. They developed a "scoring" system for measuring degree of change that is different in detail from the way we would do so, but we consider it significant to see that there have been other scholars before us who operated with the same basic idea of distinguishing ways in which different types of change can contribute to making language state X and a later form of X (X') differ from one another. Our concerns are similar to theirs, but we take more subtle details into consideration and we have different goals, ours being more practical in nature and drawing on theoretical matters, but not concerned with advancing the theory per se. In any case, though, it is pleasing, and telling, to follow in the footsteps of these other scholars in regard to degree of difference between chronologically separated language states.

Jerneja Kavčič
University of Ljubljana
jerneja.kavcic@ff.uni-lj.si

Brian Daniel Joseph
The Ohio State University
joseph.1@osu.edu

Christopher Brown
The Ohio State University
brown.2583@osu.edu

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ABSTRACT

The ideology of decline is a part of the history of the study and characterization of the Greek language from the Hellenistic period and the Roman Atticist movement right up to the emergence of *katharevousa* in the 19th century and the resulting modern diglossia. It is also clear, however, that there is an overwhelming presence of Ancient Greek vocabulary and forms in the modern language. Our position is that the recognition of such phenomena can provide a tool for introducing classicists to the modern language, a view that has various intellectual predecessors (e.g., Albert Thumb, Nicholas Bachtin, George Thomson, and Robert Browning). We thus propose a model for the teaching of Modern Greek to classicists that starts with words that we refer to as *carry-overs*. These are words that can be used in the modern language without requiring any explanation of pronunciation rules concerning Modern Greek spelling or of differences in meaning in comparison to their ancient predecessors (e.g., κακός 'bad', μικρός 'small', νέος 'new', μέλι 'honey', πίνετε 'you drink'). Our data show that a beginners' textbook of Ancient Greek may contain as many as a few hundred *carry-over* words, their exact number depending on the variety of the Erasmian pronunciation that is adopted in the teaching practice. However, the teaching of Modern Greek to classicists should also take into account lexical phenomena such as Ancient-Modern Greek false friends, as well as Modern Greek words that correspond to their ancient Greek predecessors only in terms of their written forms and meanings.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, vocabulary, language teaching, language change

POVZETEK

Kako učiti klasične filologe novo grščino: uporabni vidik jezikovne kontinuitete

Ideja o propadanju jezika je zaznamovala zgodovino in preučevanje grškega jezika vse od helenistične dobe in aticističnega gibanja v cesarski dobi do pojava katarevuse in posledično diglosije v 19. stoletju. A obenem je povsem jasno, da so starogrško besedišče in jezikovne oblike pomemben del modernega jezika. Kar se tiče vprašanja, kako poučevati novo grščino klasične filologe, v članku zavzamemo stališče, da so prav tovrstni jezikovni pojavi lahko primerno izhodišče. Pristop ima vrsto idejnih predhodnikov, med katere sodijo Albert Thumb, Nicholas Bachtin, George Thomson in Robert Browning. Naš predlog

je, naj poučevanje novogrškega jezika izhaja iz pojava t.i. prenešenk ali starogrških besed, ki jih je mogoče pravilno uporabiti v novogrškem jeziku brez učenja glasoslovnih in pomenskih razlik med obema jezikovnima fazama. Takšne besede so denimo κακός (slab), μικρός (majhen), νέος (nov), μέλι (med), πίνετε (pijete). Podatki kažejo, da lahko učbenik za učenje starogrškega jezika na začetni stopnji vsebuje nekaj sto tovrstnih besed, njihovo natančno število pa je odvisno od različice Erazmove izgovarjave, ki se uporablja pri pouku stare grščine. Obenem je pri učenju nove grščine treba upoštevati obstoj starogrških besed, ki imajo v novi grščini ti. lažne prijatelje, in novogrških besed, ki se s starogrškimi ustreznicami ujemajo po zgolj pisni obliki in pomenu.

Ključne besede: stara grščina, nova grščina, besedje, učenje jezika, jezikovna sprememba