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The term 'Old Athenian' usually refers to the Modern Greek variety of Athens up to the 19th c. when the city became the capital of the newly founded Greek state after the end of the Greek War of Independence (1821–1830). But it is often also used as a cover for a dialect group that also comprises the varieties of southern Euboea, Megara and the island of Aegina as well (Newton 1972). The members of the group share a few major important characteristics, that are not exclusive to them, but are also found in geographically adjacent or more remote varieties such as the varieties of eastern Central Continental Greece and parts of the Peloponnese, but the group is also widely differentiated internally. Its original geographic continuity was disrupted by the settlement of speakers of Arvanitic from the late 14th century onwards in eastern Central Continental Greece and southern Euboea.

1. Introduction

Although the term *Old Athenian* is mostly used in its narrower sense of 'variety of pre-war-of-Independence Athens', it is also used as a cover term for the group that also includes the varieties of southern Euboea, Megara and the island of Aegina (e.g. Newton 1972). The latter use is not universally accepted among Greek scholars and linguists. A widely accepted label for the group is still lacking.

The group was first recognized by Georgios Hatzidakis in the late 19th century. The members of the group share a few major important characteristics, that are not exclusive to them, but can also be found in geographically adjacent or more remote varieties such as those of eastern Central Continental Greece (Στερεά Ελλάδα: Boeotia, Locris), northern Euboea, perhaps also the island of Skyros off Euboea's east coast) and the Peloponnese, especially its eastern-northeastern part. The group is also widely differentiated internally, as will become evident in the present exposition, to the point that doubts could be raised as regards its status as a group. Alternatively, the group could instead be viewed as part of a continuum that originally extended from eastern Central Continental Greece and Euboea all the way through the eastern Peloponnese and the Mani peninsula, as was already surmised by Dawkins (1940) and, more restrictively, by Adams (1981). Pantelidis (2016a) undertook a scrutiny of the available linguistic evidence and confirmed the accuracy of Dawkins' and Adams' hypothesis. Hints to a closer relationship of the above varieties had already been made by the Ahenian Panagiotis Kodrikas in the early 19th c. who pointed to a closer relationship of Old Athenian (in the narrower sense) with Euboean and the varieties of Boeotia and the Peloponnese (1818:257). Several decades later Albert Thumb also pointed out the close relationship of the group with the

Peloponnese (1892:13,14). The members of the group also share several features with Aegean insular varieties.

The dialect group/continuum was disrupted by the settlement of Orthodox Christian Albanian speakers (Arvanites) from the late 14th century onwards in eastern Central Continental Greece (Στερεά Ελλάδα), southern Euboea and the Peloponnese, and, in later centuries (16th–19th), by the intrusion of other Greek varieties in the Peloponnese and eastern Central Continental Greece. The above-described process led to the blurring of the original, pre-15th century dialect map and to the formation of a picture reminiscent of 'crushed glass'. The varieties of the 'Old Athenian' group were gradually restricted – either due to the settlement of Albanian speakers in previously sparsely inhabited areas and/or to the gradual shift of speakers of 'Old Athenian' varieties to Albanian (Arvanitika) – to small pockets on the mainland (the towns of Athens, Megara, the village of Oropos in northern Attica, the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf, and perhaps also Thebes in Boeotia), and in a part of southern Euboea. There is evidence though that the shift from Greek to Albanian (Arvanitika) was still underway in the early 18th century in the Athenian basin (Pantelidis 2016b:104, 2019a:89). See Minority Languages in Greece.

The oldest known examples of features of this dialect group date to the 9th c. CE and appear in inscriptions found in Athens: The forms Δρουγγαρέα [sic] *ðrunɣaréa* and Σπαθαρέα *spaθaréa* (instead of the expected Δρουγγαρία *ðrungaría* and Σπαθαρία *spaθaría*), feminine forms of the Byzantine titles Δρουγγάριος *ðrungários* and Σπαθάριος *spaθários*. The forms show analogical extension of the termination -έα *-éa* from cases in which the latter is etymological such as μηλέα *miléa* 'apple tree', μο(υ)ρέα *moréa*/*muréa* 'mulberry', etc. (Pantelidis 2016b:114; Manolessou and Pantelidis 2019:634–635; Pantelidis 2019a). At the end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th c. the Byzantine poet Euthymios Tornikes made a clear reference to the existence of geminates in a Euboean variety as opposed to the varieties of the mainland (Manolessou and Pantelidis 2019:630–633). At the end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th c. the bishop of Athens Michael Choniates makes derogatory remarks on the Athenian variety, offering some forms in support of his view. From about the same time comes an Athenian fiscal document that attests one of the characteristic traits of Athenian and the whole group, namely the change /f/>/v/: Κυβισσ[---] 'Kifisjá' (ancient deme of Attica, Anc.Gk. *Kēphisíā*, an old village on the same location, and present-day suburb of Athens to the north of the city's centre).

The scholar Symeon Kavasilas expresses himself on the variety of Athens in much the same derogatory way ("the worst dialect") in the late 16th c. in a letter to the German humanist scholar Martinus Krusius, also citing a few dialect forms. The same stance towards the variety of Athens is repeated by many non-Greek travelers in subsequent

centuries. In 1854 Iakovos Rizos Rangavis offered a brief sketch of the ethnographic and linguistic make-up of Euboea and compared the variety of the region around Kymi to the speech of the islanders of the Aegean Sea and characterized their pronunciation as being exactly the same as the pronunciation of the Rhodians. As for the population around the town of Karystos at the southernmost tip of Euboea he states that it "has its own dialect", which apparently differed from that of Kymi despite their relatedness. In the 1670's the French Huguenot traveler Jacob Spon offered a lengthy list of vernacular Greek forms and lexical items that he collected during his stay in Athens. The list offers just a few forms that could directly point to Athens, the rest being widespread in the Greek-speaking world, displaying nothing characteristically dialectal Athenian. From the 19th c. on come the first modern mentions of the pronunciation of native Athenians, and from the late 19th c. on linguistic research on the Modern Greek varieties and the history of post-Koine Greek offered dialect forms and the first descriptions of the varieties of Aegina (Thumb 1891) and Megara (Hatzidakis 1916).

As is the case with most Modern Greek varieties, the varieties of this group are in a process of rapid decline. The linguistic variety of Old Athens has been extinct since the beginning of the 20th c., while the process of dialect death has probably already been completed for the linguistic variety of Aegina in the 1990's at the latest. Pockets of survival of the old varieties might still be found in Megara, and much more so in Euboea.

The group displays considerable internal differentiation. A relatively small number of important features is shared by all varieties of the group:

2. Phonetics-Phonology

a. Change of medieval /y/ (<υ>,<οι>) to /u/ (<ου>) in non-initial and non-final position. The outcome includes a palatal/palatalized/fronted consonant+/u/ (spelled <ιου>) or a non-palatalizable consonant + /u/ (<ου>). This feature is shared by several Pelop. varieties, as well as Tsakonian and Maniot: *júru* 'around' (SMGk. γύρω *jíro*), *áçuro* 'straw' (SMGk. άχυρο *áçiro*), *ʧulía/ʨulía/ʦulía* 'belly' (SMGk. κοιλιά *ciʎá*), *ʎúkos* 'wolf' (SMGk. λύκος *líkos*), *pareθúri/paleθúri* 'window' (SMGk. παραθύρι *paraθíri*) etc.

There is a considerable amount of written older evidence as well as recent sound recordings though (from around 1960 on) which suggest that the older realization as a front round vowel ([y]) survived in some of the varieties of the group (Megarian, Old Athenian, Aeginetan) till the early 20th c., and, in relic areas and in the speech of elderly informants until today (recordings from Euboea and Aegina) (Pantelidis

2016b:116–119; 2019a:94–96, 2019b:384–387, 2020).

b. Absence of synizesis: eléa 'olive tree' (SMGk. ελιά eʎá), miléa 'apple tree' (SMGk. μηλιά miʎá), peðía 'children' (SMGk. παιδιά peðjá) and peðíu 'of the child (gen.sg.)' (SMGk. παιδιού peðjú), fotía 'fire' (SMGk. φωτιά fotçá), karðía 'heart' (SMGk. καρδιά karðjá), etc.

This feature is not attested for a number of Euboean varieties to the south of the region of Kymi and for the variety of Karystos and its surroundings at the southernmost part of Euboea, although traces of earlier absence of synizesis could still be recorded around 1940 for the latter areas as well (Caratzas 1940:269).

c. Change of accented Ancient Greek /ɔ:/ (<ω>) to /u/ regardless of the environment. The change seems to have been more systematic in Euboea, in other members of the group it seems to have been restricted to specific lexical items and/or morphological environments. Phonetic environment might have played a role in this change (e.g. adjacency of labials and/or velars, see Holton et al. 2019:74–75):

    kúnos '(pine) cone' (Anc.Gk. κῶνος *kônos*)
    zvúlos 'pellet, lump, clod of earth' (Anc.Gk. βῶλος *bôlos* 'lump, clod of earth', SMGk. σβῶλος *zvólos*)
    derivational suffix *-utós* (Euboea, SMGk. -ωτὸς *-otós*, Anc.Gk. -ωτὸς *-ōtós*)
    klustí 'thread' (SMGk. κλωστὴ *klostí*, Anc.Gk. κλώθω *klōthō* 'spin')
    1.sg.non-past *-u -ú* (Anc.Gk. -ω *-ō*, SMGk. -ω *-o*), e.g. *psáx*u 'I look for' (SMGk. ψάχνω *psáxno*), *na pliɣú* 'that I drown (subj.)' (SMGk. να πνιγὼ *na pniɣó*), *káu* 'I burn' (SMGk. καίω *céo*) etc.

d. Affrication of velar stops ('tsitacism') before front vowels and the glide /j/ which does not surface in the outcome. The outcome varies according to the variety, and has probably been subject to changes over time. Thus, for Megara and Athens recordings and metalinguistic testimonies point to palatoalveolar/alveolopalatal affricates ([ʧ]/[tɕ], [ʤ]/[dʑ]), while evidence for Aegina and Euboea points to alveolar affricates ([ʦ], [ʣ]):
    peðáʧi/peðátɕi/peðáʦi 'small child' (SMGk. παιδάκι *peðáci*) and
    peðáʧa/peðátɕa/peðáʦa 'small children' (phonemically: /peðákja/, phonetically: *peðáca*
    ʧe/tɕe/ʦe 'and' (SMGk. και *ce*)
    aʤío/adʑío/aʣío 'earthen pot' (Anc.Gk. ἀγγεῖον *angeîon*, SMGk./dialectal αγγειο/αγγειὸ *a(n)ʝío/a(n)ʝó*) etc.

e. In Kymi and the surrounding region of Euboea geminates were retained and new ones arose, as happened in numerous insular varieties including Cypriot. The Byzantine poet Euthymios Tornikes clearly attests the existence of geminates in Euboea around 1200 (Manolessou and Pantelidis 2019:630–633). There is also evidence that the voiceless stop geminates developed aspirated release as in other insular varieties (Caratzas 1958 with a text from Kymi; Bassea and Manolessou 2012):

Etymological geminates: *ál:i* 'other' (fem.), *pol:í* 'many' (masc.pl.), *tés:eris* 'four', *kók:ʰala* 'bones', etc.

Non-etymological geminates: *úl:os* 'all, whole' (SMGk. ὅλος *ólos*), *ʝitoɲ:á* 'neighbourhood' (SMGk. γειτονιά *ʝitoɲá*), *puθ:ená* 'nowhere' (SMGk. πουθενά *puθená*), *efonáz:ame* 'we were shouting' (SMGk. φωνάζω *fonázo*), *b:al:ón:o* 'I darn' (SMGk. μπαλώνω *balóno*), *t:ʰu-ðá* 'over there' (*(e)tú* 'there') etc. Geminates are the outcomes of original nasal+fricative clusters in word-internal position (Alexandris 1958:146): *gáθ:ça* 'thorns' (SMGk. αγκάθια *agáθça*, Anc.Gk. ἀκάνθιον *akánthion*), *peθ:erá* 'mother-in-law' (SMGk. πεθερά *peθerá*, Anc.Gk. πενθερά *pentherā*), *níf:i* 'daughter-in-law' (SMGk. νύφη *nífi*, Anc.Gk. νύμφη *nýmphē*), *aç:éli* 'eel' (SMGk. χέλι *çéli*, Anc.Gk. ἔγχελυς *énkhelus*).

At word boundaries /n/+stop/nasal/sibilant sequences also create new geminates. The process affects voiced stops that came about through voice assimilation as well: *to poðárin mu > to poðárimmu* 'my leg/foot', *to ɣrúnin sas > to ɣrúnissas* 'your (pl.) pig', *plíne ta > plín' ta > plín' da > plídda* 'wash them (neut.)' (SMGk. πλὺν' τα *plín' da*), *tun peðíune > tum beðíune > tubbeðíune* 'of the children (gen.pl.)' (SMGk. των παιδιών *ton peðjón > tombeðjón*).

According to Favis (1911:37) these geminates were extended to the nominative, where no assimilation of a nasal to a following stop took place e.g. *i katsí mmu tíçi* 'my bad luck' (SMGk. η κακή μου τύχη *i kací mu tíçi*).

f. The so-called 'irrational -γ-', i.e. the non-etymological /ɣ/ that was epenthesized in the position after the voiced labial fricative /v/, mostly in verbs with stem-final /v/ and, rarely in other words. The phenomenon is very widespread in Modern Greek varieties, its first attestations for the medieval period going back to the 9th c. CE (Krumbacher 1886; Holton et al. 2019:147–148; Epenthesis): verbs in *-évo* such as *xorévɣo* 'dance' (SMGk. χορεύω *xorévo*), further *kóvɣo* 'cut' (SMGk. κόβω *kóvo*, Anc.Gk. κόπτω *koptō*), *nívɣo* 'wash (for body parts)' (SMGk. νίβω *nívo*, Anc.Gk. νίπτω *níptō*) etc. Other lexical items: *vɣadʑélio* 'Evangel' (SMGk. Ευαγγέλιο

evaɲélio), *parasʦevɟí/paraʃevɟí* 'Friday' (SMGk. Παρασκευή *parasceví*).
The consonant appears allophonically as [j] before front vowels, e.g. *nívɟ-i* 'washes (for body parts)'. Alexandris (HFRC no.1068:16,21) records Euboean forms that point to an analogical expansion of [ɟ] to forms with non-front vowels in the position after /ɣ/:

xorévɟ-u 'I dance' (vs. *xorévɣu*
maɟirévɟ-un 'they prepare meal' (vs. *maɟirévɣun)*

g. Voicing /f/>/v/. The change is one of the oldest attested for this dialect group (see above):
vustáni 'dress' (SMGk. φουστὰνι *fustáni*), *vásʦelo/váʃelo/váɕelo* (a disparaging and insulting gesture, SMGk. φὰσκελο *fáscelo*), *ʧivisía/ʦivisía* 'Kephisía' (SMGk. Κηφισιὰ *cifisçá* /kifisjá/), *vasúli* 'bean' (SMGk. φασόλι *fasóli*).

Examples of the opposite phenomenon strongly suggest a /f/~/v/ variation:
kukufája 'owl' (SMGk. κουκουβὰγια *kukuvája*), *astufçá* 'thorny burnet' (in other varieties: *astivjá/astuvjá*, SMGk. αστοιβὴ *astiví*, Anc.Gk. στοιβὴ *stoibē̆* 'sarcopoterium spinosum'), *kutáfi* 'puppy' (SMGk. κουτὰβι *kutávi*<Med.Gk. κουτὰβιον *kutávion*), *paʦafuráʦi* '(piece of) swab, rag' (SMGk. πατσαβοὺρα *paʦavúra* < Turk. *paçavra*).

h. Affrication [ti]>[ʦi]:
aláʦi 'salt' (SMGk. αλὰτι *aláti*), *fráʦi* 'well' (< φρεὰτιον *freátion*← Anc.Gk. φρὲᾱρ *phréār* 'well'), *prováʦi* 'sheep' (< προβὰτι(ο)ν *prováti(o)n* 'sheep', SMGk. πρὀβατο *próvato* < Anc.Gk. πρὀβατον *próbaton*).

In Euboea, Old Athens and Thebes the cluster [ʃtʃ]/[ɕtɕ] (</sk/ before front vowels, cf. 'tsitakism') was simplified to [ʃ]/[ɕ] (Favis 1911:25; Alexandris 1958:147; Pantelidis 2016:109, 110, 123–124):

ʃúlos/ɕúlos 'dog' (SMGk. σκὐλος *scílos*, Anc.Gk. σκὐλαξ *skýlaks* 'little dog, cub'), *ʃepázo/ɕepázo* 'cover' (SMGk. σκεπὰζω *scepázo*), *paraʃevɟí/paraɕevɟí* 'Friday' (SMGk. Παρασκευή *parasceví*).

i. Cluster simplification /ɣl/>/l/ in the whole group as in Maniot and parts of the Peloponnese and Eastern Central Continental Greece: *ɣlépo > lépo* 'see' (SMGk. βλὲπω *vlépo*), γρὴγορα *ɣríɣora > ɣlíɣora > líɣora* 'quick, fast (adv.)'.

j. In Old Athens, parts of Euboea (and Thebes) /l/ was palatalized in the position before /e/: *ʎéo* 'say' (SMGk. λὲω *léo*), *kʎéo* 'weep' (SMGk. κλαὶω *kléo*), *pʎeróno* 'pay' (SMGk. πληρὼνω *pliróno*), *poʎés* 'many (fem.)' (SMGk. πολλὲς *polés*).
On the possibility of this change being a contact phenomenon with Arvanitika see Liosis and Pantelidis 2019:221–228.

k. In parts of Euboea and in Aegina a change /tj/>/θj/ (phonetically [tç]>[θç]) is attested: *spíθça* 'houses' (SMGk. σπὶτια *spítça*), *máθça* 'eyes' (SMGk. μὰτια *mátça*), *kraθçódisáne* 'they were holding each other, were beholding themselves' (SMGk. κρατιὸντουσαν *kratçódusan*) etc.

l. Cluster simplification /ðj/>/j/ ([ðʝ]>[ʝ]):

   ʝevázu 'I read' (SMGk. διαβὰζω *ðʝavázo*)
   ʝáisane 'they went' (< *ðʝávisan* διὰβησαν; Kymi)

   In plural forms of diminutives formed by means of the old suffixes -ὶδιον > -ὶδι *-ídion > -íði*, -ὰδιον > -ὰδι *-ádion > -áði*, and -οὺδιον > -οὺδι *-oúdion > -úði*, and of other words with stem-final /ð/:

   elúja 'little olive trees' (Aegina; Anc.Gk. diminutive suffix -ὶδιον *-ídion*)
   ʃʃulája 'little dogs' (Megara; Anc.Gk. diminutive suffix -ὰδιον *-ádion*)
   lulúðja > lulúja 'flowers' (Kymi, Megara).

   [j] was analogically expanded to the singular yielding *lulúji* (Kymi, Megara), and the diminutive suffixes *-áji -íji* and *-úji* (Caratzas 1954), e.g. *ʦʦuláji* 'little dog' (Aegina), *trupúji* 'little hole' (Megara; *trúpa* 'hole', SMGk. τρὺπα *trípa*), *pendikúji* 'little mouse' (Kymi; SMGk. ποντικὰκι *po(n)dikáci*). There are no relevant data from Old Athens.

m. In parts of Euboea change of the clusters /rθ/ and /rx/ to /rt/ and /rk/ respectively:

   írta 'I came' (SMG ἠρθα *írθa*), *olórtos* 'upright, standing, vertically standing' (SMGk. ολὸρθος *olórθos*)
   érkume 'come' (SMGk. ὲρχομαι *érxome*), *árko(n)das* 'lord, master' (SMGk. ὰρχοντας *árxo(n)das*), *arciná-o* 'begin' (in other varieties: αρχινὰω *arçináo*)

3. Morphology

3.1. Articles and Nouns

a. Attestations from Old Athens and in Megarian documents of the late 18th/early 19th c., as well as sound recordings from Aegina point to an acc.pl.masc. form *tis* (SMGk. τους *tus*) of the article as in many other, mainly insular, varieties.

b. The inflectional paradigm of the plural of proparoxytone masculine nouns in *-as* (a number of them go back to ancient '3rd-declension' nouns) follows the respective paradigm of the '2nd-declension' (o-stems). This feature is very widespread in Modern Greek varieties:

   ðémon-as 'demon' (Anc.Gk. δαίμων *daímōn*, pl. δαίμονες *daímon-es*): nom.pl. *ðemón-i*, acc.pl. *ðemón-us*
   kórak-as 'crow' (Anc.Gk. κόραξ *kórak-s*, pl. κόρακες *kórak-es*): nom.pl. *korá*ʦ*-i* (with 'tsitakism', see above), acc.pl. *korák-us*.

c. Neuter nouns in *-ma* and the neuter noun *ɣála* 'milk', i.e. neuter nouns with a stem allomorph in /t/ (/ɣála-/~/ɣalat-/), form the nom./acc.sg. in *-s* without changing gender (except in a few areas and except for a few lexical items, e.g. *o stómas* 'mouth', masc.): *émas* 'blood' (SMGk. αἷμα *éma*), *xúmas* 'earth, soil, dust' (SMGk. χῶμα *xóma*), *ɣálas* 'milk' (SMGk. γάλα *ɣála*).

   A form *ɣonátça* (/ɣonát-ja/) 'knees' (SMGk. γόνατο *ɣónat-o* 'knee') recorded for Athens by Spon (1679:400) might point to a paradigm such as sg. /ɣonát-i/ /ɣonat-jú/ and pl. /ɣonát-ja/ /ɣonat-jóne/, compare the form *ramát-i* (SMGk. ῥάμμα ῥάμματος *ráma rámat-os* 'thread', pl. ῥάμματα *ráma-ta*) in an Athenian document from 1827, and Peloponnesian *elát-i* 'fir', pl. /elát-ja/ (SMGk. ἔλατο *élat-o*, ἔλατα *élat-a*)

d. In parts of Euboea the gen.pl. form of neuter nouns in *-i/-í* (<Anc.Gk. -ιον/-ίον *-ion/-íon*) has the ending *-únes*. The same feature is also attested in northern Euboea which does not belong to the dialect group under discussion: *peðjúnes* 'of the children' (SMGk. παιδιῶν *peðjón*).
   Survival of older nom.sg. forms in *-ío* for this inflectional class are attested in Aegina and Megara (SMGk. *-i*; Benardis 2006:167; Pantelidis 2019b:384):

   ʃʧunío/ɛʦunío 'rope' (SMGk. σκοινί *sciní* < Anc.Gk. σχοινίον *skhoiníon* 'cord, rope')

psomío 'bread' (SMGk. ψωμί *psomí* < ψωμίον *psomíon* ← Anc.Gk. ψωμός *psōmós* 'bit, morsel')

3.2. Pronouns

a. In Old Athens, Megara, Aegina and parts of Euboea the anaphoric/demonstrative pronoun αυτός *aftós* 'this' has the form *túnos*, in Kymi and the surrounding region *et:únos*. Michael Choniates records the pronoun as *atúnos* around 1200 for Athens.

b. The demonstrative pronoun for remote deixis εκείνος *ecínos* 'that' appears as *(e)ʧínos/(e)ʨínos/(e)ʦínos* (with 'tsitacism') in the whole group, in Karystos and its surroundings also as *ʦos*, neut. *ʦo* (/ekjós/ /ekjó/).

c. The bishop of Athens Michael Choniates records around 1200 the demonstrative pronoun *téftos* 'such, of this kind' (SMGk. τέτοιος *tétços* /tetjos/), attested also in other varieties, but neither in the rest of the group nor in later sources of the variety of Old Athens.

d. The animate interrogative pronoun ('who?') is attested in Old Athens, Megara and Aegina as *pis* (gen. *pínu(s)* in all varieties of the group). In Euboea on the other hand, it appears without synizesis as *píos* (SMGk. ποιος *pços* /pjos/ < Anc.Gk. ποῖος *poîos* 'of what sort/kind?') and *pínos* (Favis 1911:42). The inanimate ('what?') has the form da in Old Athens, Megara and Aegina. In Euboea it has the form í(n)da, as in many Aegean insular varieties and in Cypriot (Kontossopoulos, N.Kontossopoulos 1983).

e. 'you (sg.)': *si* (Euboea), *su* (Old Athens, Megara) and *(e)súni* (Megara); SMGk. εσύ *esí*.
ἕνας *én-as* 'a(n) (masc.)' and καθἕνας *kaθén-as* 'every', gen.sg. *en-ú kaθen-ú* (SMGk. ενός *en-ós*, καθενός *kaθen-ós*)
κανείς *kanís* 'no one, nobody' (masc.), gen.sg. *kanú* (SMGk. κανενός *kanen-ós*), acc.sg. *kaní(n)* (SMGk. κανένα(ν) *kanén-a(n)*)
tívota (Aegina, Mégara) or *típotis* 'nothing' (SMGk. τίποτα/τίποτε *típota/típote*)
(ap)atós mu 'myself' (widespread in the Modern Greek varieties)
sunatí mas 'one another'

f. Double inflection, internal and external, is attested for Euboea in pronouns with the emphatic element *-ða* (Favis 1911:42; Caratzas 1940:275):
τούτος *tútos* 'this (masc., close deixis)' + *-ða* (emphatic) → *tútos-ða* 'this one here',

tuto-<u>ne</u>-ðá-<u>ne</u> (acc.sg.masc., *-ne*: acc.sg. marker)
ʦíno-s or *ʦo-s* 'that' (masc., remote deixis) → *ʦino-s-ðá-s / ʦo-s-ðá-s* 'that one over there' (*-s*: nom.sg. marker), *ʦino-ne-ðá-ne* (acc.sg.), *ʦin-es-ð-és* (nom.pl.fem., *-es*: nom.pl. marker)

3.3. Verbal Morphology

3.3.1. Endings

The 1.pl.non-past ending is always *-ome* (SMGk. -ουμε *-ume*, rarely -ομε *-ome*):

vén-ome 'we put, we place', *rín-ome* 'we throw,
toss, drop' etc.

The 2.pl.past ending is the more archaic *-ete* (vs. SMGk. -ατε *-ate*):

e-vén-ete (imperf. of *vén-o* 'put, place'), *e-pé-ʧ-/e-pé-ʨ-/e-pé-ʦ-ete*
'you fell' (with 'tsitacism' before /e/, 1.sg. *é-pe-k-a*).

In Athenian documents from the early 18th c. 3.pl. forms in *-si* (Anc.Gk. and Med.Gk. *-si(n)*, SMGk. *-n(e)*) are attested. Such forms are completely absent from later documents of the dialect, they are not attested for the rest the group (Pantelidis 2016b:129), but are recorded in many Aegean insular varieties:

pérn-u-si 'they take' (SMGk. παίρνουν(ε) *pérnun(e)*)

lé-si 'they say/tell' (SMGk. λἐνε *lé-n(e)*)

íp-a-si 'they said/told' (SMGk. εἴπανε *íp-a-n(e)*)

e-puli-θís-a-si 'they were sold' (SMGk. πουλήθηκαν
pulí-θik-a-n)

In vowel-stem verbs with stem-final /a/ the 2.sg. ending is *-is* (SMGk. *-s*): *aɣapá-is* 'you love', *xrostá-is* 'you owe' (SMGk. αγαπὰς *aɣapá-s*, χρωστὰς *xrostá-s*). The same holds true for secondary vowel-stem verbs (verbs with stem-final vowel after the loss of intervocalic /ɣ/): *tró-is* 'you eat' (Anc.Gk. τρώγω *trōgō* 'gnaw, nibble, munch' > *tróɣo*> Mod.Gk. τρώω *tróo*), *lé-is* 'you say' (Anc.Gk. λέγω *légō* > *léɣo* > Mod.Gk. λἐω *léo*). The rest of the inflectional paradigm of vowel stem verbs is identical with the respective one of

SMGk. in Kymi (Alexandris 1958:59), and Aegina (Thumb 1891:114; Pantelidis 2019b:400). In parts of Euboea, in Megara and Old Athens the paradigm is structured as shown in the following table:

Mégara, Old Athens, parts of Euboea	SMGk.
-á-o	*-á-o*
-á-is	*-á-s*
-á-i	*-á-i*
-á-ome	*-á-me*
-á-te (Megara) *-á-ete* (Euboea)	*-á-te*
-á-une	*-á-ne*

The inflectional paradigm of secondary vowel-stem verbs (verbs with stem-final vowel after the loss of intervocalic /ɣ/) displays the same structure (see above), e.g. *lé-is lé-ome lé-une* 'you (sg.)/we/they say', *tró-is tró-ome tró-une* 'you (sg.)/we/they eat', *pá-o* 'go' (Anc.Gk. ὑπάγω *hyp-ágō* 'lead, bring under' > *ɣpáɣo* > *ipáɣo* > *páo* πἀω): *pá-o pá-is pá-i pá-ome pá-te pá-une* (Old Athens, cf. Spon 1679:319).

In the 1-2.pl.med.-pass. endings *ʹ-mastíne ʹ-sastíne* (old Athens) and *ʹ-masténe ʹ-sasténe* (Megara) are attested (Pantelidis 2011:58; 2016:129):

í-sastíne 'you (pl.) are/were' (Old Athens; SMGk. εἰσαστε ἠσαστε *í-saste*)

vʝaz-ó-mastíne 'we are in a hurry' (Old Athens; SMGk. βιαζόμαστε *vʝaz-ó-maste*)

padrevɣ-ó-masténe, -ó-sasténe 'we-you (pl.) get/got married' (Megara; SMGk. *pa(n)drevómaste pa(n)drevósaste*)

Analogous endings are also attested in the neighboring region of Korinthia in the Peloponnese but not in Aegina and Euboea.

The 3.pl.pres.med.-pass. has the ending *-ó-(n)dune* (e.g. *kaθ-ó-(n)dune* 'they are sitting', SMGk. -ονται *-o(n)de*) in Old Athens, Megara and Aegina. In Euboea the respective ending is *-o-(n)de/-u-(n)de* and, in some areas also *-o-(n)des/-u-(n)des*:

lé-u(n)de/lé-u-(n)des 'they are called, they are said',
pa(n)drévɣ-o(n)de/pa(n)drévɣ-o(n)des 'they get married'.

The 1-2.sg.imperf.med.-pass. endings are *-mane -sane* in Old Athens and Euboea (vs. Aegina, Megara and SMGk.: -μουν(α) -σουν(α) *-mun(a) -sun(a)*):

í-mane í-sane 'I was, you were' (old Athens, Euboea, Thebes; SMGk. ἤμουν(α) ἤσουν(α) *í-mun(a) í-sun(a)*)

erk-ú-mane erc-é-sane 'I came/was coming, you came/were coming' (Euboea; SMGk. ερχόμουνα ερχόσουνα *erx-ó-mun(a) erx-ó-sun(a)*), 1.sg. *erx-ó-mane* (Old Athens).

The 3.sg.imperf.med.-pass. ending is attested as *-ó-(n)disáne* in older documents (19th century and older) and Euboea, and as *-ó-ndusáne* in the late 19th-20th century (SMGk. *-o-(n)dan/-ó-(n)dusan*): *kaθó(n)disáne* 'they were sitting' (SMGk. καθόντουσαν *kaθó(n)dusan*).

In parts of Euboea the ending is *-(n)dane*: *filaú(n)dane* 'they took care not to…' (SMGk. φυλάγονταν/φυλαγόντουσαν *filáɣo(n)dan/filaɣó(n)dusan*), *aɣapçúndane* 'they were loved; they loved each other' (SMGk. αγαπιούνταν/αγαπιόντουσαν *aɣapçú(n)dan/aɣapçó(n)dusan*).

For Megarian Benardis (2006:92, 168–169,318–319) records the use of hortative inclusive verbal forms that display an accretion of inflectional suffixes of the 1. and 2.pl.:

(as) tróγo-mé-te 'let's start
eating!'

arçiná-me-te 'let's get
started'

3.3.2. 'Thematic' Vowel

In parts of Euboea the so-called 'thematic vowel' in the mediopassive paradigm is *-ú-* vs.
-ó- in SMGk. and the rest of the varieties of the group:

> *erk-ú-maste* 'we are coming' (SMGk. ερχόμαστε *erx-ó-maste*),
> *plen-ú-mane* 'I was washing myself' (SMGk. πλενόμουνα
> *plen-ó-mun(a)*, Old Athenian *plen-ó-mane*).

The 'thematic vowel' in the 2-3.sg. and 2.pl.imperf.med.-pass. is more archaically *-é-* in
Euboean as opposed to *-ó-* in SMGk. and the rest of the group. The respective forms of the
deponent verbs of class IIc are also more archaic, since they display the thematic element
-á- instead of SMGk. *-ó-*:

> *erc-é-sane* 'you were coming' (SMGk. ερχόσουνα *erx-ó-sun(a)*)

> *erc-é-tane* 'he/she/it was coming' (SMGk. ερχότανε *erx-ó-tan(e)*)

> *erc-é-sastáne* 'you (pl.) were coming' (SMGk. ερχόσασταν
> *erx-ó-sastan*)

> *ʦimá-sane* 'you (sg.) were sleeping' (Hell.Gk. *ekymâso* ← Anc.Gk.
> ἐκοιμῶ *ekoimô* <
> ἐκοιμάο *ekoimáo* < *ἐκοιμᾶσο *e-koimā-so*; SMGk. κοιμόσουνα
> *cimó-suna*)

> *ʦimá-tane* 'he/she/it was sleeping' (Hell.Gk. *ekymâ-to*<Anc.Gk.
> ἐκοιμᾶτο *e-koimâ-to*; SMGk. κοιμότανε *cimó-tane*)

The 1.sg.pres.med.-pass. of oxytone verbs (Class II) ends in /-jó-me/ (SMGk. -ιέμαι
/-jé-me/), or /-jú-me/. The 1.sg.pres.med.-pass. of Class IIc ends in *-ó-me* (< Anc.Gk.
-ῶμαι *-ôme*, SMGk. -ά-μαι *-á-me*):

ɟeɲóme (/ɣenjóme/) 'I am born' (SMGk. *ɟeɲéme*), *turaɣɲúme* 'I suffer' (SMGk. τυρρανιέμαι *tiraɲéme*)

ʧ-/ʦum-ó-me 'sleep' (Anc.Gk. κοιμῶμαι *koimômai*, SMGk. κοιμάμαι *cimáme*)

The 1.pl.pres. and the 1 and 3.pl.imperf. of oxytone verbs (Class IIa-b) display /-jú-/ in parts of Euboea (except Kymi and its surroundings), but /-jó-/ (as in SMGk.) in the rest of the group:

aɣapçúmaste 'we are loved/love each other' (SMGk. and most of the varieties of the group: αγαπιόμαστε *aɣapçómaste*)

aɣapçúmane 'I was loved' (SMGk. αγαπιόμουνα *aɣapçómun(a)*)

aɣapçúmastáne 'we were loved; we loved each other' (SMGk. αγαπιόμασταν *aɣapçómastan*)

aɣapçúndane 'they were loved; they loved each other' (SMGk. αγαπιούνταν/αγαπιόνταν *aɣapçú(n)dan/aɣapçó(n)dan*)

The 2-3.sg. and 2.pl.med.-pass. show in Euboea /-jé-/ vs. SMGk. -ιό- /-jó-/:

aɣapçésane aɣapçétane 'you (sg.) were loved, he/she/it was loved' (SMGk. αγαπιόσουνα αγαπιότανε *aɣapçósun(a) aɣapçótane*)

aɣapçésastan(e) 'you (pl.) were loved, you loved each other' (SMGk. αγαπιόσασταν *aɣapçósastan*)

3.3.3. Formation of the Imperfect

The formation of the imperfective past (imperfect) of the verbs of Class II shows considerable variety. A widespread paradigm for the verbs of Class IIa (stems in /a/) is structured as follows:

aɣápa-(ɣ)-a

aɣápa-(j)-es

aɣápa-(j)-e

aɣapá-(ɣ)-a
me

aɣapá-(j)-et
e

aɣapá-(ɣ)an
e

Alexandris (1958:151) records for Kymi and its surroundings a paradigm that shows generalization of [j] in all slots:

aɣápa-ɟ-a

aɣápa-ɟ-es

aɣápa-ɟ-e

aɣapá-ɟ-a
me

aɣapá-ɟ-et
e

aɣapá-ɟ-a
ne

The respective paradigm of the verbs of Class IIb shows even greater variety. A widespread paradigm, that displays alternation according to the category of number, is structured as in the table below, showing the imperfect of the verb φορώ *foró* 'wear, put on'.

fór-ɟ-a

fór-ɟ-es

fór-ɟ-e

*for-ús-a
me*

*for-ús-et
e*

*for-ús-a
ne*

In Aegina more archaic 1.sg. forms in *-una* are also attested, e.g. *pónuna* (<Med.Gk. -ουν -*un* +1.sg.past -*a*, pres. πονώ *ponó* 'ache (physically), be in pain (physically or psychologically)'. Plural forms such as *fór-ɟ-ame fór-ɟ-ane* (or *forí-ɣ-ame for-í-ɣ-ane*), formed analogically to the singular have been recorded in parts of Euboea.

In parts of Euboea another formation of unclear provenance is attested (Favis 1911:60). The formation displays an element /-jon-/ or /-jen-/:

> 1.sg. *fíʎon-a* and *fíʎen-a* (/fil-jon-a/ /fil-jen-a/, pres. φιλῶ *filó* 'kiss')

> 3.sg. *míʎon-e* 'he/she/it was talking/speaking' (/mil-jon-e/, pres. μιλῶ *miló* 'talk, speak')

> 3.sg. *vár-ɟon-e* (pres. βαρῶ *varó* 'beat')

3.3.4. Imperfective Stem Formation

(Part of) the group retains archaic imperfective stem formations, such as *lúo* 'wash hair' (Anc.Gk. λούω *loúō*, SMGk. λούζω *lúz-o*), *plíno* 'wash' (Anc.Gk. πλύνω *plúnō*, SMGk. πλένω *pléno*) etc.

Anc.Gk./Hell.Gk. imperfective stems in *-ás:-ō* survive in the whole group (SMGk. -άζω *-áz-o*). The formation was extended to other verbs:

> *tinás-o/-ss-o* 'shake' (SMGk. τινάζω *tinázo*)

xarás-o/-ss-o 'engrave, carve' (SMGk. χαράζω *xarázo*)

vrás-o/-ss-o 'boil, cook' (SMGk. βράζω *vrázo*)

stás-o/-ss-o 'dribble, ooze, drop' (SMGk. στάζω *stázo*)

Further characteristic imperfective stems:

ká-o 'burn (trans.-intrans.)' (SMGk. καίω *cé-o*), *kám-o* 'do, make' (SMGk. κάνω *kán-o*), *ðón-o* 'give' (SMGk. δίνω *ðín-o*), *pét-o* 'fall' (SMGk. πέφτω *péft-o*), *kalén-o* 'invite' (SMGk. καλώ *kaló*).

The imperfective stems *vén-o* and *vʝén-o* 'put, place' 'take out of, remove' (SMGk. βάζω βγάζω *váz-o vɣáz-o*) are attested for the biggest part of the group and the neighboring northeastern part of the Peloponnese. In Kymi and the surrounding settlements the respective presents are *véll-o* and *vʝéll-o*. The presents *vélo vʝélo* are also attested in parts of Central Continental Greece and in Megara (besides *vén-o* and *vʝén-o*), and as *véln-o* in Aegina (beside *vén-o*).

3.3.5. 'Aorist' Stem

The active perfective stem ('aorist') is formed by means of a marker *-k-* (vs. SMGk. *-s-*) in the indicative mood in vocalic verbs and consonantal verbs with stem-final /z/, /s/, /n/, /t/ etc.:

puló 'sell': *púli-k-a* 'I sold' (SMGk. *púli-s-a*)

foró 'wear, put on': *fóre-k-a* 'I wore, put on'

xán-o 'lose': *é-xa-k-a* 'I lost'

ʝuríz-o '(re)turn' (SMGk. *ʝirízo*): *ʝúri-k-a*

vrás-o 'boil (trans.-intrans.), cook' (SMGk. *vrázo*): *é-vra-k-a*

pét-o 'fall' (SMGk. *péfto*): *é-pe-k-a* 'I fell'

In the 2-3.sg. and 2.pl. the marker appears as [tʃ]/[tɕ]/[ts] due to velar fronting, e.g. *é-petʃ-es* 'you (sg.) fell' etc.

In the subjunctive and imperative the marker is *-s-* as in SMGk.: *pulí-s-o*, *xá-s-o* etc. For Aegina extension of use of the *k*-marker to the subjunctive and imperative is attested:

> *na potí-k-ome* 'that we water, irrigate' (pres. *potíz-o*)

> *na ʝurí-ts-is* 'that you (sg.) return' ([ts] due to affrication-'tsitacism'-)

> *voíθi-ts-e* 'help!'

Subjunctive verb forms in old folk songs from the same island (Iriotis 1921) show levelling of the [k]~[ts] alternation in favor of [ts]:

> *na filí-ts-o* 'that I kiss' (instead of *filí-k-o*, SMGk. and the rest of the group *filí-s-o*)

> *na patí-ts-un* 'that they step on, tread' (instead of *patí-k-un*, in the rest of the group and SMGk.: *patí-s-un*

3.3.6 Mediopassive

The available data for the med.-pass.indic. are in many cases incomplete (this is the case for the variety of Old Athens) and the inflectional paradigms must to a certain extent be reconstructed. The survival of archaic 2-3.sg. forms such as *sikó-θi-s* 'you stood up, you rose' *e-xá-θi* 'he/she/it was lost' is common for the whole group. On the original 1.sg. form in *-i-n/-θi-n/-ti-n* (Anc.Gk. *-ē-n/-thē-n*) a new form was built by adding the productive 1.sg.past marker *-a* (a process shared by other varieties outside the group) creating a new mediopassive perfective indicative marker *-in-/-θin-/-tin-*. For Aegina Thumb (1891:116–117) records extension of the new marker to the whole paradigm, cf. *e-lús-tin-a* 'I washed my hair' (pres. λούομαι *lú-ome*, SMGk. λούζομαι *lúz-ome*):

> *e-lús-tin-a, -es, -e*

e-lus-tín-ame, -ete,
-ane

The available data from Megara point to a mixed paradigm with the marker
-in-/-θin-/-tin- in the 1.sg., retention of the archaic forms in the 2-3.sg., and the marker
-k- in the plural (as in SMGk.). For Old Athens only 2-3.sg. forms are attested: Archaic
2-3.sg. forms and a 3.sg. form with the -tin-marker: *e-θamáx-tin-e* 'he got surprised, was
stunned' (pres. *θamáz-ome*, Anc.Gk. *thaumáz-ō* 'wonder, marvel, admire etc.'). For a part
of Euboea Favis gives 1.sg. in *-θin-a*, and for the plural (1911:47, 48, 57, 59) a paradigm
based on a reanalysis of the 3.pl. form:

a.   Original forms: **xá-θi-me *xá-θi-te *xá-θi-san(e)*

b.   Reanalysis of the 3.sg. form as containing the 3.sg.past marker
       -an:**xá-θis-an(e)*

c.   New plural paradigm: *xá-θis-áme, xá-θis-áte, xá-θis-áne*

3.3.7. 'Perfect'

The active perfect is formed by means of the verb *éxo* 'have' and the mediopassive perfect
participle which very often appears in the neut.pl. form without congruency with the
object:

tin íxane <u>valoméni</u> 'they had put/placed her' (Megara; SMGk. την
είχανε βάλει *tin íxane váli*)

tsíno pu íçe <u>padiméno</u> i ɟeláða 'that which the cow had run into'
(*pa(n)dó* 'meet, run into'), Kymi (Euboea), SMGk. εκείνο που είχε
απαντήσει *ecíno pu íçe apandísi*

ðjo ðomátia íxane <u>kanoména</u> 'they had made (built) two rooms'
(Aegina; SMGk. δυο δωμάτια είχανε κάνει *ðjo ðomátia íxane káni*)

tis to éxo <u>pezména</u> 'I have told it to her' (Megara; SMGk. της το έχω
πει *tis to éxo pi*)

mu íxane ðoména xortári 'they had given me grass' (Euboea;
SMGk. μου είχανε δώσει *mu íxane ðósi xortári*)

to monastíri to íxan érimon afizména 'they had left the monastery
deserted' (Old Athens; SMGk. το μοναστήρι το είχαν αφήσει έρημο
to monastíri to íxan afísi érimo)

For Old Athens a further construction is attested only in pluperfect (Pantelidis 2019a:99), consisting of the verb *éxo* 'have' in the 3.sg.past form and a finite verb in the imperfective subjunctive. The construction is attested in older texts and other varieties as well:

íçe   *ɣrápsun*

have.3.sg.past   3.pl.perfect.subj.

'they had written' (SMGk. είχαν γράψει
íxan ɣrápsi)

3.3.8. Perfective Imperative

The /θ/ and /t/ from the med.-pass. perfective marker (*-θin-/-tin-* in the indicative, *-θ-/-t-* in the subjunctive and the 2.pl.imp.) were extended to the 2.sg.perfect.imp.:

stá-θu 'stand! hold on!' (subj. *sta-θ-ó*, 2.pl.imp. *sta-θ-íte*; SMGk.
στάσου *stá-su*)

kríf-tu 'hide!' (subj. *krif-t-ó*, 2.pl.imp. *krif-t-íte*; SMGk. κρύψου
kríp-su)

3.3.9. Perfective Infinitive

The retention of perfective infinitives in marginal use is recorded in the variety of Megara (Pantelidis 2011:74 referring to Benardis 2006:73, 116). The infinitives are used in volitional-counterfactual constructions formed with the imperfect of *éxo* 'have' serving as the main verb, preceded by the particle *na* 'that' or the negator *mi(n)*:

min   *íçes*   *páine*

neg.	have.2sg. past	go.inf.

'that you (sg.) might not go'

na	*íçe*	*faníne*

that	have.3sg. past	appear.inf

'that he might appear'

For Old Athens (Pantelidis 2016a:134, 2019a:99) and Euboea (Favis 1911:55) the respective constructions are attested with a finite verb in the imperfective subjunctive in the place of the infinitive:

na	*min*	*íxa*	*ftáso*

that	neg.	have.1sg.past	arrive.1.sg.perfect.subj.

'that I might not arrive' (SMGk. να μην έφτανα *na min éftana*)

ná	*xame*	*fíɣome*

that	have.1pl.past	leave.1.pl.imperfect.subj.

'that we might leave' (SMGk. να φεύγαμε *na févɣame*)

For Euboea Favis (1911:55) records a further volitional-counterfactual construction consisting of the imperfect of the verb *éxo* 'have' and a dependent sentence introduced by the *na*-particle and the verb in the perfective subjunctive. The construction was also used in conditional clauses:

íxa   *na 'rtu*

have.1sg.past   that come.1sg.perfect.subj.

'might I come!' or 'if I came' (SMGk. αν ερχὀμουν *an erxómun*)

íçes   *ná*   *rtis*

have.2sg.past   that   come.2sg.perfect.subj.

'might you (sg.) come!' or 'if you (sg.) came' (SMGk. αν ερχόσουν *an erxó-sun*)

There are also a few examples of the use of infinitival forms in future constructions with the finite verb *θélo* 'want' as the main verb, in early 18th c. old Athenian documents. The constructions do not appear in later documents of the variety:

θélis   *tin*   *éçine*

want.2sg.pres.   her   have.inf.

'you (sg.) will have her' (SMGk. θα την ἐχεις *θa tin éçis*)

4. Syntax

The main characteristic of the group is the placement of object personal pronoun clitics after the verb:

ípunané   *su*   *ta*   *óla*

tell.3.sg.perfect.   you(sg.)   them(neut.)   everything
past

(Megara; SMGk. σου τα είπαν όλα *su ta ípan óla)*

ksanaléo tó su 'I am telling you(sg.) this one more time' (Aegina; SMGk. σου το ξαναλέω *su to ksanaléo*)

éðoká ta 'I gave them(neut.)' (Old Athens; SMGk. τα ἐδωσα *ta éðosa*)

θélis me ɟa ɟenéka? 'do you want me as your wife?' (Kymi; SMGk.: με θέλεις για γυναίκα; *me θélis ɟa ɟinéka?*)

5. Lexicon

a. Adverbs:

apótsi(s) 'subsequently, afterwards', *epá* 'here', *(e)t:ú/(e)tú* or *túθe(ne)* '(from/over) there', *étsa* 'this way, so', *pléa(s)/pʎó(nes)* 'anymore', *taçá* 'tomorrow', *ɟúru* 'round sne/sth', *truɟúru* 'around', *oloɟurís* 'all around' (Euboea), *çéri-çéri* 'quickly', *pále* 'again', *polá* 'much' (Old Athens-Aegina), *katepáno* and *katepéra* 'towards up/higher' and 'towards over there' (Euboea), *xámu* 'down, on the ground', *monotáru* 'at once' (Old Athens, Megara), *tiɣáris/míɣaris* 'maybe?' etc. Adverbs may appear with emphatics attached (such as *-ðá*), e.g. *(e)pa-ðá* 'over here', *(e)pa-ða-xámu-ðá* 'over here on the ground' etc.

b. Conjunctions:

apóndas/apóndes 'from the time...on', *ónde(s)* 'when, by the time that', *ɟá(n)da* 'why?', *ɟa(n)dá* 'because', *iðé* 'otherwise', *ému...ému* 'as...as well as, both...and...' (Euboea), *príxu/prixú* 'before' etc.

c. Interjections:

íros 'boo!' (Old Athens), *ené* 'you..., hey' (addressing interjection; Old Athens, Megara) and fem. *ení* (Old Athens, Megara)/*hení* (Megara)/*θení* (Aegina) 'you..., hey', *ɟapá* 'look (over here)' (Old Athens), *ɟému* 'my dear' (Old Athens, Megara), *o* 'you' (addressing interjection, e.g. *o María* 'Mary you'; parts of Euboea), *hu* 'go (away), get off me' etc. (Megara). For Megara Benardís (2006:92, 168–169, 318–319) attests the formation of '2.pl.imp.' forms from jussively used adverbs, e.g. *mesa!* '(get) inside' → *mesa-te* 'you (2.pl.) get inside!'

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Abbreviations:

1. General Abbreviations

b.   born: b. 1245

c.   century: in the 2nd c. / a 1st-c. writer (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th etc.,
            not 1st, 3rd, 4th)

ca.   circa: ca 375 BCE

BCE   before common era

CE   common era

d.   died: d. 12 CE

f., ff.   following page(s)

fl.	flourished (floruit): fl. 220s
MS/MSS	manuscript(s) (note capitals)
OED	Oxford English Dictionary

2. Bibliographical Abbreviations

Most of these lists are made available to you directly and are appended to the CMS as 'Project Documents'; otherwise, an internet address is given. The sources are listed in order of preference: only move to the next list if an author or work cannot be found in the first. If found in both, the first has preference.

Ancient Greek

For abbreviations of ancient authors and works, use the **BNP** (Brill's New Pauly) list (based on the Oxford Classical Dictionary).

For epigraphical sources and papyrological publications, see the standard lists in **LSJ** (Greek-English Lexicon by Liddell, Scott, Jones, 9th. edn. 1996).

For abbreviations of periodicals follow the standard lists in **APh** (L'Année Philologique), supplemented by the **LB** (Bibliographie Linguistique/Linguistic Bibliography, also available at various electronic sites).

Medieval Greek

For vernacular Medieval Greek, use the abbreviations for books, sources and periodicals in the **CGMEMG** (Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek, Cambridge 2019) edited by David Holton et al., supplemented by the **LMGVL** (Lexicon of Medieval Greek Vernacular Literature by Emmanouel Kriaras; Thessaloniki, Center for the Greek Language 2020; permission by Prof. John N. Kazazis).

For learned Medieval Greek authors follow the **ODB** (Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium [3 vols.] edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan, Oxford 1991).

Modern Greek

Follow the system provided by the lists of the previous two sections; in addition, one applies the system of abbreviations established by Demetrakos' **GLGL** (Great Lexicon of the Greek Language = Μέγα λεξικόν όλης της ελληνικής γλώσσης, 9 vols, Athens 1933-1950).

3. Linguistic Abbreviations
(For more abbreviations see LSJ Greek-English Lexicon, pp. xliii-xlv and the other sources mentioned above)

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
Ach.	Achaean
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Aeol.	Aeolic
Akk.	Akkadian
Alb.	Albanian
Anat.Gk.	Anatolian Greek

Anc.Gk.	Ancient Greek
aor.	aorist
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Arc.	Arcadian
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcado-Cypriot
Arg.	Argolic
Arm.	Armenian
Arom.	Aromanian (cf. also Vl.)
art.	article
Arvan.	Arvanitika
As.M.Gk.	Asia Minor Greek
ath.	athematic

Att.	Attic
augm.	augment
augment.	augmentative
Avest.	Avestan
Bibl.	Biblical
Bithyn.	Bithynian
Boeot.	Boeotian
BSl.	Balto-Slavic
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Byz.	Byzantine
Cal.	Calabrian
Capp.	Cappadocian
Cat.	Catalan

caus.	causative
Celt.	Celtic
Ch.Lat.	Church Latin
Chr.Gk.	Christian Greek
Cilic.	Cilician
Class.	Classical
clit.	clitic
comp.	compound
compar.	comparative
Copt.	Coptic
Cor.	Corinthian
Cret.	Cretan
Cycl.	Cycladic

Cypr.   Cypriot

Dac.   Dacian

dat.   dative

def.   definite

Delph.   Delphian

dial.   dialectal

dim.   diminutive

dimot.   dimotiki

Dor.   Doric

du.   dual

E.   East

E.Gk.   East Greek

E.Ion.   East Ionic

ed(s).	editor(s)
Eg.	Egyptian
El.	Elean
EMed.Gk.	Early Medieval Greek
EMod.Gk.	Early Modern Greek
Eng.	English
ep.	epic
Epir.	Epirote
E.Rumel.	East Rumelian
etym.	etymology
Etr.	Etruscan
Eub.	Euboean
exx.	examples

fem.	feminine
fr(agm).	fragment
Fr.	French
Frk.	Frankish
fut.	future
fut. pf.	future perfect
Gal.	Galatian
GAves.	Gathic Avestan
Gen.	Genoese
gen.	genitive
Georg.	Georgian
Germ.	German
Gk.	Greek

Gmc.	Germanic
Goth.	Gothic
Gr.-Lat.	Graeco-Latin
Heb.	Hebrew
Hell.Gk.	Hellenistic Greek
Hept.	Heptanesian
Hier.Luw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homeric
hydron.	hydronym
hypoc.	hypocoristic
Iber.	Iberian
IE	Indo-European

IIr.	Indo-Iranian
Illyr.	Illyrian
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
indef.	indefinite
indic.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
inj.	injunctive
inscr.	inscription(al)
instr.	instrumental
interrog.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
Ion.	Ionic

Iran.	Iranian
Ir.	Irish
Isaur.	Isaurian
It.	Italian/Italic
kath.	katharevousa
KN	Knossos tablets (Linear B)
Lac.	Laconian
Lat.	Latin
Lesb.	Lesbian
lit.	literal(ly)
Lith.	Lithuanian
LMed.Gk.	Late Medieval Greek
loc.	locative

Locr.	Locrian
Luw.	Luwian
Lyc.	Lycian
Lycaon.	Lycaonian
Lyd.	Lydian
Mac.	Macedonian
masc.	masculine
med.-pass.	mediopassive
Mess.	Messinian
Med.Gk.	Medieval Greek
MHG	Middle High German
mid.	middle
Mid.Pers.	Middle Persian

ML	Medieval Latin
mod.	modern
Mod.Gk.	Modern Greek
Mod.Pers.	Modern Persian
Moes.	Moesian
Myc.	Mycenaean
Mys.	Mysia
N.	North
neg.	negative
Neol.	Neolatin
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
NTG	New Testament Greek

num.	numeral
obj.	object
NW.	Northwest
Occit.	Occitan
OCS	Old Church Slavic
OE	Old English
OFr.	Old French
OHG	Old High German
OIr.	Old Irish
OIc.	Old Icelandic
OL	Old Latin
ON	Old Norse
OP	Old Persian

opt.	optative
ORuss.	Old Russian
Osc.	Oscan
Oss.	Ossetic
OT	Old Testament
Pamph.	Pamphylian
pap.	papyrus
Parth.	Parthian
pass.	passive
patr.	patronymic
pcl.	particle
Pelop.	Peloponnesian
pers.	person

pf.	perfect
Phryg.	Phrygian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Pisid.	Pisidian
pl.	plural
plupf.	pluperfect
p.n.	personal name
Pol.	Polish
Pont.	Pontic
Port.	Portuguese
ppp	perfect passive participle
prec.	precative
prep.	preposition

pres.	present
pret.	preterite
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
Proto-Gk.	Proto-Greek
ps.	person
ptc.	participle
PY	Pylos tablets (Linear B)
rel.	relative
Rhod.	Rhodian
Rom.	Romance
Rum.	R(o)umanian
Russ.	Russian

RV	RigVeda
S.	South
S.It.	South Italian
Sarak.	Sarakatsan
Sard.	Sardinian
Sax.	Saxon
SE.Gk.	South East Greek
Serb.	Serbian
Sic.	Sicilian
Skt.	Sanskrit
Slov.	Slovenian
SMGk.	Standard Modern Greek
s.v.	sub verbo

s.vv.	sub verbis
sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
Slav.	Slavic
Sogd.	Sogdian
Sp.	Spanish
subj.	subject; subjunctive
suff.	suffix
SW.	Southwest
Syr.	Syriac
Syrac.	Syracusan
Toch. B	Tocharian B
TH	Thebes tablets (Linear B)

them.	thematic
Thess.	Thessalian
Thrac.	Thracian
Toch.	Tocharian
topon.	toponym
tr.	transitive
Turk.	Turkish
Ukr.	Ukrainian
Umbr.	Umbrian
Ved.	Vedic
Ven.	Venetian
vernac.	vernacular
VL	Vulgar Latin

Vl.	Vlach
voc.	vocative
vol.	volitional
W.	West
W.Gk.	West Greek
W.Ion.	West Ionic

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Transcription guide:

Transcribing all varieties and historical periods of the Greek language is a near impossible task. The transcription applied here is only an approximation, not the representation of the real picture of the language; it is a compromise among the phonetic realities of the language, historical developments, traditional spelling and practicality, and reflects the state of the language in a rough way. Thus, the division into two major phases, Ancient Greek including Hellenistic (up to the 6th c. CE) and Medieval and Modern Greek (6th c. CE - Modern Greek), is entirely conventional. For closer and more accurate description of the pronunciation of the language, phonemic transcription (e.g. πουλὶ /pulí/ 'bird') or the IPA phonetic transcription system (e.g. [pu'li]) are used when discussing details of phonetic and phonological issues. In any case, Greek words are always followed by their transcription in italics (except for longer quotes on separate lines), e.g. Ancient Greek ἄνθρωπος *ánthrōpos*, Medieval or Modern Greek *ánθropos* 'human being'.

Table of Transcription

Greek Writing		Ancient Greek and Hellenistic Greek (up to 500 CE)		Medieval and Modern Greek (500 CE - present)	
upper case	lower case	transcription upper case	transcription lower case	transcription upper case	transcription lower case
A	α	*A*	*a*	*A*	*a*
B	β	*B*	*b*	*V*	*v*
Γ	γ	*G*	*g*	*Ɣ*	*ɣ*
Δ	δ	*D*	*d*	*Đ*	*ð*

E	ε	*E*	*e*	*E*	*e*
Z	ζ	*Z*	*z*	*Z*	*z*
H	η	*Ē*	*ē*	*I*	*i*
Θ	θ	*Th*	*th*	*Θ*	*θ*
I	ι	*I*	*i*	*I*	*i*
K	κ	*K*	*k*	*K*	*k*
Λ	λ	*L*	*l*	*L*	*l*
M	μ	*M*	*m*	*M*	*m*
N	ν	*N*	*n*	*N*	*n*
Ξ	ξ	*Ks*	*ks*	*Ks*	*ks*
O	ο	*O*	*o*	*O*	*o*

Π	π	*P*	*p*	*P*	*p*
Ρ	ρ	*R (but ῾P- = Rh)*	*r (but ῥ- = rh-)*	*R*	*r*
Σ	σ/ς	*S*	*s*	*S*	*s*
Τ	τ	*T*	*t*	*T*	*t*
Υ	υ	*U*	*u*	*Y/I₁*	*y/i₁*
Φ	φ	*Ph*	*ph*	*F*	*f*
Χ	χ	*Kh*	*kh*	*X*	*x*
Ψ	ψ	*Ps*	*ps*	*Ps*	*ps*
Ω	ω	*Ō*	*ō*	*O*	*o*

In addition, for Ancient Greek and Hellenistic Greek:

- 'rough breathing' ⟨ ' ⟩ = *h-* (H- if a word must be capitalized)
- 'smooth breathing' ⟨ ' ⟩ : is left unmarked in the transcription
- 'iota subscriptum': ᾳ, ῃ, ῳ = *āi, ēi, ōi*
- short diphthongs: αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι₂, ου, υι = *ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou, ui*
- long diphthongs: ᾱι, ᾱυ, ηι, ηυ, ωι, ωυ = *āi, āu, ēi, ēu, ōi, ōu*

- long vowels: superscript macron bar over the vowel, e.g. Ἀπόλλων = *Apóllōn*, νίκη = *níkē*
- gamma-gamma (γγ) are transcribed as *ng*; gamma-kappa (γκ) as *nk*; gamma-chi (γχ) as *nkh*
- words starting with rho (ῥ-) are transcribed as *rh-*: ῥοδοδάκτυλος = *rhododáktulos*.

Accents are marked as follows:

- acute accent = ´ e.g. ἔρως = *érōs*, Ἀπόλλων = *Apóllōn*, ἐλέγχω = *elénkhō*
- grave accent = ` e.g. τὸν ἄνθρωπον = *tòn ánthrōpon*, τὴν πόλιν = *tḕn pólin*
- circumflex accent = ˆ e.g. τῆς πόλεως = *tês póleōs*, τῶν ἀγνῶν θεῶν = *tôn hagnôn theôn*
- Since vowels with circumflex accent are always long, a macron is not necessary: ᾶ, ῆ, ῶ =â, ê, ô

In addition, for Medieval and Modern Greek:

- Although in texts written before 1981 traditional spelling that copies the spelling of Ancient Greek is used, the pronunciation differs, a fact that is reflected in the transcription. Thus, take note of the following:
- no rough breathing ⟨ ʽ ⟩; it may be written in Greek script but is left unmarked in the transcription, e.g. Ancient Greek ἱστορία = Med. and Mod. Greek *istoría*, ἅμαξα = *ámaksa*, Ὅμηρος = *Ómiros*
- 'smooth breathing' ⟨ ʼ ⟩; it may be written in Greek script but is left unmarked in the transcription, e.g. αὐτοκράτωρ = *aftokrátor*
- old accents may be written but are all transcribed with an acute accent mark, e.g. σωτήρ = *sotír*, σωτῆρος = *sotíros*
- there is no vowel length, e.g. της πόλης = *tis pólis*, των καλῶν ανθρώπων = *ton kalón anθrópon*, δικαστής *ðikastís*
- old diphthongs are monophthongized: ει = *i*, οι = *y/i2*, αι = *e*, ου = *u*, e.g. ειρήνη = *iríni*, οινοπωλείο = *inopolío*, καιρός = *kerós*, ουρανός = *uranós*
- 'iota subscriptum' in traditional spelling may be written but not transcribed, thus ῃ = *i*, ᾳ = *a*, ῳ = *o*, e.g. τῇ ἀγάπῃ = *ti aγápi*, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ = *en ti xóra*, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ = *to anθrópo*; similarly υι = *i*, e.g. υιοθεσία = *ioθesía*
- vowel digraphs αυ, ευ (= older diphthongs) = *af/av*, *ef/ev* (the latter before vowels or voiced consonants), e.g. αυτός = *aftós* but αὔριο = *ávrio*, ευτυχώς = *eftixós* but ευέξαπτος = *evéksaptos*, Ευρώπη = *Evrópi*, ελεύθερος = *eléfθeros*
- consonant digraphs:
- gamma-gamma (γγ) = *g*, e.g. εγγονός = *egonós*

- gamma-kappa (γκ) = *g*, e.g. γκαράζ = *garáz*, γκρεμός = *gremós*
- gamma-chi (γχ) = *nx*, e.g. ἀγχος = *ánxos,* ἐλεγχος = *élenxos*
- μπ = *b*, e.g. μπαίνω = béno, αμπάρι = *abári*, ομπρέλα = *obréla*
- ντ = *d*, e.g. ντύνομαι = *dínome,* ἐντομα = *édoma*, ντροπή = *dropí*
- consonant dittography4: transcribed as single consonant, e.g. Σάββατο = *Sávato*, κόκκινο = *kókino*, ἀλλος = *álos*, ἀμμος = *ámos*, εννέα = *enéa*, παππὰς = *papás*, ἀρρωστος = *árostos*, θάλασσα = *θálasa*

Notes:

1 The vowel ⟨υ⟩ was pronounced [y] till approximately the 10th c. CE when it shifted to [i] in most Greek varieties; the transcription reflects this fact. E.g. κύριος *kýrios* but after the 10th c. *kírios.*

2 The diphthong ⟨οι⟩ was pronounced [y] till approximately the 10th c. CE when it shifted to [i] in most Greek varieties; the transcription reflects this fact, e.g. οἱ ἄνθρωποι *y ánθropy* but after the 10th c. *i ánθropi.*

3 For Modern Greek dialects, whenever needed, IPA transcription is used for rendering dialectal phonetic features, for instance, palatoalveolar affricates [tʃ], etc., e.g. τσάντα ['tsada] and dialectal ['tʃada].

4 However, in some areas (e.g. Cyprus, Dodecanese, S. Italy, etc.) dittography equals long consonant, and this is reflected in the transcription.

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